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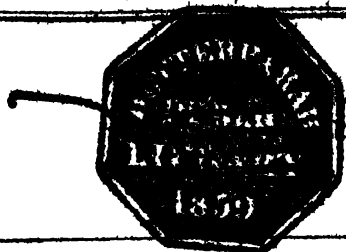
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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 4d.]



No. II.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,
LABOURER,

*Of Normandy Titling, Ash, Farnham,
Surrey.*

Dublin, 27. Sept. 1834.

MARSHALL,

AFER I wrote to you, the other day, about the MENDICITY, I went again at the dinner time. You know, I saw the breakfast! that is the ground oats and butter-milk, or water, or skim-milk, (sometimes one and sometimes the other), boiling in great coppers for the breakfast; and now I went to see the dinner, and the gentlemen, who have the management of the place, showed me all about it. There are about *three thousand* persons fed here; and, if they were not thus fed, they must either *die*, or *thieve* or *rob*, or more properly *take by force*, for, in such a case, the words *theft* or *robbery* do not, according to the just laws of England, apply to the act; though they do apply, and, I hope, always will apply, in England.

I saw this "dinner." In one long room, there were about 500 women, each with some potatoes in a bowl, mashed, as you mash them, to mix with *meal*, for your hogs. These people go to one end of the room, and, one at a time, get their mess. There are persons to put the potatoes into the bowl; which they do by taking the potatoes out of a tub, with a tin measure, holding about a quart, and putting the thing full in to the bowl, which is then carried away by the person who is to eat it;

and all these persons are, as they are, *standing up* in the room, as thick as they can stand. Each, as soon as the mess is eaten, goes away; and, as there is room made, others come in; and there were about three hundred then waiting in the yard to take their turn.

There were about a hundred girls in a school, and about as many boys in another, neither had shoes or stockings, and the boys had no shirt. Their faces were pale, the whole hundred not having so much red as your little round-faced chap that was set to keep the birds away from the cabbage seed in Dodman's field. Yes, MARSHALL, that little chap, with his satchel full of bread and cheese or bacon; he was at the proper school! He and TOM DEANMAN and little BARNATT will make strong and able men like their fathers; will live well, and be well clothed; and will be respected like their fathers, and be happy in that state of life in which it has pleased God to place them; and will not, I hope, listen to any fanatical man, who would persuade them, that to starve in rags, in this world, has a tendency to give them a crown of glory in the next.

In another place I saw a great crowd of women sitting and doing nothing, each with a *baby* in her arms. They were sitting in rows, waiting, I believe, for their messes. Some of them were young and naturally handsome; but made ugly by starvation, rags, and dirt. It was one mass of rags; and, not what you call rags; not rags such as you see on the beggars or gipsies that go to hopping at Farnham, but far worse than any that you ever saw tied round a stake to frighten the birds from our wheat and our peas; far worse than the Kentish people and South Hampshire people put up on a scare-crow to keep the birds from their cherries. And this is the condition, Marshall, to which the Scotch *feckless* vagabonds wish to persuade the Parliament to reduce the wives and the daughters of the working

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people of England ! while they talk of *educating* you all, at the same time ! Ah ! MARSHALL, these vagabonds want to give you *books*, and to take away the *bread and meat* for themselves.

In another place I saw the most painful sight of all : *women*, with heavy hammers, *cracking stones* into very small pieces, to *make walks in gentlemen's gardens* ! These women were as ragged as the rest ; and the sight of them and their work, and the thoughts accompanying these, would have sunk the heart in your body, as they did mine. And are the women and girls of England to be brought to this state ? Would not every man in Normandy suffer every drop of blood to be let out of his body rather than see your sisters and daughters and mothers and wives brought to this state ? If I were not *sure* that TOM KARR would perish himself rather than see his sister brought to this, he should not live under my roof a moment longer. And what, then, of his good and industrious and kind and tender mother ! The bare thought would drive him mad ! Yet, Marshall, it is my duty to tell you, that the half-drunk and half-mad and greedy and crawling Scotch vagabonds, whose counsels have beggared the Scotch working people, are endeavouring to persuade the Parliament to bring your wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters into this very state ! Be on your guard, therefore ; be ready to perform *your duty* to prevent the success of these crawling villains, who hope to get rewarded for their schemes for making you work for 6d. a day, and for putting your wages into the pockets of the landlords. When I get back we will have a *meeting* at Guildford to petition the king and Parliament on the subject ; to this meeting you must all come ; for, though the law does not give you the right of *voting*, it always gives you the right of *petitioning* ; and as I shall hereafter show you, it gives you a *right to parish relief* in case you be *unable to earn* a sufficiency to keep you in a proper manner. This is as much your *birth-right* as is the lord of the manor's right to his estate ; and of this we will convince the crawling and greedy vagabonds before we have done. It is our duty, too, to exert this right to endeavour to better the lot of our suffering fellow-subjects in Ireland. Mr. DEAN will tell you, that I have always set my face against the ill-treatment of Irish people who go to get work in England. Their own food is sent away from them to England, for the benefit of their landlords ; we receive the food, and it is monstrous injustice in us to frown upon them, if they come and offer their labour in exchange for a part of that very food which they themselves have raised.

I hear that discontents are arising again in England, on account of the *lowering of wages*. Mr. DEAN will not lower the wages of anybody. He knows that I never gave a *full working man* less than 15s. a week, though found a good house and garden and plenty of fuel. And I know that a man, with a wife and only three small children, cannot live, as he ought to live, on less, though flour were cheaper than it is now, as I hope it will be. But, MARSHALL, let us be just ; let us do as we would be done by : many of the *farmers* are not able, in the present state of things, with all these taxes and monopolies arising out of them, to give the wages that I give, without being *ruined themselves* ; theirs is, in many cases, a life of greater hardship than that of the labourer : they are compelled to give 8s. 6d. for MALT, which, if there were *no tax*, they would have at this moment for about 3s. 3d. They would give their men beer, they would keep the young people in their houses, as I do ; but they are *unable* to do it without being ruined and becoming labourers themselves. Then the *landlords* : why should their *rents* not be paid ? Not to get their rents is to lose their estates ; and why should they have their estates taken away ? Those estates are as much *their right* as good living in exchange for your labour, and as parish aid in case of inability are *your rights*. So that I hope that you will duly consider these things ; and not conclude that, though others may not give the wages that I give, they would not do it if they could.

It is my opinion that, if flour were only 5s. a bushel, 15s. a week is not *too much* for a really *able, sober, and trust-worthy* labouring man, who has a wife and only three small children. And I never did, and never will, make any distinction between a *married* man and a *single* man. Why should I? What have I to do with the man, more than to pay him duly *the worth* of his labour? And how is the single man ever to be in a fit condition to marry, and to lead a happy life and rear a family, unless he has, from his earnings while single, the means of starting well in his new state of life? The old saying, that "when *poverty* comes in at the door, *love* flies out at the window," is perfectly true. And how is poverty to be kept out if there be nothing of any worth to begin with?

I have not time to write any thing more to you now. I will, in future letters, tell you the *causes* of all this misery, and you will want nothing more to make you all resolve to use all the law ful means in your power to prevent it from falling on yourselves.

Two things, I hope, you will all attend to in my absence: first, cheerful obedience to Mr. DEAN, in all things, 27 years of experience having convinced me that he will requite from you nothing but that which is proper, and that nothing will induce him to do any thing towards any body that is unjust, or *hard*. The other thing is, my hope that none of you will go to *any drinking place* on any account. You have no need to do it; when you have not good beer at the farm-house, I give you the means of having it at home with your wives and children; and therefore, if any of you should disobey me in this respect, and should set at nought the example which you have in Mr. DEAN, as well as the precept that you thus receive from me, Mr. DEAN has my full authority to act towards you accordingly.

With giving you this important precept, and in the hope that all of you and all belonging to you are well,

I am,

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. SMITH,
AT THE PRINTING OFFICE,
BOLT-COURT.

DEAR SIR, *Dublin, 27. Sept. 1834.*

You will please to send ~~me~~ ^{me} copies of each of these Letters to ~~Mr. DEAN~~ ^{Mr. DEAN}, to be struck off, in the manner described in my last letter. Put them up in a coach-parcel, and send them by the Farnham coach, directed to Mr. DEAN at Normandy, Ash, Farnham, Surrey. This is not giving you *trouble*, but *pleasure*; and therefore I offer you no apology. I hope that all the *unstamped* will send these letters about.

I am,

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Put an ounce weight of each of them under cover, and direct it to our county member, John Leech, Esq., Lea, Godalming.

TO MR. JOHN DEAN.

DEAR SIR,

I suppose that the parcels of printed letters will get to Farnham every *Tuesday night*. And you must get them over to Normandy. Send about 200 of each Number, by one of the boys or men, to Mr. WHITLAW, at Compton, who I hope will get them sent to Godalming, Bramley, Elstead, *Frencham*, Seale, Hazlemere, &c. and all about that side of the Hog's-back. You will take care to get the rest sent to Farnham, Guildford, Chertsey, Egham, Bagshot, and to all the parishes round about us, especially Purbright and Chobham. Be very diligent about this. Any of the men will carry them on a Sunday, or in the evening, to such a place as Purbright or Aldershot. You will observe, that I have this matter *greatly at heart*; and therefore, I beg you to act accordingly. My native county shall not be unjust towards Ireland for want of knowing her treatment, and for want of knowing the miseries so unjustly inflicted upon her; nor shall the people of that country be steeped in similar misery by the schemes of the renegade Scotch villain.

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or by any body else, without seeing what those schemes are, and to what consequences they lead. Do not mind a little *expense* in giving effect to my wishes as to this matter. If there be nobody in *other counties* to do their duty to the working people, no man shall ever have to say that that duty was neglected by

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I have, three successive nights, to numerous assemblies (consisting chiefly of gentlemen or persons of property) in this city, urged the *justice* and *necessity* of POOR-LAWS for Ireland; and, not only *poor-laws*, but *our poor-laws*; the act of Queen Elizabeth, ALL the act, and NOTHING BUT the act. I have maintained the RIGHTS of the poor, by an appeal to the *laus of God*, and the *laws of England*; and, I have the pleasure to tell you, that I was heard with the greatest possible attention, indulgence, and kindness; and this kindness has, indeed, marked the conduct of every one in Ireland towards me.—Get all my people together, in the evening, or on Sunday, and read these letters to them; and remember me to farmers WEST and FAGOTTEN and BARRY and HORNE and to all the rest of my neighbours. And tell farmer HORNE, who, like the primitive teachers of Christianity, *preaches* on the Sunday, and most laudably *mows his barley* on the Monday, that I hope, that his cows, which I forgave so often, will not, during my absence, give way to their luxurious, inordinate, and most ungodly appetites, so far as still to covet my corn, when they have pasture of their own, and while my humble-minded and frugal heifers are content with the pickings of the common.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

SIR,—In any civilized country where justice is esteemed, and literature admired, your character and your writings would entitle you to the highest respect and the most honourable reception. Services that cannot be too highly ap-

preciated, and that should never be forgotten, give you peculiar claims on the gratitude of the Irish people. The members of the Meath Independent Club come forward with delight to join their countrymen in hailing your arrival on their shores, and offering you an affectionate welcome.

Whilst the literary productions which have immortalized your name, impart delight and instruction to the mind, the biography of their author will inculcate on the heart the cheering reflection, that monopoly however protected, and despotism however fortified, can sometimes be subdued and broken down by individual energy, fortitude, and perseverance.

From the commencement of your political career, when you began to plant thorns in the pillow of corruption, up to your return to Parliament for Oldham, you have been pursued as a victim to be immolated to the Moloch of tyranny and monopoly. Ignorance of their real interests caused your countrymen to look for some time with apathy on your persecutions; but proscriptions, fines, and dungeons, only rendered the many extraordinary incidents of your life the more interesting. Curiosity gave way to sympathy; inquiry to conviction; until the nation, disabused of its errors, broke down the out works of the infamous system against which you combated, and left the names of its defenders written in terms of execration on its ruins. The Percevals, the Castle-reaghs, the Liverpools, are buried in reputation as well as in person, whilst their prisoner and exile William Cobbett lives exalted in station, and honoured in character.

The professors and ministers of a faith, for which the Irish have forfeited every temporal consideration, you have vindicated from the calumnies of centuries, and the hereditary prejudices of your fellow-countrymen. You have removed the rubbish of inveterate slanders from the pages of English history; dissipated in your own days the errors which spring from those sources of delusion, and smooth the road to that liberty we now enjoy.

When such a man comes to visit our country, in order to know the sources of its calamities, with a view of exposing them, before those who can apply suitable remedies, it becomes our duty to manifest a proper sense of his motives and objects.

With these sentiments we venture to express a hope you will honour Meath with a visit, a county which yields to no other in Ireland in esteem and veneration for the name and services of William Cobbett.

Dated at a special meeting of the club, at Navan, on the 24. of September, 1834.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEATH CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in presenting to me this elegantly written address; which, however, honourable as it is to me, I chiefly value on account of the effect which it is likely to have in England, at this critical time, when desperate and half-mad and half-drunken and inordinately greedy Scotchmen are bent upon an attempt to prevail on the Parliament to adopt measures for reducing the people of England to the state of those of Scotland, who are now robbed of those Christian laws which their fathers established three hundred years ago; an attempt, which, if it were to succeed, must render the lot of Ireland worse than it is now.

These Scotch monsters of the school of the Parson MALTHUS, it is, at present, my great object to combat, by explaining fully to the people of England the means which these monsters are employing, and the object they have in view; and my business to Ireland is to see, and tell the people of England, what is the state of Ireland, what is the extent of her sufferings, what are the causes of these, and what they ought to do, not only to prevent similar sufferings from being inflicted on themselves, but what they ought to do, to rescue Ireland from her sufferings: and, gentlemen, in the performing of this my

duty, this address from you must and will give me great support.

Besides these considerations, gentlemen, I have particular pleasure in receiving this address from the county of Meath, whose sensible and spirited conduct has greatly contributed to produce the taking of the first steps towards the deliverance of Ireland from her worse than Egyptian bondage.

WM. COBBETT.

Dublin, 23. Sept., 1834.

I shall here insert: 1. The statement from the *True Sun* of the brother of Mr. W. AUSTIN, relative to the affairs of that brother. The reader will see what an affair this is; and he will also see, that this affair must come *before the Parliament*; for, this is precisely a case in which for that body to give redress.

2. I shall insert an account of my *proceedings* here, as published in the *Morning Register*, published by Mr. SRAUNTON, to whom I owe great gratitude for his very kind behaviour towards me.

3. A letter by General Cockburn, on the subject of a *repeal of the union*; and my English readers should know, that, besides being a General in the army, Sir GEORGE COCKBURN is a considerable landowner in Ireland, and constantly resides on one of his estates.

4. The report of the speeches of Messrs. Attwood and Scholesfield, at Birmingham, at a dinner given to them there. I insert these, not only as containing the sentiments of those two gentlemen, but as a mark of my respect for them, on account of their upright conduct in Parliament.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I beg, that until my return to England, no one will give himself the trouble to *write to me*, on any subject whatsoever. A man cannot do more than *one thing well at one time*. I have quite enough to do here; and I will never, till I am again in England, open

any letter that shall come to me from England. Some inconvenience may arise from this, and possibly some injury; but, these I must submit to. At any rate, such is my determination.

MR. WM. AUSTIN.

EXTRAORDINARY NARRATIVE.

SIR,—As your valuable journal is at all times open to the public for redress and ready to espouse the cause of the injured and oppressed by any abuse of power or otherwise, I take leave to submit to you the following statement, in the hope that you will deem the same of sufficient importance to appear therein.

In the month of December, 1828, my brother, Mr. William Austin, who had been brought up by her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, from the age of four months, in every respect as her own son, but who at her decease was left comparatively destitute, went abroad to eke out his small income; and twelve months having passed without hearing from him caused great surprise in the minds of his parents and relatives, and repeated applications were made by me to her late Majesty's executors and friends, to know if they had heard from, or could give any information respecting him; but the only persons who condescended to reply were, Lady Anne Hamilton, Lord Hood, and Alderman Wood, and their answers were in the negative. Another year passed, but still no intelligence, and his family became greatly alarmed for his safety. At length in the month of June, 1831, his relatives heard that he had been and then was very ill. I immediately wrote a circular to her late Majesty's executors and friends for information on the subject, and to know to whom the dividends arising from his property were to be remitted, and how expended; but only one of the former condescended to reply, and the following is his answer;

"Stamora, July 29, 1831.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter I have to inform you that Mr. W. Austin is in a state of lunacy, and has for some time been confined in a lunatic asylum in Italy. The dividends are received under

my authority, and appropriated to his maintenance; for the excess of expense I have been under the necessity of becoming personally responsible. The house of Marietti and Co., of Milan, have had the kindness to take care that the best practicable arrangements be made for Mr. W. Austin's comfort.

"I am, your obedient servant,
"S. LUSHINGTON.
"To Mr. S. Austin."

This was the first official intimation (if I may so term it) that my family received of my brother being in the state therein described, and on receipt thereof I immediately wrote to Messrs. Marietti, requesting to be informed what steps it would be necessary to take to have my brother conveyed home; whether it would be necessary to apply to the law authorities in Italy to permit his removal, and what would be the expense; what was the name of the establishment in which he was confined, where situate, and the name of the proprietor; what was the state of his health, was there any probability of his recovery, in what manner was his income expended, what had become of the property in his possession at the time he was taken ill, and every other information in their power; to which letter I was never favoured with an answer.

Dr. Lushington having arrived in town about the middle of August, I had an interview with him on the 24. for the purpose of obtaining more precise information than that contained in his letter, and among other things particularly requested to know in what part of Italy my brother was, how long he had been in the state described in his letter, and whether he could not be brought home, when he informed me that he did not know in what part of Italy the asylum was situate, except that it was in the Austrian dominions, but that he could ascertain; that my brother had been in the condition above mentioned two years, and that he could not be brought home for less than 500*l.*, for that being in the Austrian dominions his removal could not be effected without an order from the supreme court at Vienna, to procure which would alone

cost £40l. I then inquired whether my brother's property could not be made available to defray those expenses, and was informed that his money was invested in the funds in his own name, therefore could not be touched, and that when he went abroad he gave Messrs. Coutts a power of attorney to receive the dividends, and remit them to him, but no power to sell any part of the stock, and said he hoped that I was not going to stop the dividends. On my return to the city I called upon Messrs. Coutts, and received similar information from them as to the power of attorney, and remitting of the dividends, and on my informing them that Messrs. Marietti had not answered my letter, they undertook to forward an application to those gentlemen; therefore, on the 26. August, I wrote them in the names of my parents precisely to the effect before stated; to which my father, through an indirect channel, received the following reply:

"12, *Seze-lane*, Sept. 20, 1831.

"Sir,—We have just received a letter from Messrs. Marietti, of Milan, dated 7. September, in which they request us to inform you, in reply to your letter to them of the 26. of August, that your son is still in M. Dufous's establishment, in the same state of health, and that to have him conveyed home, it would be absolutely necessary to bind him, besides having a person on purpose to accompany him, or the consequences would be fatal. All the things he has are taken care of in the establishment; and with respect to the disposal of his income, Messrs. Marietti have furnished accounts both to the executors and Messrs. Coutts. Over and above what has been remitted, Messrs. Marietti have advanced upwards of 1200l., which sum is still due to them, and for which they have been long expecting remittance from England.

"We are,

"Sir, your obedient servants,

"AMB. UBICINI and Co.

"*M^r. Samuel Austin.*"

This letter being silent as to the greater part of the inquiries made in my

applications, and particularly as to where the asylum is sought, and the steps necessary to be taken to have my brother sent home, was deemed unsatisfactory, and therefore immediately on the receipt thereof I again wrote Messrs. M., reiterating my inquiries, and also requested to be informed whether, if I or either of my brothers were to go out to bring my brother William home, he would be detained, and if not, what obstacles there would be to surmount. I likewise requested to be furnished with a notarial or other legalized certificate of the state my brother was in, together with a list of the articles said to be taken care of in the establishment; but up to the present hour have never been favoured with an answer.

Finding that my applications to Messrs. Marietti were unnoticed, I was obliged to content myself with making occasional inquiries of her late Majesty's executors and friends, but without obtaining any further intelligence. At length my father, who had been for a considerable time in a declining state, was taken dangerously ill, and died on the 10. August, 1832; a day or two previous to which he urged and made me promise to use every exertion to have my brother brought home. On the 29. of that month I again wrote to Messrs. Marietti for the before-mentioned particulars and certificate, and hoping that if I forwarded my letter through Messrs. Coutts I should obtain an answer. I took it to those gentlemen, who promised that it should be sent; in the mean time I apprized Dr. Lushington of my father's decease, requesting an appointment to see him, and on the 20. September, accompanied by a younger brother, had an interview with him at his chambers, when we informed him of the dying wish of our father, and urged him to see what could be done; but he merely reiterated the former statement about the supreme court, the 5000l. expense, &c.

Having waited till the middle of October without hearing from Messrs. Marietti in reply to my letter of the 29. August, I wrote Messrs. Coutts to know if they had received any commu-

nication from them, and if not, requested which application I received the following reply :

" *Strand, London, 17. Oct. 1832.*

" SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, we beg to inform you that we have not received any communication from Messrs. Marietti relative to Mr. William Austin for a considerable time past ; we will however, in our next letter to them, request they will inform us of the state of Mr. William Austin's health, and when we receive their reply we will make you acquainted with it.

" We are, sir,

" Your obedient servants,

" COUTTS and Co.

" *Mr. Samuel Austin.*"

And on the 12. of the next month I received the following note, viz :

" Messrs Coutts and Co. beg to inform Mr. Austin, that the following is an extract of a letter they have this day received from Messrs. Marietti and Co., of Milan, in reply to the inquiry they made at his request relative to his brother :

" " With respect to Mr. Austin, he is still in the same state of imbecility, and declared incurable. We have obtained a certificate from the director of the hospital in which he resides, and which we shall transmit to his brother.

" " *Strand, 12. Nov. 1832.*"

But the certificate has never been received by me, nor any member of my family, and except the letter of Messrs. Obicini, of September, 1831, no communication of any description has ever been received from Messrs. Marietti. Concluding, therefore, that it was not the intention of those gentlemen to give the information I requested, I applied to Messrs. Coutts for copies of the accounts transmitted to them by Marietti, with a view of seeing in what manner my brother's property was spent ; also of ascertaining why it was that during the first two years of his alleged insanity upwards of £207. beyond his income should have been expended, and whether such increased expenditure was continued, to

" *London, 15. Jan. 1833.*

" SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 14. instant, we beg to inform you, that the accounts you refer to, sent to us by Messrs. Marietti and Co., of Milan, were forwarded by us to Dr. Lushington immediately we received them, and we can only refer you to that gentleman for any information you may require relative to the affairs of your brother, Mr. William Austin.

" We are, sir,

" Your obedient servants,

" COUTTS and Co.

" *Mr. Samuel Austin.*"

Having waited till the 6. of March following, in the vain hope of hearing from Messrs. Marietti with the certificate, and with information as to the steps to be taken to get my brother home, I wrote Dr. Lushington of the applications I had made to them, and requested to be favoured with a copy of all the correspondence that had passed between him and Messrs. Marietti or any other person on the subject, and also for copies of the above-mentioned accounts, and receiving no answer, renewed my application on the 16., and on the 18. received the following note :

Mr. Austin,—On Mr. Sergeant Wilde's return to town, who is, as you know, co-executor with me, I will make known to him your communications.

" I am yours obediently,

" S. LUSHINGTON."

" *18. March, 1833.*"

I have since made a great number of similar applications to Dr. Lushington (indeed were I to set them forth, they would swell this letter, already, I fear, too long, to such an extent as to preclude all hopes of your permitting it to appear) but without success ; at length in the month of December, I received a communication from him, stating that he had sent me then last letter I had written him to Messrs. Vizard and Le-man, of Lincoln's Inn-fields, who were, as he said, better informed upon the subject, than he was, and referred me to them ; I accordingly applied to these

gentlemen, and received the following answer :

" *Lincoln's Inn-fields, Dec. 17, 1833.*

" SIR,—If you will come to our chambers, we will give you all the information we can respecting your brother.

" We are, sir, yours obediently,

" VIZARD and LEMAN."

" To Mr. S. Austin."

But so many years having elapsed, and my object being to obtain written and not verbal information, and also being unable to wait upon them except in the evening, when I concluded they would not be at chambers, I wrote them as follows :

" Gentlemen,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 17. inst., and to say that at present it is very uncertain when I shall be able to wait upon you, will you therefore be pleased to communicate in writing the information you suggest. Dr. Lushington informs me that he has forwarded pay list letter to you, on reference to which you will see the nature of the information I wish for.

" I am, gentlemen,

" Your obedient servant,

" SAMUEL AUSTIN."

" 21. Dec., 1833.

" To Messrs. Vizard and Leman."

And on the 23. I received the following note :—

" *Lincoln's Inn-fields, 23. Dec., 1833.*"

" SIR,—All the information we have on the subject you are welcome to see here, but we really cannot copy it for you.

" We are, &c.,

" VIZARD and LEMAN.

" Mr. S. Austin."

I therefore attended at the chambers of those gentlemen on several successive evenings, accompanied by one of my brothers, but without meeting them; however, on the 24. of January last, I took an opportunity of going early in the day, and saw Mr Leman, who, to my great surprise, notwithstanding the note of the 23. December, positively refused to let me see the promised information.

In the month of February last, I again

renewed my application, by writing on the 17. of that month, separately to Dr. Lushington, Sergeant Wilde, and Messrs. Vizard and Leman, setting forth the information wished for by my family, viz :

1. The family wish to know precisely at what period after my brother left England, his insanity commenced ?

2. Where was he at the time, with whom residing, and the address of the party ?

3. By what medical person (if any) was he attended, and the address ?

4. Which he was removed to the lunatic asylum where he is stated to be, and by whose authority was he so removed ?

5. Where is the lunatic asylum situate, by what name (if any) is it called ; what is the name of the governor or keeper thereof, and, what is the name and address of the principal physician or medical attendant ?

6. What is the present state of my brother's health ; is there any probability of his recovery ; has he any lucid intervals ; and to what cause do the medical gentlemen attribute his insanity ?

7. A certificate from the governor and physician of the asylum, and also from some other physician or medical gentleman unconnected with the establishment, stating the information asked after by the fourth and sixth questions, such certificate to be duly verified and authenticated by a notary public or other legal functionary ?

8. What has become of the property which my brother took with him when he went abroad ; consisting of several valuable gold watches, chains, seals, and other articles of jewellery ; one, if not two portraits of her late Majesty, his own portrait, which he sent to his mother from Italy in 1817, many valuable books, clothes, and other portable property ; is the same in the establishment ; is it in the care of Messrs. Marietti ; or where is it ? And that a list thereof may be set forth and properly authenticated.

9. Whether my brother did not, previously to his leaving England at the

before-mentioned period, deposit for attended accordingly *several times*; his safe custody, with one of her late Majesty's friends, and whom by name, a large chest or trunk, covered with leather of various sorts, and tastefully ornamented with brass nails?

10. What are the precise steps requisite to be taken to have my brother brought to England? And supposing that one or two of his brothers were to go out to Italy properly identified, for the purpose of bringing him home, would he be given up to them, and if not, why?

11. Is the income of my brother sufficient to maintain him in the asylum, is there any surplus or deficiency, after paying all expenses, and what is the amount either way per year?

12. A copy of all accounts of the expenditure of my brother's income as transmitted by Messrs. Marietti, and a copy of all correspondence upon the subject of his insanity, from its commencement down to the present time; or to be permitted to inspect such accounts and correspondence, and take copies thereof?

A few days afterwards I had an interview with Mr. Leman, to know if it was intended to give the desired information, who after treating me in a very cavalier manner, going through my questions *seriatim*, and striking his pen through the greater part of them, told me that the rest should be answered, and handed my letter so mutilated to one of his clerks to copy, adding that when a reply was received I should hear from him.

I have lately written to him on the subject, and in answer he states that he has not heard. I have also applied to Dr. Lushington within the last few days, who has not thought proper to reply. I have made *many* applications to Mr. Sergeant Wilde, not one of which he has condescended to answer. I have called upon him *several times* in Guildford-street, at five in the afternoon, when I knew he would be at home; my name has been announced, the servant has brought out word that if I would attend at chambers any evening after seven o'clock he would see me; I have

I have thus detailed, as shortly as possible, and as far as my information goes, this mysterious affair, and in so doing abstain from making any comment upon the conduct of the parties in making, authorizing, or sanctioning, or being party or privy, direct or indirect, to any arrangements for placing my brother in a madhouse in a foreign country, under the control of foreigners, without the knowledge and consent of his parents and relatives; or in the authorizing the remitting of the dividends arising from his property to be expended by foreigners without such knowledge or consent, or in the keeping of his insanity a secret from his family for a period of two years; or in the withholding of information for so long a period subsequently to the letter of Dr. L. of July, 1831, leaving those who peruse this statement to draw their own inferences, but merely observe, that nearly six years have elapsed since my brother left England, that his family have no knowledge whether he is alive or dead, or, if living, where he is, except that they suppose he is in a lunatic asylum somewhere in Italy, under the care of a M. Dufour; that they have no knowledge of the treatment he receives, or whether, if he is really insane, that such treatment is calculated to effect a cure; and beg to add, that my mother is far advanced in years, is extremely infirm, and in a very nervous state, which is greatly augmented by the dreadful state of suspense in which she and the family have been kept for so long a period with regard to my brother. Dr. Lushington is the father of a large family; I have, as such, appealed to him, and used every entreaty to induce him to satisfy my family for the sake of my poor mother, but to no purpose.

I therefore make this appeal to you, and through you to the omnipotence of public opinion, to which I hope that an Englishman will never appeal in vain, and thus publicly call upon Dr. Lush-

ington and Sergeant Wilde to give me every information they possess, and particularly to answer the questions contained in my letter of the 17. of February last; those gentlemen know full well the situation my relatives are in; they well know that I have not the means of defraying the expenses of a journey to and from Italy, and maintaining my family during my absence, or I would, long ere this, have gone to Milan, claimed the assistance of the British consul, and demanded of Messrs Marietti, what has become of my brother.

In the hope, therefore, that you will be pleased to give this letter a place in your valuable journal, I beg to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most obedient

And humble servant,

SAMUEL AUSTIN.

4, Jamaica-row, Birmondsey,
23. Sept., 1834.

MY PROCEEDINGS IN DUBLIN.

MR. COBBETT'S LECTURES.

OUR space does not admit of our giving this week more than one of the important lectures delivered by Mr Cobbett, on the evenings of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at the Fishamble-street Theatre. We give the first, that of Wednesday.

Mr. Cobbett made his appearance on the stage at seven o'clock precisely. He was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers, which were continued for several minutes. Having taken his seat at a table in the centre of the stage, he rose in a few seconds afterwards, and thus addressed the assembly:—Gentlemen, I begin, as I ought to do, by expressing to you the pride and gratitude which I feel for the manner in which I have been received in Ireland. (Cheers). Gentlemen, my satisfaction is the greater on this account, because I know the effect which the manner I have been received in will produce amongst my countrymen in England, and which it is my most anxious wish to produce; that is, a most favourable impression in regard to this country; being perfectly

satisfied that by no other means but theirs will Ireland ever be delivered from the state she is in now. Gentlemen, when we were boys we read "the Seven Wonders of the World"; but of all the wonders of the world Ireland is the greatest, for here we see a country teeming with every good thing of every description: we see it teeming with food; we see that food sent into other nations, in many parts of the globe, and we see at home the people starving and in rags, and without ever partaking of that food which their country produces. I have for a long while been desirous to ascertain the causes of this state of things, and to try if this greatest of wonders could be unravelled. These causes, I repeat, I have long desired to know. Common humanity, the natural disposition of man not perverted, has led me to entertain that desire, now converted into a duty imposed upon me by my constituents, who have enabled me to take my place amongst those who make laws to govern Ireland as well as England (Hear). Since then that duty has brought me here, it urges me to inquire into the causes of that distressed state, which is disgraceful as regards my own country (having the management of this), and deplorable as regards your country. The causes, I trust, I shall ascertain before I quit this country. I understand them pretty well now, and you are now assembled here to learn that nothing shall be wanting upon my part thoroughly to investigate what are the real causes of what are admitted to be evils great and notorious. It would be very easy for me to remain as I was, now and then uttering a word favourable to Ireland. (Hear, hear). I do not come here now to say this, without having a hundred times in print said before that which I say now. I do not come here to merit the character of a flatterer (Hear, hear, and cheers). I came here for the purpose of describing your situation as it is, and I came here for the purpose, as it is also my duty, of offering to you my opinion with regard to the cause of those disgraceful evils affecting your country, and also of proposing a remedy to redress those

evils. (Hear). It would be presumptuous in me to present myself to you as an instructor or a teacher; no such thing. I stand before you as one who respectfully tenders his opinions, leaving their merits to be determined upon by yourselves; but, having a very anxious desire that you should think me right, and be ready to back me, and give effect to whatever I shall attempt to do, I hope you will not deem me presumptuous in thus standing before you to offer these opinions. (Hear and cheers). Please to consider that my experience is long, and must be very great; that I have had the opportunity of seeing the state of society in other countries; besides, I have had many opportunities of making a comparison between the state of society I have seen—recollect, too, that I have always asserted the rights of the working part of the people. (Cheers). I am not here assuming a new character, I am acting upon a principle which has ever actuated me; and, at all events, let it be remembered that I have no ambitious views to gratify, and no selfish motives to urge me on. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). I have returned to the spot, near as I possibly could, where I was born. With whatever station I have, or ambition, and whatever literary fame there is about me, I have returned to that plough from which I started when I was fourteen years of age. (Hear, hear, and enthusiastic cheers for several minutes). I live now within six miles of the place where lie the graves of my father and mother, and it is my vanity to return and spend my time amongst those whose fathers or grandfathers were my playmates. I have returned, as nearly as I could, to the point from which I started, and I every day see the faces of those who know my humble origin, and can show the lowly grave stones of my parents. I am sure then I shall get the credit of not being actuated by any very ambitious or selfish motives. (Cheers). Gentlemen, in continuing to address you upon this wonder of wonders, of which I was speaking to you before, I should wish to look as sharply as we possibly can for the cause of this strange thing. What can possibly be the cause of it?

Remember also, gentlemen, that I am not here pleading the cause of clients who can fee me. I plead the cause of the poor, the needy, and the oppressed—those who cannot possibly give me a reward—I plead their cause (hear, hear)—I plead the cause of those who cannot express their thanks to me; and I will tell you more, of those who will never hear of my interference on their behalf, nor of my name. To the claim of disinterestedness I can at all events, pretend; and while I plead such a cause, please at least, to indulge me with silence and attention. (Hear). Let us look to the wonders I was speaking of with steady eyes, if we can; I am sure that no man who sees them can look on with a dry eye. (Hear). Let us look at them with this view particularly, to try if we can repair in part the evils that are in existence. (Hear). I have been part of my life, for eight years, in the colony of North America. I saw that colony settled after the rebel war; I was there in an English regiment myself; I saw the colony increase very fast; I saw the whole of the people for four years; I saw 260,000 persons who would have expired of hunger if it were not for the bread, if it were not for the meat, if it were not for the butter that came out of this island. Two hundred and sixty thousand persons there were fed by this country. Not a soul of that 260,000 that was not living better than those by whom the food had been sent out! I have seen the negroes in the West Indies, of whom so much has been said, and for whom there has been so much *tenderness* and *sympathy*, that I have seen 278,000 persons put their names to one petition calling upon Parliament to put an end to the *miseries* of the negroes; I have seen the food with which they were constantly fed for years; I have seen those negroes better fed than the people of Ireland; and I have seen that the food which they mostly received came from Ireland, from a people who had not as good food as was sent out to the negroes. I could never see the sense or justice of taxing the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the benefit of the owners of those negroes. I

voted against every penny of that grant from beginning to end. But if it were just in England (and I do not admit that it was) to give 20,000,000*l.*, to assume a tax of 800,000*l.* a year for the negro owners, is it not most unjust to refuse a tax which would keep from starving the people of Ireland? If it were just, and I say it was not, to give so much for the negroes, is there a God in heaven and shall we dare to say in our face that it is just in those who did that, to refuse food to those who are in a state ten thousand times worse than those negroes? Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, all the colonies of North America, except Canada, are fed with the food of Ireland. Is this wrong? No. Supposing we are to keep colonies (a question I shall not now discuss), it is not wrong in Ireland to supply them with food: but it is wrong when those who raise the food and supply others, have not a sufficiency for themselves. (Hear). England herself, why she receives food from Ireland; it is a great blessing to her that Ireland can supply her. Not only London itself, but all round about, is supplied by this country. Every country town in England has at this moment a supply of Irish flour, Irish meat, and Irish butter; and, curious enough, as it was only last spring I entered into possession of my present place, I had not time to make up my own bacon and pork, and my fellows are now eating Irish bacon. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). There they are with their red cheeks, their fat round faces, their clean shirts, their Sunday clothes; they live well, and have their decent table-cloths, laid before them every time they eat their victuals. While this is the mode of the husbandman and artisan living in England, what, I say, can be the cause that those who raise the food in this country, and who send it over to the English farmer to eat, have not a morsel of food to put into their mouths? I saw the day before yesterday a mother with her four little children lying upon some straw, with their bodies huddled close together to keep themselves warm. I have written over to one of my labourers (and desired the printer

to circulate the letter round the parish), that if I find that George, the man who minds the cattle, should suffer them to have under them straw so broken and so dirty as that poor woman was lying upon, I would turn him out of the house as a lazy and a cruel fellow. (Cheers). Be assured that a statement like that cannot but be of service, and it ought not to be humiliating to you, because you do not govern yourselves. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). I see I have touched upon a favourite strain. (Hear). Be assured that a statement like that is much more likely to spread among the working people of England, from whom you will receive more redress than you can ever hope for from flummery promises. (Hear, hear). The cause of this strange state of things must be altered. It can be altered and it must be altered, or else it is useless to talk about it. (Hear). The causes are numerous, some more distant, some more immediate; but there is one great cause of causes, without the removal of which, no matter what else you ask for, you cannot make Ireland what she ought to be. The real cause of her misery I will state hereafter; but let me now state what are the imaginary and partly imaginary causes, because in all cases like this the greatest possible evil may be committed in looking to that as a cause which is not a cause, and so long as that delusion exists the proper remedy cannot be applied. (Hear). Some things put forward as causes are merely assertion; some are partly founded in fact, and others appear to have great weight attached to them. For fanciful causes fanciful remedies have been suggested. (A person here called out "Oh, come to some cause." This interruption produced some confusion for some time, which was at length put an end to). I am sure, said Mr. Cobbett, if the gentleman is let alone, and has a mind to contradict me, a little reflection will show him that this is not a proper place to do it. Amongst these causes to which have been ascribed the present state of Ireland is this, that "the people are lazy, careless, and are wanting in trust-worthi-

ness." Another cause is, "the existence of the Catholic religion"; another "the refusal of Catholic Emancipation for a long time"; another "tithes"; another "the union"; another "absentees"; another "agitation." Now, gentlemen, I shall make a few observations upon these, and we will see whether it is possible that any of these, though some of them are important, yet we will try if any one of these, or any number of them, has produced the effects that we behold in Ireland at this time. (Hear, hear). As to "the laziness of the Irish people," "the laziness" and "carelessness"; never before did it come to pass that food was sent out of that country to feed another, in which the people were lazy and careless. As much corn, flour, cows, sheep, pork, bacon, beef, butter, are produced in Ireland, as cannot be matched by a like number of people in the whole world, England herself not excepted. These things cannot be created except by labour. It is impossible to produce them without labour, they are not spontaneous; and, therefore, the general answer at once to this charge is, that it is false. (Hear, and loud cheers). The people cannot, with justice, be accused either of laziness or carelessness. It has happened too, to me to have seen some Irishmen out of their own country. I have been told by one Irish gentleman, "Mr. Cobbett, you do not think it, but really the Irish do not like meat." (Hear, and laughter). "They like to have their cabins without a chimney, and that the smoke if it will go out at all, should only escape through the roof." (Laughter). I could not deny this, because it was said to be a fact; but then it is an unbelievable fact. My answer to it was this, I have seen the United States of America, and I have seen other colonies, I have seen Irishmen in those places, and I never yet saw them that they loved other food but their own meat, bread, and butter, and they did not like to be dressed in rags, but they liked to be well dressed. They have laboured successfully, and if I should say more so than those of any other European nation in the United States, I should speak the truth. Besides, I have seen how they have risen to eminence in the United States, and to be persons of the first consequence there. A gentleman, recently from that country, who went over the names, assures me of this fact, that of that eminent body of men, the members of Congress, the one-third part are Irish, or men whose fathers were Irish, or the descendants of Irishmen. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). It is then a false accusation to make against them to say that they are not industrious, and that they are wanting in trustworthiness. They are not, God knows! wanting in literary acquirements, or in oratory; for if you were to take the one hundred Irish members out of the House of Commons, I wonder what sort would be the remaining 558. There would not be an equal number of men of talent for the one hundred Irishmen I can assure you (Hear). But then it is said that it is 'the Catholic religion that makes the Irish a lazy, slothful, and degraded people.' This statement is a sheer slander; for what was England before the reformation but Catholic? What was England at the time she conquered France but Catholic? Why, England was Catholic when she possessed herself of Calais and Boulogne, and she was Protestant when she lost Calais and Boulogne. Every body knows that England was when Catholic a much greater country, comparing her with other countries, than she is now, though she drains Ireland to make her great. But why does not the Catholic religion make the Irish people lazy in America, unless this, that it is changed by crossing the Atlantic, and that the salt of that element takes all the vice out of it? (Laughter). There are sixty or seventy thousand Catholics in New York; the Catholics rule by their vote that great emporium of the United States; how comes it that these energies are so much increased there, if the Catholic religion itself makes people lazy here? It is the same religion, and, however other religions may change, we know this of the Catholic religion, it is the

same in all countries. (Hear). How is it that it has not produced similar effects in America that it has here? Why because the people have fair play: there is given full scope to their physical and moral qualities, and they are exerted there as they would be here, if you had the same species of government. (Hear and cheers). In England there are Catholics; there the Catholic tradesman is as successful as the Protestant. My belief is, that he is more so, and there is less of poverty amongst them than the Protestants. Now, a favourite object with me is the farm that I spoke of; and, as with things in which there is less real value, we are more fond of them, so it is the case with me, and it happened then in looking out for a person in whom I could confide, who would, I know, do justice to the labourers, take care of my house, my neighbours, and superintend every thing as if I were there; the person that I got to do all these things for me is a Roman Catholic. (Hear and cheers). In England I have got one that the Catholic religion did not spoil. But the accusation made is a falsehood, a slander; and I shall say no more of it, but proceed to the next thing assigned as a cause why the country is in its present state. (Mr. Cobbett next referred to the refusal of for so long a time of Catholic Emancipation, and which, although he admitted it was a glaring injustice, and tending to produce strife and heartburnings, was however not a sufficient cause for the present condition of the country. This indeed was proved by the simple fact, that emancipation was granted, and that still the grievances and complaints of the people of Ireland continued. As our space is limited we proceed to a more interesting topic). Next, said Mr. Cobbett, as to tithes. I petitioned Parliament for a total repeal of the church in Ireland. I petitioned for its absolute removal. I wished that England should be taxed so as to give Ireland a chance for the removal of the heartburnings, the disputes, and that she might have quiet and regularity. That I considered my duty and therefore petitioned to have it wholly removed.

I wished to have no pitch-patch work, and that there should be no misunderstanding about it. (Hear, hear, and cheers). But I must say, at the same time, that, removing religion out of the question, tithes laid on the land are no hardship; tithes are part of the expenses of the land. In England I pay 160*l.* rent to the landlord, and I pay to the parson 45*l.* or 55*l.*, I forget which, for tithes. Now, if I did not pay that to the parson, I should pay it to the landlord. There would be no difference in the sum, and it would be a benefit to me to pay it to the parson, if he lived in the parish, for he would employ somebody, and the people would have the benefit. When the people are of the same religion as the established church it is a folly to represent tithes as a hardship. In fact, the thing should be paid, and it was some benefit to have the little gentry beside so many great gentlemen. It is well to have to give it to the parson; for, if you gave it all to the squire, he would become too big, and would spend it all out of the parish, while the parson must spend some of it in it. This, however, does not apply to Ireland; for here the people are of one religion and the clergy of another, and, generally speaking, tithes create heartburnings, and lead to violence and crimes, and add to the misery already existing and arising from other causes. But let this be borne in mind, that supposing tithes and hierarchy were altogether abolished, still it would be short of having that accomplished which it is our duty to have done for the people. Next, as to the Union. I have certainly seen in the city of Dublin very great distress, such as could not exist if the country around it were prosperous. I only want the evidence I have on this point, to be convinced that the misery I see here is general throughout the country, and that it must extend for many miles from Dublin: for a man would not look off the coast and find him no tithes, and here he would find misery, as he could go and see it. And here let me observe, that the cause of this misery could not be removed by what you look for, a national Parlia-

ment; for the misery existed here before the Union. (Cries of no, no). The misery was not, perhaps, to such an extent then; but no man will say, that before the Union Ireland was as well off as England, or as she ought to be. (Hear). Ireland was badly off before the Union, and if a Parliament were restored to Dublin, and it is my opinion, I will not say that it ought to have very great weight, when you have members so well acquainted with the country, but my opinion is, that the Parliament ought to be restored to Dublin. (Hear, and loud cheers). I repeat now what I said in my place in Parliament, and I say that it is impossible for any reasoning man to believe that eight millions of people will continue feeding another nation of ten or twelve millions, for you feed a great part of them, two millions at least, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the west of Scotland; it is not possible to believe that for a long time there will be peace or tranquillity amongst the eight millions held as a colony by the ten or twelve millions. (Hear, and cheers). I shall not now enter into the subject of the repeal of the Union, as enough of my opinions on that question are known to you; but if the alternative be adopted, if the Union were repealed, if your Parliament were restored to you, even if you had an Irish king or queen, yet, it is my opinion, unless there was a still greater measure to benefit the working people of Ireland, I will not say that your misery would be so great, but that there would be nearly as great a state of misery as there is at this moment. (Hear). Mr. Cobbett next referred to absenteeism, and said that he believed that the people where landlords did live were as badly off as where the landlords were absentees. (Several of the auditors cried out that he was wrong). That, he said, was his opinion, and they should not be angry with him for entertaining it; and if he found himself, after seeing the country, to be erroneous in entertaining the opinion, he would say so at a future time. Now, in his parish the landlord and the parson were both absentees. The landlord lived on another of his estates, the house that his grandfather occupied he never visited, and as to the parson, God knows where he lived! (Laughter). Now they should be badly off in his parish if they had not a law which provided for the poor, deserted as they were by the landlord and the parson. (Hear). Why did not the landlords of Ireland reside here? It was bad taste in them not to do so; they crept about other men's estates in England, and hired a house for a year there, and had no one to respect them. Now there was some cause that kept the landlord from Ireland. (Hear, hear). He could tell them that which would put a stop to the misery of the people was the cause to be sought after. (Hear, hear). Agitation might give rise to many evils, but agitation which means "moving," must have something to move, and there must be a predisposing cause in the thing to be moved before it can be agitated. If the agitators had nothing to agitate, they would soon leave off agitating. (Loud laughter). He would defy all the agitators in the world to agitate the fellow who had got a good piece of bread and bacon in his mouth, and a barrel of beer to draw out of when he liked. (Cheers and laughter). Give the man something to eat, and he defied them to agitate that man. (Hear). As to whiskey-drinking, he certainly thought that was one great cause of the misery of the people here, but it was also an effect. (Hear). Lord Bacon said "there was no rebellion so dangerous as that of the belly." Now, why was it that the wretched class who pawned were the hungry, starving, shivering creatures here? Because the miserable feel that it is the only means of sustaining life. (Hear, hear, hear). Drinking never could be put an end to where there was excessive and unrelieved misery amongst the people. No laws could do it. The cause of the misery was, that those who work, and those were the majority of the people in every country, those who laboured had not what they ought to have, a due share of what they laboured for. (Hear). This should not be left to charity; there were as charitable people in Ireland as there were in England, and if it were

not for the law that no man should die of starvation, he believed the people would be in as bad a state in England as they were here. (Hear, and cheers). He was satisfied the great source of the evils of Ireland was the misery of the people, and the cause of that misery was the want of a law to ensure to them the due share of what they laboured for. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No poor-laws"). This, Mr. Cobbett continued, was a large question, and one that should be rightly considered in all its bearings. He said that they should pass such a law, and if such a law as he spoke of did not pass for Ireland, great and terrible must be the ultimate consequences. People could not continue to endure hardships and injustice for ever. (Hear). It was impossible for him to look at the numbers of poor and wretched persons, and consider them as suffering deservedly, and as guilty of crimes which deserved such punishment. The greater part of them must be innocent persons, and he conceived it the duty of those who could do so to aid them, and give to the poor widow and her children something whereby they could live. (Hear). This was his great object in visiting Ireland. He knew he could not succeed in that object until he had got the mass of the common people of England to support him; without this aid he knew he could do nothing, for the Government had never, in one instance, done a good thing that had not taken its spring from the common people of England. (Hear). Out of the eight millions of Ireland he believed that seven millions were suffering, and if there were not a change something dreadful would occur. This then was a subject of the greatest importance, and when they met again it was one into which he should enter freely, and discuss fully. He should propose, too, to take their vote upon it, and see whether their vote would be for or against his proposition. (Hear). That he considered was his duty towards the people of Ireland; it was the purport of his visit, for he wished that the tradesmen, the farmers, the property of Ireland, would petition Parliament for a legal

provision for the destitute. (Cries of hear, hear, and no, no). He should see whether they agreed with him in opinion or not. If they should not, he should lament it very much; if they should, it would give him a joy beyond any thing he could express. (Mr. Cobbett sat down amid loud and long-continued cheers from all parts of the theatre).

GENERAL COCKBURN'S DECLARATION ON REPEAL.

(To the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post).

THE FIFTH AND CONCLUDING LETTER ON THE PRESENT CRITICAL STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Shanganagh, 15. Sept., 1834.

DEAR SIR,—Our fine island, blessed with a good soil, hardy population, on the whole a healthy climate, and with numerous natural advantages, had we but quiet and civilization in every district; this island, so long presenting formidable difficulties to every Ministry, in continual agitation, discontent, and poverty, notwithstanding her productive land, requires a separate letter, and we may well ask, What is to be done?

Very difficult to answer, but being under a promise, I must endeavour.

I have already given a list of causes, but allow me to observe, that there are four leading points of vital importance, and on the settlement of which much, possibly all, will depend. They are,

REPEAL—TITHES—ARSENTEES—POOR-RATES.

I know, Mr. Conway, that you are a decided unionist, but you are an honest man, and do not object to the fair discussion of political subjects.

If I wrote for mere popularity, I should have declared myself a repealer long ago, and I verily believe but for my honest hesitation on that question, I should have represented Kildare.

After long and deep consideration I now avow myself to be most decidedly for repeal. It strikes me to be the first remedy for bringing peace and quiet and comfort to Ireland, and strength to

England. The immense quantity of English and colonial business before Parliament every session leaves no time to attend to Ireland. Neither are we fairly represented, for if England and Scotland, with a population of fifteen millions, have above 500 members, surely Ireland, even making liberal allowance for the greater wealth of Great Britain, with a population of eight millions, ought to have at least 200 members. And here again, if that were even granted, I say if the representatives will not attend they ought to vacate; and if they did attend, it would be next to impossible to manage or carry on business with such a body of senators as 750, and the more independent they were the greater would be the difficulty; I am, therefore, for repeal. Sir J. Barrington, in his last work, says, the union, which extinguished the pride and prosperity of the Irish nation, was a measure which (under the delusion of for ever guarding against a disunion of the empire) has taken the longest and surest stride to lead it to dismemberment, a measure which has excited interminable disgust, instead of invigorating attachment which was daily augmenting under the federative connexion. This, I believe, and if wrong in the opinion, it is an error of judgment, only; for my interest and wish is, that the two sister kingdoms should be united in heart and in government, under the same Sovereign, even allowing to England that influence which her superior power and wealth must naturally give her, if she will be only just to Ireland. I see but one objection to repeal, and which I have often heard used as an argument against it, viz.: that if we had it, Mr. O'Connell would nominate the Irish Parliament.

This I do not entirely believe, though I believe he would have great influence. No one can deny his splendid talents; and, giving him full credit for patriotism, honest intention, and whatever his greatest admirers please, I nevertheless say, even so, it would be most dangerous to allow such a power in any state to any individual.

To permit a subject to take on

self a dictatorship, or allow it to be concealed, would be most arbitrary, dangerous, and unconstitutional, nearly high treason, and could never be submitted to; and yet, by a series of the grossest mismanagement, ill-treatment, and insult to Mr. O'Connell, he has obtained a popularity and such influence, that we must allow there is some weight in the objection. It, however, proves that the Irish are grateful, and confiding in all those who suffer in their cause, or advocate the redress of their grievances, and if Mr. O'Connell was dead, and that the misrule of Ireland continued, some other individual might rise up, and stand precisely in his place, therefore England must begin with the old maxim, "be just and fear not."

I state the above at all risk of abuse, for in a country so divided as Ireland, where we have Orange Conservatives, Tories, Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, Moderate and Ultra Reformers, and Unionists and Repealers, it will be hard for me to escape the displeasure of some. I give my opinion honestly, but without obstinacy; I may possibly be mistaken, and if on fair discussion, I can be convinced that I am in error, I will candidly admit it and retract.

At all events, the thing cannot go on as at present, some change there must be, and I therefore say, that my first remedy as to Ireland is, "reconsider the Union Act," and whether its repeal will not be beneficial to England and Ireland, and instead of weakening, will strengthen and cement the connexion.

If, however, the Union were even repealed; it could only be conditional, as to terms.

The King of England, his heirs, &c. should be, *de jure*, King of Ireland.

The laws assimilated in both countries. No impediment to the commercial intercourse between the countries, which should be, as now, perfectly free. The army, and the civil appointments, not as formerly, left to a jobbing Lord Lieutenant and aristocracy, but, as they constitutionally should be, with the King, or in plain words, with the cabinet or Prime Minister, as long as his Majesty, or his agents, choose to sub-

mit to the aristocratic invasion of those rights which positively belong to the King, and which, Radical as I am, I would maintain and defend.

I have no fear from giving the King his full rights, while the Commons have the safety-valve, the power over the supplies and the Mutiny Act; and all that would be further necessary would be to leave Ireland to her own Parliament for all local matters, and as to our share of contribution fix the scale. Let it be declared what proportion of the general expenses of the empire Ireland shall contribute, and then leave the raising of that and all her own local expenditure to her own Parliament, and then I ask how can there be any collision between the two countries?

Ireland will never attempt separation, unless hereafter driven to it by a continuance of ill treatment; and as, in the mutation of events, she may become strong and England weak, then indeed she might make the attempt. But the peace and prosperity of Ireland, and our connexion with England, are of such vital importance to both, that we must hope the people of England will compel Ministers to seriously take these matters into consideration; for if the present system is persevered in, it will end in civil war, the calamities of which will be ruinous to both countries. The bad policy hitherto is past comprehension, and yet compare Ireland to other independent countries.

We alone are more rich, populous, and powerful, and raise greater revenue than Portugal, Bavaria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, or any of the Italian or minor German States. Spain could conquer Portugal in three months, as England could Ireland. But the other European Powers restrict Spain. Now, might not a time come when England, possibly forced into an expensive war, and with two mill-stones on her, viz. the Debt and discontented Ireland, might not the European Powers, who are all jealous and hostile, take an advantage and say, as in the case of Spain and Portugal, Ireland shall be an independent country, and consider what might happen from thence. But with Ire-

land heartily, as I hope she will soon have reason to be, attached to England, and, *de facto*, united in interest, we might laugh at, and defy all Europe.

I have, perhaps, enlarged too much on this subject, but I could say twice as much. Though it may appear a trifling circumstance, yet to show how Dublin has suffered by this union; before it, 500 opulent families spent their winters there, and comparatively none at present. Four hundred and sixty private sedan-chairs employed nine hundred chairmen, not one such chair is now in Dublin. But I beg to refer you to my Letter on Repeal, which appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 18. December, 1832, as to this and other losses to Dublin and Ireland.

We next come to tithes: but I entered so fully into this subject in my Letter of June last, and published by you 10. July, that I refer you and your readers to it.

It would be as unjust to sponge the vested rights of the clergy, as to sponge the debt; but they both must submit to equitable adjustment, or their ruin will be inevitable.

There ought to be a new valuation of tithes as I have before suggested, and, deducting 15 per cent., payment should be enforced for the life-interest; and as present incumbents died a total new arrangement made. Five bishops would be quite sufficient, viz.: one each for Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and an archbishop. The entire staff of the church, as deans, archdeacons, &c., prebends, &c., should end, and all religions (after the death of the present incumbents) be left to pay their own clergy. Where one-half the population was Protestant, they should have the church, the parsonage, and the glebe; if two-thirds of the population were Catholic they ought to have it, and if Presbyterian, of course to them. A census of the population, distinguishing accurately the number of Protestants, Catholics, Presbyterian and other Dissenters, should commence all over Ireland on one and the same day, and might be taken in a week; and in order to show at once to the Protestants that they

had not only fair play, but even an advantage, I would leave out altogether all children under ten-years of age.

I now come to absentees, a subject on which much has been written.

No one can contend that thousands, or even hundreds of gentry of all ranks quitting their country, giving up their establishments, and drawing their fortunes away, and spending them in foreign countries, is not a most serious grievance. Persons in the public service, or abroad for health (certified), or occasional gratification or improvement, and for limited periods, should not be considered absentees; but the case of nine out of ten of our absentees is quite different from this. In a free country it is difficult to meet the evil, and as so many of the aristocracy have large estates both in England and Ireland, they cannot live in one without being an absentee from the other.

I see but one remedy for this, even supposing the Union to be repealed, and that is, that under the very peculiar circumstances of Ireland, we must submit to some inconvenience, or call it restriction, just as we are obliged to submit at times to *Habeas Corpus* suspension or insurrection acts, &c.

I would therefore enact that for the next 21 years, all persons having an estate in Ireland to amount to 1,000*l.* a year and upwards, whether in fee, freehold, or deriving such income under any mortgage granted after the passing of such act, should be obliged to reside in Ireland four months in the year, or that their not *bona fide* doing so, should entitle every tenant or payer of interest, &c. to deduct ten per cent. annually from their several payments, one-half of which should go to the tenant or payer, and the other half to the poor, and to be so deducted every year in which there was not the four months residence.

POPULATION.—The absurdity of all emigration plans has been proved over and over. I have shown it in various letters, which have appeared in the *Post*.

Some repetition may be, however, necessary. I think Ireland might feed and employ double the number of our

present population. But population without employment, is a misfortune; poverty and crime must follow; not but that too great luxury also produces crime. The Irish peasant is accustomed to privation and hardships from infancy, and is a stranger to comfort or regularity.

Well-known causes have given us a pauper population. The very unsettled state of the country and the party dissensions, prevent men with capital from settling in our fertile island. The agrarian disturbances and the misgovernment complete the picture. Early and very improvident marriages, and the terrible drunkenness of the people, and the want of resident gentry, and the want of money, seem to render our case nearly hopeless.

Connected with population, come poor-laws. On this point, my opinions, whether worth any thing or not, have been repeatedly given and published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, and I cannot add to them. And on law, so necessary where there is population, I have had the presumption to write, over and over, and all I shall now say is, that its expense makes redress of injuries nearly impossible for the poor, and imprudent for the rich, to obtain or even seek.

In a pamphlet which I published in the year 1831—viz., "*Six Letters on Subjects very important to England*," and which any one may get in London from Mr. Walsh, Regent-street, or Mr. Milliken, in Dublin, for 3*s.* 6*d.*, which is less than the printing cost; I have fully entered into all these subjects, and have moreover shown, and I think proved, the possibility of getting rid of the greater part of the national debt without injury to any individual; and I have never been answered, if wrong. As to it, and all I have said in those six and in these five letters, I shall merely add, "*Vive vale, si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperte; si non his utere mecum.*"

And, now, in conclusion, Mr. Conway, as you may ask me how I think all this will end? I answer that, as I greatly fear we shall not find any Ministers with courage to look these difficulties in the

face ; and as indeed the wisest and best might not be *allowed to do so*, considering the numerous interests and opposition from the privileged orders, I confess I despair. The profligacy which will be resorted to to keep up the old system—the paper-money currency—public faith—all present difficulties and symptoms of a dissolution of our present government, in plain English, threatens revolution.

To prevent the latter, and to keep up the former, the Ministry, whether Whig, Tory, or mixed even with a few Radicals, will, I think, go on as long as they possibly can raise taxes to keep faith, and pay the establishment, civil, military, naval and colonial. When taxes fail they will borrow to make up deficiencies, and this will be carried on till it cannot be longer borne. Then they will make some reductions, and possibly reduce fundholders to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—thus hold on a year or more. Next try the addition of an income tax, raised possibly by the bayonet, for a short time. Lastly, the state ship will go on the rocks, and be dashed to pieces. In the meantime England cannot go to war, but must submit to the kicks and insults of other nations.

Unforeseen events may hasten or defer such calamity. But it is folly to deceive ourselves. To Norfolk Petition (Mr. Cobbett's recommendation) with equitable adjustment, and real Radical Reform of every thing, and brought about if possible without any violence, and by legal means, through an honest House of Commons, backed by the people, or to revolution, per force, it must come ; or, in the war of conflicting opinions, jarring interests, and intrigues, there will be a total overthrow of every thing, and, as Mr. Cobbett has foretold, our present state of society and government will be dissolved by a terrible convulsion. Mr. O.P.Q., whoever he is, has long warned and advised our great lords and rich gentry to think of their estates and chateaus in time, and I offer them the same advice.

For all these misfortunes we are indebted to the abhorrence which the

English Ministers, and aristocracy, and clergy have had to liberty.

The American war, or revolution, was the second act—for I look on the funding system of William III. to be the first. The war against the French Revolution, up to Napoleon's time, and which was purely against liberty, and to smother it in France, was the third act. From Napoleon becoming emperor, to the finale at Waterloo, and when the objects of the war were greatly changed, though still being against liberty, was the fourth act of this unfortunate state tragedy, which has left us with a debt of one thousand millions—a discontented people in England—a hostile people in Ireland, and a terrible increase of crime and poverty in both countries.

I now conclude with sincere hope and desire that the fifth act may (but *there* is very *little* time to lose) bring a cure to all our evils, and that the critical state of England and Ireland may be met by wisdom and honesty, and thus that we may once more behold England, Scotland, and Ireland, as they ought to be really, the envy and admiration of, and an example to, surrounding nations.

I am, dear sir, yours,
G. COCKBURN.

SPEECHES

OF
MESSRS. ATTWOOD & SCHOLEFIELD.

J. SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., came forward, and was received with much cheering. He said under any circumstances he should feel embarrassed in addressing so large an assembly, but when he recollected that the men he was then about to address were the men who had carried the Reform Bill, who had stood forward to fight the great battle of national liberty ; when he reflected that they were the individuals who had achieved by their courage, their patriotism, and perseverance, one of the most peaceable and extraordinary revolutions recorded in the history of any nation ; when he reflected upon this, and saw the same courage and same spirit of independence manifested on

the present occasion, his embarrassment was diminished. His friend, Mr. Attwood, by requesting him to address them first on that occasion, had placed him in a difficulty, yet, on consideration, perhaps it might be an advantage, as he would not have to follow one possessed of far greater eloquence than himself. (Applause). It would be folly in him to conceal from them that it was the greatest pride of his life to be a representative for the borough of Birmingham, conferred upon him and his colleague, as that honour had been, without any unfair means having been resorted to by them to obtain it. Since their return to Parliament they had sat together in the House of Commons in many a small minority, (cheers), and felt greater pleasure in being thus situated, as it were alone in the House, than if they had been numbered in the majorities of hundreds by which the rights and liberties of the people had been sacrificed. (Cheers). Yes, he could say that he looked back with pleasure to his past votes, not one of which, he could confidently assert, had been given that had not for its object the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the country at large. He claimed praise for his vote to repeal the Septennial Act, for his anxious desire to obtain the vote by ballot, and for his endeavours to abolish the horrid practice of flogging in the army. (Loud and continued cheers). It was only on the day before that he had read the minutes of the court-martial which had been held on the unfortunate man, Hutchinson, whose case had excited, and justly so, a strong sensation throughout the kingdom. On reading this account, he felt that it was a disgrace to any civilized nation, that men should be subject to the infliction of such inhuman punishment, for the commission of, comparatively speaking, such trifling offences. (Cheers). He had also, as stated by their chairman, voted for the revision of the pension list. He had been on a committee appointed to inquire into that list, and from all the information he could obtain respecting the parties upon it, his opinion was that it would not be justice to abolish it entirely.

Upon that list he found the names of persons deserving of consideration, but there were also those which never ought to have been enrolled, and ought not to be allowed to continue one hour. It was a disgrace to the Government which granted those pensions, and no less a disgrace to those who received them. (Cheers). The Government ought to direct their attention to the rich paupers particularly, as they had undertaken the unholy task of starving the poor paupers. (Cheers, and cries of shame). Once more he would say, it was a disgrace to the majority of those on the pension list, and so great, that there was not a man present, if situated as was the Duke of Wellington, who would not feel degraded at the idea of having even the most remote of his relatives a pensioner on the public bounty. (Cheers). With respect to the church-rates, the conduct of the Chancellor was the most trifling that could be imagined. He proposed to abolish those rates, but an equivalent was to be taken from the land-tax, thus still leaving them to pay, only in a different manner, this obnoxious impost. As to the Coercion Bill, he should feel proud, as long as he lived, of having voted against it. It was proposed to extend measures of relief to Ireland, and then, if order and peace were not restored, to adopt coercive measures; but, instead of doing so, they had resolved on coercing without relieving, than which, a more wicked and ineffectual mode of legislation could not have been adopted. (Cheers). With respect to the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, if there was one act of his life calculated to afford him consolation, it was his vote on that iniquitous bill. To his dying hour it would be a satisfaction to him to know that he had opposed it (loud applause), and would also be a satisfaction to his children after his death to know, that the name of their father could not be pointed out in the majorities which carried that bill. It was impossible to look at that law without abhorrence. It was a law which went to deprive the poor of their most sacred and unalienable rights. (Cheers). Was it not a fact, that men of the

strictest morals, the most industrious and provident habits, were being daily thrown out of employment from various causes, over which they could have no control? Was it not a fact, that some of the most deserving characters in the community were daily being reduced to penury? And was it not a fact, that the object of the Poor-Laws Bill was to prevent such persons from receiving that support and relief in their affliction, to which they were entitled according to all laws human and divine? (Loud and continued cheers). As to the clause relating to bastardy, he should say but little. It was an un-English clause. The mind of Englishmen revolted at it, and justly so, for base indeed would be the man who would wish to throw the whole of the burden upon the woman. It had been said by many that the law of Elizabeth had given the poor greater claims than those possessed by the poor of any other country. He admitted it, and in place of viewing it as an argument against the law, he always viewed the privileges which it extended as being in favour of it, and calculated to reflect the greatest credit upon the country. The man who had devoted his strength to the good of the community, ought, in time of inability to labour, to be relieved by those who derived the benefit from his early exertions. He ought to be able to demand assistance as a right and not to beg it as an alms. (Great cheering). It was also said by those who advocated the bill, that ruin threatened the landlords, and hence was argued the necessity of destroying the poor. He (Mr. Scholefield) had consideration for the landlords, but he had also consideration for the great mass of the people of England. It was the duty of the legislature to protect the whole as well as the landlords. It was the Divine law that the poor should not perish, (applause), but it was now made the law of England that they should perish, (shame, shame), although those who had so enacted, could not find it in their hearts to remove the rich paupers from the pension list, upon which they have been living luxuriantly for years. (Applause). It was clear why they did not

interfere with the pension-list. Their own families were living upon it, and hence it could not be touched. Why, he would ask, did they not put on a property-tax? (Applause). Why not make the rich pay for the support of the poor? Was it not better that the rich should pay, who could afford to pay, rather than the poor to famish? No; that they would not do, and it was with shame he was compelled to say he scarcely ever found one in Parliament who agreed with him on the propriety and justice of the property-tax. They ought to give a portion of their wealth, but they will not. The next subject upon which he should say a few words was, the corn laws. These laws, he considered, entailed upon the country the greatest difficulties it had to contend with. It was a tax of the aristocracy to ensure high rents at the expense of the poor. If they had protected the rights of the manufacturer, and consequent rights of the mechanic, they never would complain of the protection afforded to the landowner. It was quite clear that distress must continue until these laws were modified or abolished. If they wished for prosperity, they must insist either upon a total abolition, or a modification of them. (Applause). To effect this he should recommend them to establish a union; they well knew the force and power of union, and if they were to unite for that object, success would be certain. They had now unions of all sorts; they had lawyers' unions to protect their interests; the school-boys at Oxford had their union, and the Conservatives were uniting in all parts of the country; and amongst the latter had lately been figuring in Lancashire, a Mr. Hulton, of Peterloo notoriety. Now, he saw no reason, when every other class were uniting, why those who felt the oppression of the corn laws ought not to unite for their abolition. The trades' unions had been generally condemned, but, in his opinion, they were right so long as they confined themselves to the object which they professed to attain, namely, a fair remunerating price for labour, but when they endeavoured to effect that object, by interfering with

the rights and privileges of one another, he considered they acted wrong. He despised the master who would lower wages without sufficient cause; but he believed, although there might be some few individuals who would act so, yet, generally speaking, they were compelled to reduce from necessity. The scarcity of money was the great cause of their want of constant employment and good wages. It was to the accursed money laws they were to attribute low wages. They had a fine harvest, they had everything which could afford comfort to all classes, but there was a scarcity of money. The landlord, the gentry, the manufacturer, all were in want of money, and must continue so, until there was a change in the monetary system. His friend Mr. Attwood had been taunted for his advocacy of this change, yet the whole of his demand was nothing more than that the Government would let them have more money or less burdens. (Applause). They were at present in the hands of the Bank of England, who possessed the power to raise or lower the prices and value of property throughout the country. The power possessed by this bank he considered one of the greatest curses of the country. He hoped, however, that the time would soon arrive when Parliament would put an end to such a system. They had now a Parliament which showed some respect to the petitions of the people. A portion of each day during the sitting was appropriated to receiving petitions, and if petitions were not forwarded it was the fault of the people. The days of Pitt and Castlereagh were gone never to return. (Loud cheers). They could now meet and petition fearlessly, and he hoped the people throughout England would avail themselves of their privilege and do so. He hoped they would petition relative to *Peel's Bill*, which had not only reduced nineteen-twentieths of this great nation to distress, but had also affected almost every part of the world. If the people of England were but true to themselves, an alteration must be made in that bill. (Cheers, and three groans for *Peel's Bill*). Al-

though many of them did not understand the immediate workings of that measure, yet there was not one of them who did not feel the effects of it. In conclusion, his friend (Mr. Attwood) would make amends for him. (Hear, hear, and loud applause). They had never disagreed since they became their representatives; and in their efforts they had no other object in view but to defend the rights and liberties not only of the town of Birmingham and the country at large, but those of the whole world. (Loud cheers). He would now redeem the pledge he made when first they did him the honour to return him as their representative. He then promised that whenever a majority of his constituents should wish him to retire, he would do so. He was now ready to do so, if required, without entertaining the least fear as to the purity of the motives by which he had been actuated in his past conduct. (Loud applause). If, however, it was not there desire, he had no wish to abandon his post (cheers), although the hour of danger was coming on. The much-dreaded collision between the House of Lords and Commons, which used to make the people shake in their shoes, had arrived. He had been anxious for the arrival of that period which would try whether or not the many were to continue to be sacrificed to the few. (Loud cheers). If the House of Lords determined that they would oppose the will of the nation, it was necessary to let them see that the people were not to be frightened at them. Whenever the crisis did arrive he would fearlessly take his stand, backed, as he well knew he would be, by those whom he was then addressing. After some further pointed remarks, the hon. gentleman concluded amidst loud and general applause.

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq., then rose, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. He said—My dear friends and fellow-townsmen, I thank you from the bottom of my heart, for this renewed testimony of your confidence and esteem. I come from Parliament among you with much pleasure, but I cannot say that I bring with me the informa-

tion which a reformed Parliament ought to have enabled me to give. The last time I had the honour to meet you here at dinner, four years ago, the Duke of Wellington was then in power; we met in celebration of the glorious French Revolution, and I then said to you, "Show me twenty such dinners as these, and I will show you the governors of England." We have not been able to exhibit twenty such dinners, but nevertheless we have been able to make exhibitions, originating in the spontaneous patriotism of the English people, which have had the effect of shaking the late oppressors of their country from their unhallowed seats. I think I do no more than justice to you, as men of Birmingham, when I say that you were mainly instrumental in creating the general demand for reform among the people of England (hear, hear), and when that reform was endangered, it was you that placed yourselves at the head of the public mind, and speaking the voice of the nation, commanded its success. (Cheers). I will not congratulate you too much on the bill of reform thus obtained, because I know it has disappointed your expectations and mine. (Loud cheers). It has given us a House of Commons, but little better, I am sorry to acknowledge, than the old concern. Some few good men, it is most true there are in Parliament, but it is with deep and bitter regret that I acknowledge that the majorities have generally been as servile and as selfish as in former Houses. (Hear, hear). When I entered Parliament I expected to meet bands of patriots animated with the same interests as the people, feeling for their wrongs and oppressions, and determined to redress and relieve them. I almost regretted that I had had a hand in the reform, when I saw troops of sycophants and time-servers who seemed only anxious to regard their own selfish interests, and to destroy the very system of liberty and reform from which they themselves had drawn their existence. (Shame, shame). These gentlemen, you may well believe, were not very partial to me; they looked upon me in some light as a cow looks upon another cow's calf, as a stranger out of place, a mere Birmingham tradesman, very disagreeable in their eyes. You must not be surprised that I received this kind of treatment. The House of Commons is divided into two great parties, the Whig and the Tory. To the former I had been mainly instrumental in assisting to do a favour too great for proud men ever to forgive; and to the latter I had been instrumental in assisting to do an injury which *interested* men could never forgive. (Hear, hear, and laughter). This treatment, however, had no effect upon me. (Loud cheers). I was obnoxious to them as a tradesman, I was obnoxious to them as a forward leader in political matters; and, above all things, I was obnoxious to both parties as having for twenty years denounced and exposed the frightful errors and crimes which they were committing. (Hear, hear). Nor have I had much better support from the public press. What I have said in jest has often been reported as in earnest, and what I have said in earnest has often been reported as in jest, and very often indeed have I never had any report at all. (Hear, hear). Now under these circumstances, it is certain we have done no great things; when any good has been to be done, we have been asleep or absent, but when an ill deed has been to be done, we have been as busy as the devil in a gale of wind. (Loud laughter, and cries of hear, hear). When we could have an opportunity of destroying the liberty, or preventing the restoration of the prosperity of the people, we have exhibited no lack of labour or industry, I assure you. If we could coerce Ireland, or oppress England, we have never tired in the disgraceful work; and no doubt, bad as the laws passed in the last session have been, they would have been much worse if an honest and patriotic minority had not struggled by day and by night against the oppression of their country. It is certain that we have done *some* good; we have softened the atrocious Coercion Bill of Ireland, and the equally atrocious Poor-Law Bill of England. These horrid instruments of fraud and tyranny, we have cut down to one-fifth

of their original and horrible dimensions, and I do in my conscience believe that had it not been for our exertion as an honest minority, in the House of Commons, you would yourselves, at this moment, have been engaged in frightful civil war for the liberty of your country. (Hear, hear). This honest minority, in the face of all obstacles and regardless of labour and sacrifice, continually warned the House of the gulf into which they were precipitating, and in this way the march of tyranny and madness was in some degree arrested. But for this we must have been at this moment involved in the fiercest state of anarchy and revolution. I can assure you that I have myself spared no labour in this great work of staying the march of tyranny and revolution. For four days in one week I was present in the House of Commons, with slight intermissions for food, from eleven o'clock in the morning until three o'clock the next morning. I could not leave my post for a moment without the danger of my being absent on some great division affecting the liberty and welfare of the people. (Loud cheers, and cries of hear, hear). It is certain the House of Commons is not what it ought to be; one half consists of lawyers, Jews of 'Change-alley, and monks of Oxford, (laughter); the other half consists of Lords and country gentlemen; too rich and too far removed from the wants and interests of the mass of the people to have any clear views respecting them, or any common feeling with them. Their cloud-born legislators, as I have often called them, are almost as bad as the Oxford scholars. Here and there are a few retired and sordid tradesmen, the worst enemies of the people, who, having escaped the squalls themselves, care but little for the tempest howling around the heads of their late rivals and competitors in trade; having climbed the ladder themselves, the first study of these sordid men is, to kick down the ladder, in order to prevent the possibility of their rivals emerging from the depths of poverty below. These men, the Oxford scholars, and the Jews of 'Change Alley, who have got their in-

fernal gripe upon the nation's throat, are most unwilling, and most reluctant to relax it. Ignorance, and interest, and passion, and prejudice, combine to make havoc with the best interests of the country. But what occasion have we for Oxford scholars who write Greek verses? who are skilled in all the useless lore of the ancients, but who know nothing of the wants, and modes of living men? What did *Washington*, or *Cromwell*, or *Napoleon*, know of Greek verses? *These are the men that England want*, and that England must produce, or be content to descend in the scale of nations for ever. (Loud cheers). In my opinion, my friends, we must have a further reform. (Loud applause). We ought to fall back, as I have often said, upon the ancient constitution of our country, that glorious constitution which gave shelter to our fathers, and the deep foundations of which were laid by the immortal Alfred a thousand years ago. (Cheers). We ought to have household suffrage, triennial Parliaments, wages of attendance for representatives, and I will add, vote by ballot, because the constitution guaranteeing to us freedom of election, must necessarily have guaranteed to us the necessary means of the exercising of that great national right. (Loud and long-continued cheers). With regard to the wages of attendance, I think this to be a most important part of our constitution. Without this you cannot have the Commons of England properly represented in the House of Commons. You may have *rich men* to represent poor men, but you cannot have *Commons* to represent *Commons*. Now, are storks the proper representatives of frogs? or wolves the proper representatives of sheep? If they are, then are rich men the proper representatives of the poor. (Hear, hear). But in my humble opinion, neither storks, nor wolves, nor men merely rich, are the proper representatives of men struggling with the difficulties and uncertainties which hitherto always attend the industrious masses of the people of England. (Cheers). Parliament, however, is at present composed of men who are either

too rich; *too rich* to know the distresses of the people, or to have any common feeling with them; or of men whose circumstances expose them to such temptations that it is not to be expected that human nature should resist them. Here is my friend Edmonds for instance, our excellent and honourable chairman, in every way fitted to represent his countrymen in Parliament. Send him there to-morrow, and I will assert, that within twelve months he must *either resign or be corrupted, or be ruined*. For men without wealth, indeed, "to be in that House, is like being in the jaws of hell; it is first to be tempted, and then to be betrayed." (Loud cries of hear, hear). It is for these reasons that I think the wages of of attendance the *most important part* of the rights and liberties of the people. In my opinion, my friend, great changes are coming upon England, changes of vast moment to the prosperity or adversity, to the liberty or slavery of the people. It is the duty of all parties to make common sacrifices in this great crisis of their country's need. I would not advise the workmen to seek the ruin of the landholders, nor the landholders to degrade the workmen below the honest independence and the just reward of labour which their fathers have been accustomed to. Let the masters and the workmen also avoid discord; let them unite together, and, if possible, let them cordially coalesce with the ancient aristocracy of the country, whose interests are in reality but one with their own, and who have, for so many centuries, promoted the liberty and independence of their country. By this cordial unity between the ancient aristocracy and the industrious classes, the interests of both will be secured, and the common opposer of both will be broken down. That Jewish interest, which now lords it alike over the aristocracy and the people, which sacrifices alike the rents of the landlord, the profits of the trader, the manufacturer, and the farmer, and the wages of the mechanics and labourers, will be reduced to its proper weight and influence in the state. This was the system under which our fathers flourished. I am quite sure

it is in accordance with the character and genius of the English people, and I have not the shadow of a doubt that if we act upon it, it will yet secure to us a greater measure of liberty, prosperity, and glory, than ever our fathers enjoyed. I refer more immediately to myself. I have heard it represented that I am favourable to the impressment of seamen, and to the present cruel system of military flogging. All men that know me, know that I have no cruelty in my nature. I have, from my youth up, been the enemy of tyranny and injustice; and what justice can there possibly be in impressing seamen and compelling them to fight our battles against their will? The truth is, that Mr. Buckingham's motion in the last session, for abolishing the impressment of seamen, is my motion; I gave it into his hands the session before last. He then refused to adopt it, thinking it did not go far enough, but in the late session he brought it forward, and I voted with him in support of it. (Loud cheers). It went to the effect of abolishing impressment totally, except in cases of great national emergency, and for limited periods, not exceeding three months. (Cheers). With regard to flogging, I have only to say that I was the first man to bring before the House of Commons the atrocious case of the soldier Hutchinson, who was tortured so cruelly a few weeks ago. (Loud applause). I feel that I need say no more upon this subject. I now come to the horrible Poor-Law Bill, which of all things I must notice. We have been told in high quarters, that it is absolutely necessary "to save the estates" of the nobility and gentry. Now look at the facts: the poor-rates of England for the last year amounted to only 6,700,000*l.*; the rental of England amounted to thirty millions sterling. (A voice in the crowd exclaimed "thirty-two millions"). Well, thirty-two millions; now the wildest imagination cannot conceive it possible that this atrocious bill should reduce the poor-rates more than one-half, which is about three millions sterling; I ask you as I have asked the House of Commons, how is it possible that the saving of three millions should produce the safety

of thirty-two millions? Be assured, my friends, there is something more in this than meets the eye or the ear. I will explain it to you. The agricultural report shows the wages of agricultural labour in England to amount to about forty millions sterling per annum, or to about 12s. or 14s. per week for each labourer's family. The wages of the Irish labourers, it is well known, do not exceed 4s. per week. A great number of the agricultural labourers of England derive only 6s. or 7s. per week for their wages, but the remaining 5s. or 6s. per week is made up to them, as in justice it ought to be, by what is called the allowance system. Now this horrid Poor-Law Bill expressly deprives all able-bodied labourers of all possible relief of this nature; it positively refuses all relief to such labourers, except upon the hard conditions of forcing them into great dungeons, where the husband is to be separated from the wife, and the children from their parents, and all are to wear badges of slavery upon their shoulders. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame"). This is frightful power, and the horrible duty which is intrusted to the Poor-Law Commissioners by this galling bill. And now mark the object of this measure, which will give you a glimpse of the way in which it is really intended, that the estates of the nobility and gentry are to be preserved. The able-bodied labourers will never submit to be treated in this murderous and disgraceful way; they will, therefore, refuse all parish relief upon such terms, and it is thus that they are to be forced, hungry and naked, into the markets of labour, with 5s. or 6s. per week only to exist upon, in order that they may thus force down the prices of English labour to the Irish level! You are aware that in this way the agricultural wages of England would be reduced from forty millions per annum, to much under twenty millions per annum; and here you will perceive a pretty round sum of full twenty millions per annum to assist in saving the rentals and estates of the landowners! twenty millions saved in this way may do something towards saving the thirty millions of the

landed rental, but three millions can do nothing. (Hear, hear). This, then, is the real and ill-concealed object of the Poor-Law Bill; I stated to the House of Commons, and no one contradicted me; and I am confirmed in this view, because I heard Mr. Cobbett assert in that House, in the presence of the Ministers, that he had the best authority for saying that the instructions from Government to the Poor-Law Commissioners contained the expression of an opinion that it was desirable to bring the labourers of England to live upon coarser food. I never heard the Ministers deny the truth of this terrible fact. I believe they did not deny it. Here, then, we come to a pretty good proof that the grand object of the Poor-Law Bill is to break down the wages of English labour, and to reduce the comforts of English labourers, in order that, out of the plunder and degradation of these honest and good men, the rents of the landlord may be preserved from that necessary fall to the continental level which the momentary measures of the Government have imposed. It is singular that Ministers should think of coarser food for the people of England: I went to Parliament, as you know, principally for the purpose of giving them better and more food than they have been latterly accustomed to. The agricultural report complains that the price of agricultural produce is not remunerating, because the people cannot consume the food so fast as it is brought to market, and yet we are now told it is necessary to reduce the consumption of food still further. Is this madness, or is it mere folly? Is it not madness, as well as guilt, to attempt to reduce the consumption of food at the very moment when the labourers have been put upon short allowance, and the farmers are every where complaining of the want of a market? All I have to say upon the subject is this, we have had good food before us to-day, bread, beef and beer, such as our fathers have been accustomed to; may the people perish if ever they submit to be placed, generally, upon a worse allowance. (Loud cheers). The old poor-laws are, un-

doubtedly, the *Magna Charta* of the working classes; they give protection to the people, and Blackstone and all the great lawyers declare that obedience is only due from the people in exchange for protection from the Government. The land is the people's farm, in which the landowners have only a limited interest; they have inherited or bought their estates, subject to the proper maintenance of the poor, and they have no right to shake off that burden, in order to protect their rents. The right of the labourer is prior and paramount to that of the landlord; no rent ought or can be justly paid in England, until the wants of the labouring population, giving honest labour in exchange for bread, are provided for. (Applause). This has been the law of England for nearly three hundred years; and for centuries before the barons of England were bound by law to maintain their vassals. What, then, is this new madness which attempts to shake off a right which has existed for so many centuries and which is coeval with the very foundations of society itself? Now, I will give you one or two cases of hardship and oppression, which have already come under my own eyes. A friend of mine, in London, had an honest and faithful servant, who, for twenty years, had paid 12*l.* per annum for poor-rates and taxes; the other day he died suddenly, of cholera, after twelve hours' illness, and his widow, with five children, is now denied all relief from the parish, unless she will go with her children into a parish gaol. (Loud cries of shame, shame). Is not this a fraud upon this poor woman? Ought not the parish to give back the 12*l.* per annum which her husband has paid for twenty years? or could they not, at least, have allowed her a small contribution to assist in maintaining her who has so long assisted in maintaining others? Again, an old man, of good character, whom I have known for many years, has been regularly allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* per week to support himself and his wife, both upwards of eighty years of age, in my parish of Harborne. The parish, a year ago, came to the resolution of shutting up the workhouse, be-

cause it was more expensive to maintain the paupers in the workhouse, than out of it, as well as more painful to those unhappy persons, the paupers themselves. The Poor-Law Bill has now compelled them to act upon a different system, and they have now withdrawn the 2*s.* 6*d.* per week from this old couple, and insisted upon their coming into the workhouse, where they will cost the parish 6*s.* per week, instead of 2*s.* 6*d.* (Hear, hear). To say no more upon this painful subject, I must now say, that from the first moment I entered Parliament, I have been impressed with the conviction that a conspiracy has existed, and does exist, between the Whigs and Tories to defeat the bill of reform. One of these days I fully expect they will try what is called a "*coup d'etat*," or a great outrage upon the constitution. If this should be the case, I trust, my friends, you will be prepared. The people of England must never submit to an atrocity of this kind, and be you assured that whoever may be the Minister who may attempt it, he will shortly meet the fate which he deserves. We shall see him grinning, like Polignac, through the bars of a prison, although, I trust, the generosity of the English people would never suffer him to continue in prison *quite* so long. (Cheers). I must now say a few words about centralization, which, being interpreted, means tyranny of the blackest kind. The combination of Whigs and Tories has produced the Coercion Bill for Ireland, and the Poor-Law Bill for England. Both tend to degrade and oppress the people, to make them nothing, and the Government every thing. (Great cheering). Then look at the new banking system, and the Savings' Banks, and the Benefit Societies; all these are gradually and secretly twisted in and brought under the influence of the Government. They induce the Savings' Banks and the Benefit Societies to embark their all in the Government boat, and then, if any slight movement of the people takes place they will cry out the boat is in danger, and will call upon the people to come to their assistance! In this way, they will get, as it were, a claw

in every man's pocket. And look, again, at the *new police*, that fearful engine of Bourbon tyranny, which both Whigs and Tories are continually striving to extend throughout England. I told the House of Commons that the men of Birmingham would *fight*, but that they would never *submit* to the new police. (Never, never). To revert to the character of the House of Commons, I dare say that you expect that I and my honourable colleague could have done more than we have done. We could not. We were but two persons out of 658, and though we found a few good patriots among them, I am sorry to say that those good men are like the wheat in the Holy Scriptures, overgrown and smothered by the tares. Upon one occasion, I gave ample notice and attempted to bring forward a question of immense importance to the happiness of the people. Among other things, I was prepared to prove that the House of Commons had literally given the enormous sum of 372 millions sterling of heavy sovereigns to the holders of Three per Cent. Consols. Observe, this is more gold than the wide earth contains, above ground and under ground. The moment I brought forward the subject about 200 members rushed out of the House as if I had thrown a serpent upon the table; these gentlemen understood the subject pretty well you may be assured, or at least 190 of them would have had a most sincere pleasure in exposing the error or absurdity of my arguments. They knew full well what my arguments would be, and they knew equally well that no human reason could controvert them. Many of them, no doubt, were *tared* with the same brush (as the Americans call it). Some of them were probably among the number of those who drink the toast, "Old England, those who don't like it, d—n them let them leave it." (Laughter). They never say those who ill-use it, d—n them, kick them out of it (laughter and cheers); but having pocketed the plunder themselves, they conscientiously believe that *Old England* is still the happiest nation upon the earth;

in short "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." (Laughter). Now, my friends, these gentlemen are no fools, I can assure you; or, if they are so, it is only through the blindness which self-interest sometimes causes. They understand things pretty well; they know that the great question at issue is, whether their *gripe* upon the people's throat shall be relaxed or not? (Hear). In my opinion it will be relaxed; and I rely mainly upon the old aristocracy of the country. These ancient nobles are now all ruined, unless they come forward and assist the people in shaking off the common yoke which oppresses all. I believe, therefore, that they will join the people. The cabinet also has been lately much improved: such men as Mr. Ellice, Mr. Spring Rice, Sir John Hobhouse, Lord Duncannon, and Mr. Abercromby, are very different men from Stanley and Graham. They have never forfeited any pledges to the people; they understand the situation of the people, they have every interest and every inducement to excite them to do justice to the people. I entertain, therefore, great hopes that a better day is about to dawn upon our country. (Loud cheers) I must now lose with a few words respecting myself. You all know that I entered Parliament with reluctance. I had studied the situation of the country for twenty years; I had foreseen and foretold every fluctuation of national adversity or prosperity which had occurred during that period; and I thought it my duty to obey your orders, and render you every possible assistance in my power. I have obeyed your orders, and have done everything in my power, without fear or affection, favour or reward, during two years. I have incessantly dinned the truth into the ears of the House of Commons, and in my conscience I believe that three-fourths of that House, if the truth could be known, entertain opinions very nearly analogous to my own upon the great question of the national prosperity and adversity. (Cheers). In the meanwhile I have incurred much expense and much injury from the loss of time, and I think I

should do wrong if I did not inform you that I entertain serious thoughts of resigning the situation which I hold. (Loud cries of "No, no"). You must look out, therefore, for a stork or a wolf one of these days, and I sincerely wish you may succeed in finding a real representative of the people, more efficient than I have been. I have told you that I think the present Ministers will endeavour to bring things round, and to make the people prosperous and contented; but it is a narrow and dangerous course which they have to steer, and it is possible they may "slip stays" in their course, to use a nautical term. In this case it is not impossible that Mr. Cobbett myself, or perhaps both of us, may be called upon to assist in saving the national vessel from destruction. But if the present Ministers should succeed in restoring the national happiness and contentment, which I sincerely hope may be the case, if they should succeed in giving prosperity to the manufacturers, farmers, and workmen of the United Kingdom—in this case there can be no doubt that both Mr. Cobbett and myself shall have a great triumph. Mr. Cobbett will set up his Gridiron, which will be to him a monument of eternal glory. I shall have no monument but the sight of a happy and contented people. I shall retire from your service with uncontaminated hands, and I shall carry with me to my grave the gratifying reflection that I have done everything in my power to assist in the great work of restoring liberty, prosperity, and glory, to my country.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1834.

BANKRUPTS.

BENTLEY, J., Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.
 BETTELEY, J., Liverpool, plumber.
 COMER, W., Liverpool, cotton broker.
 DYBALL, D., Cambridge, oilman.
 ECCLES, W., Union-cour, Old Broad-street, apothecary.
 HOLL, J. M., W. Oswald, and H. Hoar, Feather-court, Milk-street, Irish linen factors.
 MILLER, M., Sickville-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.
 WELLS, S., Wood-street, Cheapside, hatter.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

INSOLVENTS.

DEAR, C. and J. J. M. Richardson, Cheap-side, warehousemen.

BANKRUPTS.

BINNS, M., Harrowgate, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.
 DEACON, J. W., Barnock, Northamptonshire, maltster.
 KINGSTON, T., Bristol, cabinet-maker.
 LEWIS, J. and S. Palmer, Coventry, drapers.
 MARTYN, J., Callington, Cornwall, iron-monger.
 MOGRIDGE, E., Tipton Mills, Devon, miller.
 NORTON, T. F., Stoke Newington, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.
 SHARMAN, J., Ringstead, Northamptonshire, miller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 29.—We had a fair supply of Wheat from the home counties to this morning's market, which with the quantity left over from Friday, caused the stands to be well filled with samples. Except the selected parcels of Wheat, particularly white qualities, which are scarce, the millers exhibited little or no inclination to purchase. The finer samples realized fully the rates of Monday last, but all other descriptions were nearly unsaleable, though a reduction of 1s. per quarter would have been submitted to, and in consequence, at the close of the market, the clearance effected was very limited. The inquiry for bonded Wheat, which still partially exists, is confined to low-priced qualities, chiefly Kubanka.

The supplies of Barley continue to increase. Five Chevalier samples sustained no alteration in value, but middling quantities of malting as well as grinding sorts, hung on hand at a reduction of 1s. per quarter.

The Malt trade remains extremely heavy, and full 1s. lower than this day week.

The demand for Rye for seed, has subsided, and the article dull, at 36s. to 38s.

The supply of Oats, although not large, was more than adequate to the demand; consumers and dealers still refraining from purchasing, in anticipation of larger arrivals. Good fresh old Corn however was saleable at last Monday's rates, but new feed barley maintained the previous rates. Purchases of New Irish Oats free on board were made on rather lower terms, the accounts from Ireland generally stating a reduction of 3d. to 6d. per barrel, except on the finest qualities of black and white samples.

Beans met with little attention, and must be noted 1s. cheaper.

The supplies of White Peas consist almost entirely of foreign qualities, which might have been purchased at 1s. less money; Grey also were fully 1s. lower.

The Flour trade is extremely dull, and ship qualities with difficulty maintained last week's quotations.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	42s. to 45s.
— White	50s. to 51s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
— West Country red	48s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	36s. to 41s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and Radshire red	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	34s. to 31s.
— Chevalier	35s. to 36s.
— Disfilling	28s. to 30s.
— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
— Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hlog and Gray	33s. to 38s.
— Maple	37s. to 41s.
— White Butlers	37s. to 43s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Harrow	33s. to 36s.
— Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
— Potato ..	25s. to 27s.
— Berwick	24s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c. ..	21s. to 22s.
— Potato	23s. to 24s.
— Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
H Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, September 29.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous, and of fair average Michaelmas quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Pigs, but limited. Veal sold with some degree of briskness, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; but with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, trade was dull, at Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

1 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½	90½

93, FLEET STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for C. S. 4:

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	£. s. d.	£
	2	10 0 to
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5 0 3 15
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	15 6 & upward
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3	10 0 to
Dit. Fr.	1	0 1 10
Sm. Fr.	0	11 1 1
Kerseymer W.	0	12 0 11
Marseilles Ditto	0	8 0 10
Valencia and Toluene	0	10 0 14
Silk Ditto	0	10 1 0
A Suit of Livery	1	4 4 10

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

THIRD PATENT FOR THE PERRYIAN PEN.

INDIA-RUBBER-SPRING PEN,	s. d.
superior in flexibility to the Quill,	2 6
vine, with holder.
FOUNTAIN PEN, warranted to Write
MORE than FIFTY lines with ONE	3
dip of INK, nine, with holder....

All the other sorts of the PERRYIAN PENS at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion-square, London.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.



No. III.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

City of Kilkenny, 1. Oct., 1834.

MARSHALL,

FROM Dublin to this city is about 70 English miles. Very fine land all the way, except in very few places, and (there the land is better than the greater part of the inclosed land in our part of Surrey; and, as to our *commons*, these people could not be made to believe, that there is any land so poor in the world; and yet I shall have to tell you presently, that those who do the work on this fine land, are in a state of poverty the most complete. When I get home, I will put INTO A LITTLE BOOK a full account of all that I see here. I only tell you in these letters, of such things as you can well understand; such things as will enable you to judge of the real state of the working people in this fine country; such things as will serve to show you what the Scotch, crawling vagabonds are endeavouring to persuade the Parliament to make you and your children submit to;

giving you to understand, at the same time, that the *Scotch nation*, who are as good people as any in the world, detest and abhor these vagabonds as much as I do.

In coming from Dublin I came through a horse-fair in a little town. I should think that there were two thousand horses; they were none of them what we call *large* horses; but, there was not a *poor* one amongst them all; and I have not seen a *poor* horse, colt, cow, ox, steer, heifer, sheep, hog, pig, goose, or turkey, or fowl, since I came into the country; *man* and *woman*, and *working* man and woman, are the only animals that suffer here from hunger and cold.

In this city of Kilkenny (which is the capital of a county of the same name), which is beautifully situated on a fine river, and which contains more than twenty thousand people, there are two societies for *assisting the poor*, one called the *charitable*, the other the *benevolent*. These societies make collections of money to relieve the poor; but, so great is the number of these poor, so low the wages, so great and horrible the want, that these societies have been obliged to refuse all assistance to such as are *able to beg*; and also, to all persons who are *able to get one meal in 24 hours, of the very worst sort of potatoes, which they call "LUMPERs."* And mind, MARSHALL, I have the proof of these facts under the assurance of gentlemen of the city, and under the hands of the managers of these very societies.

And, MARSHALL, I beg you all to mind what I say, this is the state to which, it is my firm belief, all of you and your children will come, if you do not do your duty by petitioning the Parliament to protect you. If the *poor-laws* of England be put down, this is the state to which you must come; and about that great matter I will tell you another time; so that you and all of you may understand what to do.

I told you, in my first letter, that I saw fine *Swedish Turnips* and *Mangel-Wurzel*. They belonged to a rich gentleman, who got some of my seed. I have not seen another piece of either in the country! Having seen the people in the *cities*, I went, yesterday, to see them in the *country*; and I saw the state of both *labourers* and *farmers*. There was one village with about as many houses as there are in the village of ASH, about 70 or 80 perhaps, the scattered ones and all. The places, which I call houses, were, in general from ten to twelve feet square; the walls made of rough stone and mud, whitened over, and about nine feet high; no ceiling; rough rafters covered with old rotten black thatch; in some a glass window the size of your hat, in two or four little panes; in others no window at all; but a hole or two holes in the wall; about a foot long, and four or five inches wide; the floor nothing but the bare earth; no chimney, but, a hole at one end of the roof to let out the smoke, arising from a fire made against the wall of that end of this miserable shed; this hole is sometimes surrounded by a few stones put on that part of the roof a foot or two high; generally it is not,

and, in cold weather the poor, ragged, half-naked creatures *stop up the hole to keep in the smoke to keep them from perishing with cold!* The fuel is *peat*, just such as that dug out of our moors, and never a stick of wood; and the people get the big *dead weeds* to light their fires and to boil their potatoes. One of these places costs the landowner about *four pounds* to build it, and the poor creatures pay from *thirty shillings* to *two pounds* a year rent for them, without any garden, without an inch of land, without any place for even a *privy*, WOMEN as well as men must go to the *dung-heap before the door*, and the former are exposed to that which your wife, or any woman of Normandy, would lie at the thought of! And, MARSHALL, this is the state to which the crawling and greedy Scotch vagabonds would again have the Parliament reduce you, in order to enrich the landowners, hoping to get from them rewards for their schemes. But, will our member of Parliament, Mr. LEECH, listen to such damnable advice? No; and it is our bounden duty to support him in his opposition to all such hard-hearted schemes,

As to the *goods* in the hole, there are, an *iron pot*, a *rough table*, or a *board laid across two piles of stones*, seats of stones, or of boards laid from one stone to another; and that is all the stock of goods, except a *dish*, of which I shall speak presently. Every hole has a pig; the pig eats with the family, and generally sleeps in the same place. The potatoes are taken up and turned out into a great *dish*, which dish is a shallow basket made of osiers with the

bark on. The family squat round this basket and take out the potatoes with their hands; the pig stands and is helped by some one, and sometimes he eats out of the pot. He goes in and out and about the hole, like one of the family; the family sleep, huddled up together, on dead weeds or a little straw in one corner of the hole, and the pig, on a similar bed, in another corner. The pig is the person of most consequence; he is sold to *pay the rent*: if he fail, the family are turned out into the naked air to perish, which has been the case in many thousands of instances, there being *no poor-law* here to save their lives.

I must speak to you about *the farmers* in my next letter. In the meanwhile pay great attention to what I have said here; and all of you make up your minds to be brought into this state, or *resolve* (to do your duty in the manner that I have before described. Men are brought into this state by *little and little*, until at last they cannot help themselves. Mind this! And attend, all of you, to the advice of

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR.

(A DIGRESSION).

MY LORD, *Waterford, 3. Oct., 1834.*

I HAVE two more letters (4. and 5.) to your lordship already written, and a *sixth* begun. But this new scene and its matter press upon me in a manner that demands more immediate attention.

I *know* that your lordship does not wish to see the people of England reduced to the state which I have above truly described in my letter to MARSHALL: I *know* that, and it would be criminal in me not to declare it in this positive manner; but I also *know* that there are men, or rather monsters, who do wish it; and I have shown that there is reason to fear that you are not, and have not been, sufficiently on your guard against such men.

LORD ALTHORP made the strange declaration, that "*he must be a bold man*" *indeed* who would *again* bring the "POOR-LAW BILL into the House of Commons," if it were postponed till the next session! Without commenting on this declaration, may I not say, that *he must be a bold man indeed who will oppose the REPEAL of it*? If, however, there be a man bold enough for this he shall, if I have life and health till the next session, be furnished with a fair opportunity to show his boldness.

But, my lord, what think you of the *present price of wheat*? It is here, at Waterford (24 hours from an English market), *27s. the English quarter!* The *half-drunk crack-skulled Scotch feelosofers*, who are driven mad by their eagerness to get a share of the wages of our labourers and artisans, will ask what the *price of wheat* has to do with the execution of the fine "*Poor-Law Amendment Bill.*" But you, my lord, are neither half-drunk, nor are you crack-skulled; and you know what this price of wheat will have to do, not only with the poor-law affair, but with *all other* affairs. You know that one of *three things* must take place:

1. One-pound notes and legal tender. from my lips or drop from my pen again.
2. A reduction of the interest of the debt. The case is totally changed : our *labour* could not be mortgaged : the *land* could be, and is : and now let every man, according to his means and capacity, maintain the rights of the mortgagees. Ah !
3. A total loss to *the present owners* of nine-tenths of the landed estates. my lord, Malthus and Mother Martineau and Brougham and Peter Thimble do not seem to have anticipated *this consequence* of their projects !

As to the *FIRST*, it would be a declaration of national bankruptcy ; a sly robbery of the fundholders ; a similar robbery of the savings' banks people ; a similar robbery of all mortgagees and annuitants and creditors of every description ; it would work nicely with the *soldier* and the *sailor* ! It would be an issue of assignats ; it would produce *two prices* ; it would be uproar and confusion.

As to the *SECOND* : *last year* it would have been just, because we *then* deemed ourselves *all*, high and low, *as having an interest in the land*. We thought that, in case of want, we all had a *right* to come for relief to the land. But being now told that we have no such right ; that we have *no right even to be upon it* ; and knowing, or being told, that the debt was contracted *for the defence of the land*, justice says, that *the land ought to pay it*, the fact being quite clear that the debt *is a mortgage on the land* ; and that, if the landowners cannot pay *the interest*, the law must have its due course against the land itself ; and it will be the duty of the great body of the people to *see the mortgagees righted* ! As long as our *right to a share* in the land was taken for granted, we deemed ourselves in the same boat with the landowners : they seem to think it wise to toss us out of the boat ; and now then let them get along *alone* as well as they can. Never shall the proposition for an "*EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT*" come

from my lips or drop from my pen again. The case is totally changed : our *labour* could not be mortgaged : the *land* could be, and is : and now let every man, according to his means and capacity, maintain the rights of the mortgagees. Ah ! my lord, Malthus and Mother Martineau and Brougham and Peter Thimble do not seem to have anticipated *this consequence* of their projects !

As to the *THIRD* ; it is *now* a matter of total indifference *to us*. The estates will change hands ; but the new landowners can hardly do more than have *six votes* each in every vestry and vote them by *proxy*. Poh ! The *Jews* would, in one respect, be greatly preferable, because, forbidden by their *religion* to eat *hares*, they would not send so many of us to jail and Botany Bay for killing or being in pursuit of those animals. Ah ! Mother Martineau may exclaim ; but "how are the fundholders to take possession of the land ?" I will, another time, tell her and Brougham and Peter Thimble how this is to be done, in the most easy possible manner. A short act of Parliament will do the business at once, and with far less noise and talk than take place every quarter sessions of a county.

But, my lord, will not the world, who knows that we have "the *greatest Captain of the age*," (who has bullet-proof window-shutters) ; that we have, for law-makers, "the *noblest assembly*" of freemen upon the face of the earth ; that we have (so full are we of Scotch science) an "Imperial measure," regulated by the beating of a pendulum, in a heat of sixty degrees by Fahrenheit's thermometer ; that we have Ministers,

who march, lock-step, to "the spirit of the age"; that we have Peter Thimble and Mother Martineau and Parson Malthus and Carlile for our guides as to population; that we have Senior and Cowell and penny-a-line Chadwick and Bishop Bloomfield (brother to one of *sinecure* Daddy Coke's *big farmers*), and Sturges Bourne and Frankland Lewis and, though last not least, your lordship's *admired* PARSON LOWE and his hired overseer, Crook, to lead us into all truth relative to the poor: will not the world, who knows all this, and who knows besides, that we have Lord Althorp to manage our money affairs, and Lord Melbourne to direct the whole will not the world be struck with astonishment, that we should be plunged into ALARM by God's sending us such an abundance of wheat as to make it sell for 27s. a quarter?

For the present, my lord, I must conclude, but not without repeating the declaration, that, though I know you have committed a great error, and though I fear it will lead to fatal consequences, I also know that you have not been actuated by any selfish or bad motive.

I am, therefore,
Always with the greatest respect,
Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

LORD ALTHORP.

Waterford, 4. Oct., 1834.

MY LORD,

THOUGH rambling about in Ireland, I see a little of the goings on amongst your *enfants chéris*, the *blacks*! Your lordship remembers the stentorian and

sensible cheers which stunned us when FOWLER Buxton presented, with the assistance of the two door-keepers (who seemed to me to blush at the delusion which they were mechanically assisting to keep up), the petition of his *two hundred and seventy-eight thousand ENGLISH FEMALES*, in behalf of the *fat and muscular* black fellows, and not one of whose tender bosoms ever heaved a sigh for the millions of real sufferers of their own sex in Ireland, who raise a large part of the food that Buxton's tender-hearted and crack-skulled and canting petitioners eat, and who would be glad of the offal left by the blacks: your lordship must remember those cheers; and you may remember that I voted against giving one single farthing of that TWENTY MILLIONS, which would have bought all the incumbencies and all the adwosons in Ireland, and would have removed one great cause of the troubles of a country and a people that ought to be as dear to us as our own country and countrymen: and you ought to remember also your telling us that "*all Europe* was filled with *admiration* at our *generous humanity*." I thought that if this were so, "*all Europe*" was a fool, or was imposed on by the Yorkshire cant.

First or last, that measure must ruin the sugar colonies; and, according to appearances, the ruin is already coming. However, it is merely a *question of time*: that the ruin will come is certain; and then we shall hear what you have to say. I do not care a straw about the colonies; it is the *money*, the 800,000*l.* a year, that I care for. Why pay this money; why *tax us* to get the means of revolutionizing the colonies? This will be a memorable instance of the just punishment of CANT. A canting conventicle is bad enough; but a canting government is a despicable thing indeed.

Hoping, that, at any rate, the blacks will not *cost us* any thing more; hoping that you will ask for no more of my constituents' *money* for them, I am

Your lordship's
Most obedient and humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

HERE follow *addresses* to me, and my *answers*. It would be no more than *right*, if the insertion of these were merely to run so much up under the noses of *the Greys, the Lambs, and the Bronghams*, and all those of them who aimed at destroying me in 1831; no more than *right*, if as a slap in the face to those who imprisoned me, fined me, drove me into exile, and those who have advised the King *not to refund* the fine: as such it would be no more than *right* to publish these *ADDRESSES* and *ANSWERS*. But, they convey information as to the *state of Ireland*, and as to the *opinions and feelings* of the people of Ireland; and let the arrogant men in England think and say what they may, these opinions and feelings must *now* be attended to.

After the *addresses* and *answers* comes a letter from Mr. O'CONNELL, on the subject of *TITHES*; a letter worthy of the best attention of all my readers. Our "pretty gentlemen of Whitehall" are in a sweet mess, which mess they must needs thicken by *Brongham's and Bloomfield's Poor-Law Bill*! There let them be; they have put themselves in it; let them get out as they can, with the assistance of JOHN Wood, pis-aller *Parks*, roaring *Rushton*, LORD *Denman*, *Stuyves Bourne*, *Mother Martineau* and the rest of their sage advisers. A friend presses me to write over, to order the *GRINDRON* to be gilded before the *last half-sovereign is gone*! Oh God! how just art thou! Who can see the vengeance preparing for the heads of base oppressors, and be an *Atheist*!

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS
OF KILKENNY.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

SIR.—With feelings of the deepest joy, we heard of your arrival on the shores of Ireland; and those feelings have been increased beyond adequate expression by your visit to our ancient

city, to which, sir, in language too weak for the sentiment it would convey, we bid you the sincerest welcome.

When we see a man whose labours through a long life of industry have been devoted to the happiness of his fellow-beings, whose exertions in his own country have found their reward in the increased intelligence, and consequent comfort and well-being of his countrymen; and in that gratitude which nations owe to individuals who have conferred countless benefits on them; when we see one who has subjected himself to the hatred and persecution of the PEOPLE's foes, because he had acquired the PEOPLE's love; one whom Providence gifted with talents that have not been abused; with talents that have enabled him, in spite of the oppression of tyranny, and the opposition of bigotry, to raise himself to an eminence that renders him envied by the base, admired by the just, and loved by the grateful; when we see, sir, such a man amongst us for the purpose of acquiring that information which may guide and assist him in his future efforts for the benefit of our country, we are filled with bright anticipations of happiness with expectations of coming good which we hope soon to see realized.

You are not entirely unaware of the present state of Ireland; with the wrongs under which she suffers, the grievances she endures, and the burdens which oppress her, you are already acquainted; but the details of our misery are not familiar to you, our actual sufferings you have not witnessed; and, till you witness, you cannot know them. You cannot conceive how great, how agonizing to the heart of a philanthropist, how dreadful and almost unendurable they are. We need not tell you, sir, of the many evils which rack-rents, tithes, and absenteeism, have brought on this country. To the state of our own city alone we shall for the present direct your attention.

The act of Union has proved the ruin of Kilkenny, not in that figurative sense, in which the supporters of the Union would pretend that we speak, when

describing the effects of that fatal measure, but in a meaning strictly (alas too strictly) literal. If you walk through our streets and view our manufactories, you will see in the former, groups of tradesmen standing idly, and showing by their hollow cheeks, their despairing looks, and wasted, broken-spirited appearance, that poverty has followed want of employment, and that wretchedness is the only portion they can bestow on their starving offspring. In our factories you will see looms that are not used because our manufacturers are unable to keep them going; wheels that are seldom turned except to preserve them from rotting through disuse; and window-sashes in which there is no glass, for a necessity does not exist to keep the wind and the rain from places that are unoccupied. Things were not thus before the effects of the union had time to take place. *Then*, our tradesmen were employed, our factories never empty, and our fellow-citizens prosperous and comfortable, if not happy. And yet, sir, Mr. Spring Rice made a statement of our prosperity, a statement which was totally untrue, and the motive for making which his country will not forget. With the fact in contradiction to his falsehood, and that fact easy to be maintained, a man who had expressed a desire to have the very name of his country blotted from history was believed, when he asserted that our trade was in an improving condition!! Thus, sir, has Ireland ever been the victim of misrepresentation, and it was only when men who like yourself were possessed of an enlightened understanding, liberal feelings, and a desire to know, and to publish the truth, came over from England, and saw our real state, and perceived that our complaints were not groundless; that Englishmen who only require to know the truth that they may be guided by it, began to feel that Ireland was labouring under wrongs which justice called on them to redress.

From your visit to our country we expect with confidence that both England and Ireland will derive the utmost advantage. The information which

your lectures will spread among all classes in this country will, we hope, have the effect of rendering us unanimous in favour of at least one question, a provision for the poor of Ireland. We trust that you will return to your place in the Senate armed with such an abundance of facts and other information, as may decide the legislature on at once passing some law by which the poor population of this country will be relieved from all future danger of the ills attending hunger and poverty; and by which the cold-hearted beings who at present, at home and abroad, are living in luxury, regardless of the misery in every shape which their poorer fellow-countrymen are enduring, may be forced to contribute a portion of that wealth which God did not give them for their own use exclusively to the support of those who are reduced to depend on others for subsistence. If, sir, you and your countrymen will assist in passing such a measure, you will deserve, and you may rest assured will obtain our gratitude.

After the fatigue of your travelling hither to-day, we shall not detain you by a further expression of the pleasure your presence gives us; but you must allow us to breathe a wish for your personal welfare, and a hope that you may live in unbroken health and spirits to see the day when your exertions, and those of the other great men who are labouring with you in the cause of freedom, may be crowned with triumphant success.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,—In answer to your kind and generous commendations on me I have, first, to offer you my most profound and sincere thanks; and then, on our Address, so pregnant with important matter, to observe

1. That if by *increased intelligence* of my countrymen you mean the increase in their quantity of *reading and writing*, the facts are these: That

during the last thirty years of that prodigious increase the quantity of *crime* in England has increased tenfold! And that, as to *comfort*, the decrease has been in an exact proportion to the increase of that which is *most falsely* called "EDUCATION," which is not education, but a scheme for making the people quiet under all the sufferings of hunger and cold.

2. That with regard to your loss of manufactures and trade, it is in the nature of our fiscal and paper-money system to create monopolies and to draw all property into great masses; and, as *Caligula* wished that the people of Rome had *but one neck*, that he might decapitate them all at a single blow, so our Government, from ignorance rather than from evil design, seems to aim, in all its measures, at getting all wealth into great heaps, and as near to itself as possible, that that wealth may be, with the least possible trouble, available for its fiscal purposes; while landowners, acting upon the same principle, have been moulding twenty farms into one, driving the small holders into the ranks of wretchedness, rendering that estate a wilderness which before contained a happy community, and by the misery which they have thus created challenging an inquiry into their own rights of possession.

3. That with regard to a legal provision for the destitute, to deny the justice and necessity of such provision is to set at nought the dictates of reason, the laws of England, and the laws of God. As a matter of policy, *here*, gentlemen, is the only effectual remedy for non-residence, for monopoly of land, and for the evils arising from drawing manufactures into great masses. The landowners, compelled to feed and clothe, or to employ, the millions whom they ruin by their grasping and short-sighted policy, will *then*, for their own interest, put an end to the evils that they have created.

Gentlemen, I am sure that your wishes for my happiness come from *your hearts*, and I assure you, that few things would contribute more to that happiness than my being able to assist in restoring per-

fect freedom and happiness to Ireland, and in rendering its peace and harmony perpetual.

WM. COBBETT.

City of Kilkenny, 30. Sept., 1834.

COPY OF AN ADDRESS

OF THE MANUFACTURING AND OPERATIVE WEAVERS OF KILKENNY, PRESENTED TO MR. COBBETT, M.P., SEPT. 30, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—We, the manufacturing and operative weavers of Kilkenny, beg leave to approach you with feelings of mingled exultation and regret: of exultation at the arrival amongst us of one of the most useful, indefatigable, and enlightened public characters, and one of the most generous and sympathising friends to an afflicted country; of regret, that the depressed and almost ruined state of our trade renders us wholly unable to offer to so distinguished a man that reception which his long and useful services to Ireland so eminently merit. But, sir, the consciousness of doing good is its own reward, and there is no man more entitled than you are to the felicity arising from such a conviction. Permit us, sir, to offer to an *Englishman*, conspicuous alike for impartiality and love of justice, a brief but genuine statement of facts relative to our trade, which has been represented as in a flourishing and prosperous condition, by the Right Hon. SPRING RICE, with that unblushing effrontery and indecent disregard to truth which characterized the greater portion of that gentleman's speech in the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament.

The facts, sir, are these: 1. That the manufacturers of the city of Kilkenny, before the passing of the act of Union, were able to employ 3,000 operatives with families in comparative ease and comfort, until the system of absenteeism and the withdrawal of capital, consequent on that baneful and ruinous measure.

2. That the taking off of the protecting duties in 1821, the leaving of a poor and impoverished country destitute of the fostering aid of a parental legislature, are the prime and sole causes of the misery and destitution of our native manufacturers, and not any combination of tradesmen, as the member for Cambridge has falsely asserted.

3. That out of the 3,000 individuals alluded to, but 350 are now employed whose average weekly wages have suffered a diminution of three fourths, the average weekly wages amounting to but eight shillings, whereas, originally the same average amount was thirty-two shillings and upwards; that even this employment is wholly partial, inasmuch as that 3,000 stone of wool was originally the weekly manufacturing consumption; whereas 400 stone is now the extreme weekly average amount.

1. That heretofore, and before the passing of the act of *Union*, the spinning mills and factories of *LACKEN, BLACK-MILL, BLEACH-GREEN, and MOUNT-EAGLE*, were in full and active employment; that since the passing of that destructive measure, employment in these establishments has totally failed.

5. That a *CARPET MANUFACTURE* has been attempted in Kilkenny about four years since, and that also wholly failed.

6. That more than one-half of the operative weavers are at this moment in a state of destitution; and out of forty manufactories, but *five* at present exist, and these exhibiting but the mere semblance of employment; and out of forty master manufacturers, but eight at present exist, three of whom have been long since obliged to throw themselves on the eleemosynary bounty of their fellow-citizens, and are at this moment the wretched inmates of a poor-house.

Such, sir, are the *facts* relative to the *woollen*, once the *staple* trade of Kilkenny. Your stay amongst us, sir, though short, will enable one of your vast and capacious mind to weigh the authenticity of these statements against the unfounded assertions of the Right Hon. the member for Cambridge.

That Providence, sir, may long con-

tinue to you *a life* so valuable in the diffusion of general enlightenment and so advantageous to Ireland, is the heartfelt wish and prayer of the

Manufacturing, &c. of Kilkenny.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,—With great pride and gratitude I receive this address from you, whose occupation and whose good sense and public spirit call my mind back to the same occupation, and the same qualities in my excellent constituents of Oldham. In answer to the address, be pleased to receive from me the following observations, accompanied with my sincere thanks:

1. That with regard to the strange assertions ascribed to Mr. Spring Rice, as my constituents have placed me in a situation to say *TO HIS FACE* any thing which I shall deem it my duty to say in disapprobation of his conduct, I abstain, in this case, from saying, more of that conduct, than that I lament that his statements should have been so very contrary to the facts, and that I would fain hope, that those statements must have arisen from misinformation or from error in judgment, rather than from a deliberate and premeditated design to deceive and mislead the House of Commons and the people of England.

2. That with regard to the Union and its effects on the condition of the people of Ireland, while it is impossible to recollect *the means* by which it was effected, and to believe that the end *can ever be good*; while it is notorious that the lot of the Irish people has been growing worse and worse from the day of the Union to this day, while common sense tells us that the Union must of necessity produce absenteeism, and draw away a considerable part of the means of employment of industry in all its various branches; and, in short, while it is too much for insanity itself to adopt the belief, that eight millions and a half of people can, for any length of time, continue in a state of *colonial relationship* to twelve millions, about two or three millions of whom they supply

with food; while all this presents itself to the mind of every really sane person in the whole kingdom, still there is another cause, beside the Union, which cause we must not leave out of our consideration, if we would arrive at a correct conclusion, and suggest an effectual and peaceable remedy.

3. That this cause is the *drawing of all property*, and especially manufacturing property, *into great heaps*; that the Statute Book tells us, that, five hundred years ago, there was a Cloth Hall, regulated by law, in each of 32 out of the 40 counties of England; that within the period of my life, every labourer's house in the eastern, southern, and western counties of England, contained a manufacturer; that *now*, the *then* dispersed and happy millions are huddled together in dense masses, and condemned to toil for swollen-up masters who rival lords in wealth, and who surpass them in arrogance and haughtiness and cruelty. In the first happy period the existence of a soldier in time of peace had never been heard of; in the second place the army amounted to an average of less than ten thousand men, and there were only three barracks in England; now there are in time of peace more than a hundred thousand standing soldiers, and more than a hundred barracks; while the miserable operatives, whom these are intended to keep in order, have frequently for their Sunday clothes the cast-off habiliments of these very soldiers, and who have not each a third part of the food of one of these soldiers.

4. That the *accursed instrument*, by which this desolating and enslaving change has been effected, is that paper-money, which made its first appearance a hundred and forty years ago, which has, by slow degrees, brought us into our present state without any set of our rulers ever seeming to have perceived the danger, which has gone on making the rich man more rich, and the poor more poor; which has, at last, divided society into two classes, distinct in interest, and hostile in feeling; in which state of society, justice, reason, and human nature herself say there must be a change;

and that that change may be peaceable and equitable, is the ardent prayer of

Your grateful
And obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CITY OF WATERFORD.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens, held by public requisition, in the Arena, in the city of Waterford, on Tuesday, the 30. of September, 1834; Alderman Henry Alcock in the chair;

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Moved by Alexander Sherlock, Esq., seconded by Daniel Dunford, Esq.,

That William Cobbett, Esq., M.P. for Oldham, by his long and zealous advocacy of civil and religious liberty; by his strenuous exertions in the cause of radical reform; by his uncompromising support of the rights of the people generally, and especially of the defenceless and oppressed; but in a more particular manner by his generous, efficient, and important lectures, to dispel those bigoted prejudices against the faith and principles of Catholics, which crafty tyranny had cultivated in the minds of the English people; by his unyielding opposition to the atrocious Coercion Bill; by his frequent and impressive claims for substantial justice to Ireland; and by his emphatic support of the repeal of the Union; is entitled on his visiting our city, for the first time, to a marked expression of the respect, the confidence, and gratitude, of the people of Ireland.

Moved by Daniel Dunford, Esq., seconded by the Reverend Thomas Clarke,

That an address expressive of our feelings to Mr. Cobbett, be presented to him on his arrival in our city.

An address having been then read by the chairman, it was

Moved by Patrick Sheehaue, Esq., M.D., seconded by Owen Carroll, Esq.,

That the address now read be adopted as the address to be presented on this occasion.

Moved by James Morris, Esq., seconded by Michael Burke, Esq.,

That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect.

The Chairman and Secretary.

Alexander Sheerlock, Esq.

Daniel Dunford, Esq.

James Morris, Esq.

Patrick Sheehane, Esq., M.D.

Rev. Thomas Clarke.

Arthur Doyle, Esq.

John O'Neill, Esq.

HENRY ALCOCK, Chairman.

THOMAS MURPHY, Secretary.

ARRIVAL OF MR. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT arrived here yesterday about eleven o'clock, direct from Kilkenny. He drove immediately to Mr. Doyle's, in Michael-street, where he intends remaining during his stay. A personal description of him has been so often given that it would be unnecessary to go over the detail again. His first lecture commences this day at the Arena, and is expected to be numerously attended. Subjoined we give the address presented to him by the citizens.

A most respectable body of the citizens, headed by their chairman, Mr. Alcock, waited on Mr. Cobbett after his arrival. Mr. Alcock, on behalf of the deputation, expressed himself as follows :

Sir,—We were deputed at a meeting of our fellow-citizens, convened by public requisition, and held a few days since, to present to you, on their behalf, an address, and as that address contains fully the sentiments of this committee, I shall without further preface request of our worthy secretary to read it for you.

The secretary then read the address, and having handed it to Mr. Alcock, that gentleman delivered it to Mr. Cobbett, saying, that, he felt much pleasure in handing him this address on behalf of

the citizens of Waterford, and he begged leave to assure Mr. Cobbett, that in no part of his Majesty's dominion were there to be found a more patriotic, independent, and loyal body of men than in the *Urbs lat acta*.

THE ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF WATERFORD, CONVENED BY PUBLIC REQUISITION.

TO MR. COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

Sir,—The people of Waterford hasten to join the ranks of those of their countrymen among whom you have already appeared ; and to do credit to themselves in their honour to you, by showing that they know how to give you a welcome to Ireland suitable to the extent of their own obligations to you ; suitable to the number and importance of the services which you have rendered to the cause and to the principles of freedom, whenever they have to maintain a struggle with oppression ; suitable to the honour due to that high-souled sense of justice which, guiding all your conduct, has placed you, by the common consent of your countrymen, the first among the most patriotic defenders of English liberty, and at the same time challenge from us the acknowledgment, that of Englishmen you are the most generous assertor of Irish rights.

While we present to you, sir, our affectionate welcome to the shores of Ireland, the feelings that are uppermost in our bosoms must necessarily be associated with the recollections of the benefits you have rendered us, to the majority of us as Catholics, to all of us as Irishmen. It is impossible to look back to the dark ages of unmitigated bondage through which we have passed, to the code of blood by which we have been persecuted, to the rods of scorpions with which we have been scourged in the land of our fathers, to the black artifices by which bigotry steeled the conscience of oppression, and taught it to deem injustice a virtue, without recollecting that in you, sir, we welcome him who, in defence of the prejudices of his countrymen, instilled from childhood, and transmitted from generation

to generation, dared to vindicate from calumny that insulted religion which is emphatically the religion of our country, and in spite of these prejudices, taught England to think justly of Ireland, in order that she might learn to act justly towards her.

But, sir, if the important services which you have rendered to the Catholics of Ireland, and through them to all Irishmen, who prefer public liberty to sectarian prejudice; if these excite our deepest gratitude, we must not allow any feelings belonging exclusively to ourselves, as Irishmen, to make us throw into the shade the claims which your public life has given you to the general respect of your fellow men. There are not wanting instances of men who, born to the possession of ample power, have exercised it with a wise and generous care for the well being of their fellow creatures. There are not wanting examples in any state of men, of high endowments, who, by pandering to power, or by courting party, have raised themselves from the humblest state, to the first distinction and to the highest honours; but in you, sir, we behold the rare example of a man who, in a country torn by contending factions, by factions armed with every means of seduction or suppression; has stood aloof from each, and has triumphed over both; who, unaided, unfriended, unguided, has risen from untutored boyhood, and from the humble plough, to the distinguished rank which you now fill, among the representatives of England, and the statesmen of Europe; and has risen without one act of mean submission to unjust power, or harder still, of mean compliance with popular delusion.

In you, then, sir, it is not the benefactor only that we greet with the acknowledgments of gratitude, but in you we hail also, with all the respect which it challenges from brave and honest hearts, the bright example of an integrity not to be seduced, of a resolution not to be intimidated, of a perseverance not to be wearied, of an enthusiasm not to be subdued by difficulties, by disappointments, by fine itself; and of a triumph, soon, we trust, to be consum-

mated, the triumph of integrity and truth over power, unlimited, unscrupulous, and unsparing.

ANSWER.

TO THE CITIZENS OF WATERFORD.

Gentlemen,—Without stopping to lament that any language that I have at my command must be placed in the shade, when used in answer to an address such as that which you have done me the honour to present to me, I will at once proceed to observe,

1. That there are a great many Englishmen whose feelings for the sufferings of Ireland are by no means inferior to my own, but who have not the same means as those which I have long had, of giving any considerable effect to those feelings. In their silence regarding your wrongs, or want of zeal in your defence, might be excusable, while either would be most base and criminal in me.

2. That with regard to your religion, it was for a thousand years the religion of my own forefathers as well as of yours. It was to the wisdom, the integrity, the valour, the industry of Roman Catholics, that England owed all her famed institutions, all her glory, all her solid power, all her noble edifices, all the riches and beauty of her fields and her woods. I knowing this, and being myself emancipated from the ignorance with which greedy craft had shackled my mind, seeing my countrymen still under the influence of that ignorance, seeing that ignorance made use of for the purpose of oppressing you, and having at my command a pen and a press; if I had neglected to use the, to me, easy means of removing that ignorance, I should have been the very basest, the most unjust, and cruel of all mankind.

3. That my present situation in society, considering not the mere station, but taking into view the rare political integrity, the not less rare discernment, the distinguished public spirit of those who placed me in it, is certainly most honourable; and it is also certain that I have not obtained it by means such as those employed by the Roses, the, Jew-

kinsons, the Huskissons, the Cannings, with the hope, that, by our joint exertions, our endeavours will be crowned with success.

WM. COBBETT.

TITHES! TITHES! TITHES!

TO WM. SHARMAN CRAWFORD, ESQ.

Derrinane Abbey, 27. Sept., 1834.

My DEAR SIR,—I address this letter to you because I know no man more sincerely desirous of establishing that universal tranquillity in Ireland without which her resources can never be developed, or the people rendered contented or prosperous. You and I are perfectly agreed that tranquillity is essential to the well-being of Ireland. But tranquillity itself must be an effect flowing from other causes, before it can become in its turn an efficient cause of prosperity.

There are two modes of producing tranquillity; causing, however, quite different consequences, because whilst the tranquillity produced by the one mode is full of every cheering hope—that produced by the other is only the consummation of mischief and misery.

I deal with the latter first. The mode of producing this species of quietude is by force, by violence, by, in short, coercion; for that is the favourite term of modern tyrants. The kind of tranquillity *thus* produced is indeed,

“A death-like silence and a dread repose.”

4. That, great as is the value which I set, for my own sake, on this generous conduct on your part, I value it a thousand times more on account of the great good effect which I know it will have on the minds of my countrymen, who, for the far greater and more efficient part, will consider every mark of friendship shown to me as shown to themselves. It has for many years, and for purposes too well known to need stating to you, been the constant endeavour of the most unjust, most cruel, most greedy, most perfidious of all mankind, to make the people of the two countries view each other with jealousy and suspicion, and to fill their hearts with mutual hostility. It has been, for a like number of years, my constant endeavour to counteract this truly hellish series of efforts; and, gentlemen, I am now, at last, cheered

The authors of it are properly described by the British chieftain, “*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*” This tranquillity is produced by suppressing complaints, by strengthening the oppressor's arm, by binding hand and foot the wretched victim of bad laws, and of worse ministers of those laws, by giving more power to the wrong doer, and by overwhelming the sufferers from such wrongs by making iniquity triumphant, and leaving the objects thereof altogether defenceless. This is the tranquillity produced by insurrection acts, by coercion bills, by military license, by police slaughterings. It causes, to

be sure, "a death-like silence," but it is only for a time. It creates a repose, but that repose is "dread" and awful, and, above all things, it is transitory. No man can rely on its continuance; no person confides in its duration. It resembles the slumbering of a volcano; tranquil for a time, only to burst forth with accumulated horrors and increased ruin.

I write not of imaginary things. I do not draw upon my fancy for unreal sketchings. I tell by abstract propositions the story of Ireland. I draw no inferences. I simply write history, the history of Ireland.

For seven hundred years these have been the means resorted to by our English rulers to tranquillize Ireland. These are, alas ! the only means which they have to this hour, aye, even up to this hour, employed to produce the fate of this ill-fated land. They are, I do really believe, as ready to repeat the atrocious experiment, as if seven hundred years of similar misrule had not proved that although the exhibition of discontent may be suppressed for a season, yet that it, after a short pause, shows out again in renovated and increased rage, vigour, and wildness of revenge.

Such is the first mode of producing tranquillity. Such is the only mode hitherto resorted to; and, above all, observe, I pray you, such is the species of tranquillity produced by that mode.

There is another mode of rendering Ireland tranquil, a mode hitherto untried; but which assuredly ought to be tried, if it were for nothing else but the sake of novelty.

The second, and hitherto untried mode of tranquillizing Ireland is by redressing all wrongs, by suppressing all oppressions, by abolishing all grievances, by correcting all abuses, by discountenancing all oppressors, by encouraging industry, by fostering agriculture and commerce, by having religion perfectly free. In one word, by doing justice to all the people.

This is the mode, my excellent friend, which you and I would adopt with a certainty of success. It is thus that we would produce that desirable tranquillity

which, far from being the silence of hopeless slaves, would be the moral atmosphere of contented freemen. A tranquillity which would give leisure and opportunity, and furnish stimulants to the attainment of the highest degree of national and individual comfort and prosperity.

Such is the tranquillity we desire, such is the amelioration of the social state which is the darling object of our honest ambition. A tranquillity which, in the deepest recesses of my conscience, I am convinced can be produced only under the tutelar care and protection of a domestic and parental legislature.

But, in the meantime, let us give the enemies of repeal no excuse. Let us point out to them *the wrongs* that require to be redressed, *the grievances* which require to be abolished.

The most obvious and pressing of these is the *tithe system*.

Until the *TITHES SYSTEM* IS ABOLISHED, totally abolished, not in name only, but in essence and in practical reality, Ireland cannot experience tranquillity.

There is no tranquillity for Ireland until the tithe system is annihilated root and branch. There can be no more compromise with it, "*Delenda est Carthago*" should be our motto. The tithe system must be abolished by law and for ever.

If ever nation was unanimous upon any topic, it is the Irish nation upon the subject of tithes. The Catholics universally, the Presbyterians very generally, the Protestants very numerously; all agree that tithes should be abolished. Never did a people yet approach so near to perfect and undivided unanimity. All are for the extinction of the giant abuse of tithes, save those who are connected in one way or another with it by divelling bigotry or by the filthy lucre of gain.

It should be recollected that this national abhorrence of tithes is not casual or of recent origin, neither is it transitory. It has been the most prominent feature of Irish history for the last seventy years, for, indeed, more than seventy years. The landed proprietors threw it off their demesne lands and

pasturages more than a century ago and the example thus set by the highest class has been carefully imitated in their own way by the poorer orders in the country. There has been from time to time, a lull or cessation produced by the accumulating enactments of penal laws, laws dripping, as it were, with human blood. Chains, and whipping, and emaciating imprisonments, and banishments, and unnumbered executions, have all been tried, and tried with temporary but evanescent success, the opposition to tithes reviving again with fresh strength, and new horrors, after each fear-stricken pause; until, at length, the cry for the total, unconditional abolition of tithes has become more universal, more unanimous, more determined, and more terrific, than it has ever been before. In fine, if one can read the signs of the times with any accuracy, there is a more fixed, and I may call it, a more virulent determination on the part of the Irish people not to pay tithes than ever there was.

It follows of inevitable necessity that Ireland cannot possibly enjoy permanent or secure tranquillity until the tithe system disappears from the sight for ever.

Any statesman with a philosophic mind would see this inevitable conclusion at once. For more than a century have the people of Ireland struggled against tithes. A rational statesman would at once terminate the struggle in the only way which, sooner or later, it must end, by the abolition of that blood-stained impost.

To commence laying a foundation for the tranquillity of Ireland these four things are necessary :

First—The total annihilation of the tithe system.

Second—The abolition of the sinecure part of the establishment, and the perfect freeing of Catholics, Presbyterians, and other Dissenters of Ireland, from any forced contribution to the clergy of the Protestant established religion.

Third—That the compensation to be made to lay impropiators upon the an-

nihilation of tithes should be *just* and *moderate*.

Fourth—That the claims for vested interests in the present Protestant incumbents should not be allowed farther than may be found consistent with *sound sense and reason*.

We will discuss these four topics *seriatim*; and, *first*, of the annihilation of tithes :

I have said enough to show, and indeed it is superfluous to prove, because every body knows the fact, that the people of Ireland will not pay tithes, nor any composition or other compensation as a substitute for tithes.

They have two decisive objections to the payment of tithes, or of any compensation in their stead. The *first* is, that they know that the impost itself in Ireland was originally created without any necessity, by English adventurers, who were the enemies of the Irish nation, that they were transferred at the so-called reformation by a still more flagrant act of injustice, and that in their nature they constitute a burden which ought never to have been placed, or at least continued, on a country purely agricultural. The *second* objection is, that they are a badge of servitude, a branded mark of slavery, the worst of all tokens of the servile state, a token of subjugation to malignant and still unrelenting enemies, to persons who, as was most indiscreetly but must truly proclaimed by the Beresfords and the Hamiltons at a recent Orange meeting in Dublin, always were, and still are, ready to exterminate the people of Ireland by the bayonet and the gibbet, that as long as tithes exist emancipation is but a mockery to the Irish people, and that there can be no freedom of conscience as long as any one class of persons are compelled to pay for the spiritual guide or pastors of other persons from whose doctrines they conscientiously dissent.

The honest and reflecting part of the present Ministry must therefore perceive that tithes must be abolished, *totally, unequivocally abolished*, abolished without delay or condition.

It may indeed be objected to me that

I myself supported and enforced a different plan, that I demanded and obtained the suppression of only two-fifths of the tithes, and that, therefore, I acquiesced in the continued and perpetual existence of the remaining three-fifths.

The facts are not accurately stated, the inference is altogether without foundation.

It is quite true that I demanded for the present but a partial reduction, it was three-fifths of the tithes. Why did I ask for no more? Why did I not demand the abolition of the entire? *Because I had no chance in the first instance of getting the entire abolished, and you perceive that I was refused the extent which I asked, being three-fifths, and only got two-fifths, I had, therefore, not the least prospect or possibility of destroying the entire; and because I am one of those who is and have been always ready to accept of any instalment, however small, of the debt of justice due to the people, the real national debt. I have been, and am ready to accept of any instalment of that debt, determined to go on and look for the remainder as soon as the first instalment should be completely realized.*

It is totally untrue that I acquiesced in the perpetual continuance of the remaining three-fifths of the tithes. The arrangement which would have been complete if the foolish parsons and their silly friends had not conspired to throw out the tithe bill of last session, would have been just *this*, and no more.

First—The income of every beneficed clergyman in Ireland arising from tithe composition was to be reduced one-fifth, or twenty per cent. The composition itself, if complained of by the tithe-payers as unjust or unfair, to be corrected, and the proper amount ascertained. From the amount thus ascertained, or not complained of, there were, as I have said, twenty per cent. to be deducted.

Second—Out of the eighty per cent. which remained, two and a half, in other words 2½ *l.* 10s., were also to be

deducted to cover all the expenses of the Government in collection and payment. Thus each parson was to have 77½ *l.* 10s. in lieu of every 100*l.*, to which he would otherwise have a legal claim.

Third—But remark, that instead of having a mere legal claim for 100*l.* to be collected and fought out as well as the parson could, and at such times as he might be able to get at it, he was to receive, on every 1. of November, at the Bank of Ireland, an Exchequer bill for 77½ *l.* 10s. payable with three halfpence *per diem* interest, as long as he might choose to hoard it; but payable not only at the Bank of Dublin, but receivable at every custom-house and excise-office in Great Britain and Ireland. No matter where the parson might go, he had his Exchequer bill bearing interest daily as long as he might choose to keep it by him, and no matter what part of the United Kingdom he might be in, his Exchequer bill was easily convertible into cash for its principal and interest. Nay, it most probably would be at a premium.

Fourth—There never yet was an income so comfortably paid as would have been the income of the parson under what was called my tithe bill. The parson could have had no quarrel with his flock, or with any body in his parish, about money. He was not to be at the expense of drivers, or proctors, or agents, or of employing attorneys. He was only to go to the Bank personally, or to send any friend there, and his income would be realized at once. What man is there whose estate is let at any thing like the value, who would not be delighted to get 77½ *l.* 10s. free of all expense and of all trouble, for every nominal 100*l.* of his income? But to a clergyman, who ought, above all things, desire to be at peace with the inhabitants of his parish, surely nothing could possibly be more truly desirable than this arrangement. The truth is, it will very speedily be admitted that the parson never had so good a friend as myself. They hate me pestiferously, and I had returned them this good for their evil.

Fifth—There was besides in my ar-

range ment this additional concession, namely, it extended to all benefited clergymen, no matter whether sinecurists or not. *Their vested rights* were, I beg of you to remark this, *their vested rights* were to have been acknowledged and preserved during the lives of the present incumbents. How bitterly those sinecurists will have to deplore the wicked fatuity of the *advisers* of the leading peers, and of those peers themselves, who broke up this arrangement by throwing out the bill. When the next arrangement comes to be made the people of England and of Ireland will probably not listen to the making of any compensation to ecclesiastical any more than to naval or military sinecurists.

Such was the arrangement as to the incumbents' 77l. 10s. they were to get out of every nominal 100l., and to be paid by the Treasury at the Bank of Ireland.

It was the Government which was to collect from the landlords the remaining three-fifths of the tithes. But this portion of that impost, besides being placed as far as possible on the landlords exclusively, was expressly to be subject to a *future appropriation* by Parliament.

The commission issued by the crown, and now in progress of execution, was issued for the very purpose of establishing the foundations on which that appropriation was to be based. Of course it must inevitably follow that upon the demise of the present incumbents there were to be no successors appointed, except in parishes where a substantial part of the inhabitants were episcopalian Protestants, that is, one should say, in the proportion of at least one-third. In parishes where more than two-thirds of the inhabitants did not belong to the Protestant episcopalian church, we should have had a right to expect that no successor to the present incumbent should be named. I will have occasion to allude to the at present more near enjoyment of this exemption in another part of this letter.

Such was the proposed arrangement of the last session. It would have been

conclusive only so far as related to the vested interest of the present incumbents of benefices. It was in its nature open as to the appropriation, and, of course, as to the ultimate alteration, commutation, or extinction of the remaining three-fifths of the tithe fund.

But that arrangement having been frustrated by the folly and wickedness of the Orange Conservatives in and out of the House of Lords, I am perfectly free from any of the trammels of that arrangement.

I am free to insist, and I do insist, on the immediate and total annihilation of the tithe-system by act of Parliament; and my present impression is, that I am not only free, but bound to insist that no compensation should be made to any incumbent who has not episcopalian Protestant parishioners, and then only in the ratio of the comparative number of such parishioners.

In proceeding to consider of the immediate and total abolition of tithes, it is necessary that you and the Irish public should distinctly understand the situation in which the persons are now placed, with respect to the collection and paying of tithes.

This is a most important point. The facility of levying tithes, if there be legal facilities in levying them, should be distinctly shown, that no man may through ignorance violate the law, or oppose any active or criminal resistance to legal claims, exercised in a legal way.

If, on the other hand, there be legal difficulties in the way of levying tithes, it is right to point out to the people what would be an infringement of the law on the part of the parsons, what it is the people are enabled by law to resist, and what acts would render a parson a trespasser and wrong doer, and subject him to legal punishment.

This, I repeat, is most important to be understood, and I will now enter into those details, which will, I trust, make the matter clear to every body, whether learned in the law or not.

Let it be kept in recollection that the case of the lay impropiator and of the parson is precisely the same, under the

present existing statutes, so far as relates to the levying and enforcing the payment of tithes. I will, therefore, in future, use the term tithe-owner, as that word will include as well the parson as the lay impropriator.

In the first place, all Ireland must now be considered to be under the Tithe Composition Act. The act of 2. and 3 William IV., c. 119, is quite decisive on that subject. It is commonly called Stanley's act, and an act more unjust in principle, oppressive in details, or absurd in its contradictory provisions, could not well have been brought in by that very presumptuous, and after all, very superficial personage. It, however, has this result, that it takes away from the tithe-owner all remedy, either by citation in the ecclesiastical court, or by filing a bill for an account of tithes withheld. Thus this act, so mischievous in other respects, has this advantage, that it takes away from the tithe-owner two of the former most vexatious modes of recovering the value of tithes, namely, citation in the ecclesiastical court, and bill in equity.

Secondly—Preparations are, it is said, making by the parsons to levy in the most vindictive way the composition for tithes which will fall due on the first of November next. Now, I have already shown that they cannot levy those tithes either in the ecclesiastical court or in the former course, in equity. So I have to call attention to this, that they cannot sue in any way, mode, or form, any person being a tenant from year to year, or tenant at will. All tenants from year to year, and all tenants at will, are absolutely discharged from the payment of the composition, or of any money in lieu of tithes to the tithe-owner. This is expressly provided for by the 12. section of Stanley's act. So that if any tithe-owner sues by civil bill, or by action in the superior courts, a tenant from year to year, or a tenant at will, he must be defeated with costs. This is a tolerable stumbling block in the way of the tithe-owners. To their friend Mr. Stanley they are indebted for this difficulty.

Thirdly—And this is most important;

no tithe-owner can distrain any lands in the hands of a tenant from year to year, or of a tenant at will. The words of the statute in section fifteen, as to such lands, are, "*it shall not be lawful to make any distress upon such lands, or upon ANY GOODS OR CHATELS THEREON for the recovery and levy of tithe composition or arrears thereof.*"

This, in fact, is taking away altogether the power of levying tithe composition by distress and sale of goods and chattels. In the first place, no tithe-owner can distrain any goods or chattels belonging to, or whether they belong to or not, a tenant from year to year, if they be on the lands occupied by a tenant from year to year. They are all safe on his land. The tithe-owner, if he enters upon such land, is a trespasser. He may be resisted, but without a breach of the peace or riot; he may be so kept off the land. If the police or military accompany him they also become trespassers; and if they put any person to death, as well the tithe-owner as the police or military, are guilty of murder, and liable to be executed as murderers. Of course the present Government must well take care not to allow the police or military to accompany or aid any tithe-owner in distraining until it is first ascertained, beyond any doubt, that the land intended to be distrained is not, and shall not be, in the hands of a tenant from year to year at the time when the distress for tithe composition is to be made. Now, land may this day be in the occupation of a man seized in fee, and to-morrow in that of a tenant from year to year under him; it therefore can never be ascertained beforehand whether or not at the time any distress for tithe composition is to be made, the lands will be in the occupation of a tenant from year to year or not. It follows that the Government cannot, without incurring the great and tremendous risk of blood-guiltiness, allow the tithe-owner the aid of the police or military to make any such distress.

But this is still stronger, and the risk of illegality the more clear, because the land occupied by any tenant at will can-

not be lawfully distrained. Now, it seems 'pretty obvious that if there be any occupier of land under a freehold tenure or lease for years who is unwilling to have his stock distrained, he will put his son, or his brother, or some friend, in possession as tenant at will, and will continue him such tenant so long as he apprehends such distraining.

Thus, therefore, it is clear that, practically speaking, the tithe-owner, on the first of November next, will have totally lost, for any useful purpose, his power to distrain for tithe composition, being, indeed, absolutely and directly prohibited from distraining any goods or chattels on the land of any tenant from year to year or at will.

Neither can the Government possibly allow the police or military to aid in distraining, even though there should be an affidavit of an actual breach of the peace. In that case the police would, of course, be directed to arrest the person charged, so that it may be tried whether the person be really guilty of a breach of the peace in driving off tithe-owners claiming a right to distrain, because, if I be a tenant from year to year, or at will, and that after the first of November next a tithe-owner comes to distrain my lands, I am entitled to keep him off my land by strong hand; and if he persists in trespassing I am entitled to "wallop" him off my land, as I cannot otherwise get him off, beating him only so much as is necessary to turn him off, and to keep him off my lands. Thus, therefore, the Government this year cannot possibly do what the Government did last year; that is, give police and military when a breach of the peace was sworn to. It is not now enough to swear to a breach of the peace, either intended or even committed. The matter must be tried by a jury before it can be known whether the peace was really broken or not, which again depends on the right of the tithe-owner to distrain; a right which in many instances is expressly taken away, and may be disputed in many more, if not in all. The Government cannot, without themselves being in imminent danger of the guilt of hu-

man blood, decide a question of right by bayonets and bullets.

The tithe-owners, therefore, cannot in very many cases, indeed in most cases, distrain at all, and they cannot in any case be allowed the use of the police or military in distraining, lest, instead of the assertion of a right, it may be the perpetration of murder.

Fourthly —The right to distrain being thus practically taken away, there appears to remain to the tithe-owner a remedy by action at law, or by a bill in equity of a new description; in fact, an action in equity. I say that this remedy is more, much more apparent than real, indeed it can scarcely be said to be real at all.

I beg particular attention to this: tenants from year to year, and tenants at will, cannot be sued at all. Well, the land is occupied by either the one or the other. It cannot be distrained upon. Who is to be sued? Why, the 12th section says it is "*the person who shall have in the land the first estate or interest greater than the tenancy from year to year.*" There is cold comfort for the tithe-owner. How is he to discover the person having such first estate? He has none of the title-deeds; he is in no privity with the occupier. I ask, then, how is the unfortunate tithe-owner to know who he is to sue? He has no remedy against the owner in fee, nor against any person having an intermediate estate between the owner in fee and the actual occupier (and there may be five, ten, or twenty such persons), with the single exception of such of them as have the first estate greater than a yearly tenancy.

The first great and almost insurmountable difficulty is for the tithe-owner to discover who he is to sue. If he mistakes that person he will be defeated, and will have to pay costs. Suppose Paddy Blake is occupier as tenant from year to year, the tithe-owner cannot touch him, he cannot distrain any cattle on the land, he cannot sue Paddy Blake, Paddy laughs at the parson. Well, the parson hears that the estate belongs to Thomas Williams. Forthwith he sues Thomas Williams. The

expense of a trial is gone to, the case is opened for the tithe-owner, he makes his proofs, the defence is called for, it is simple and clear. Williams produces a lease for, say twenty-one years, made by him to John Thompson. The tithe-owner never heard of that lease before; but it upsets his entire case; he has a verdict against him, loses his tithes, and pays the costs of both parties.

But this is only one of twenty ways in which the tithe-owner will be defeated. I know an individual who is thus circumstanced: his property is occupied by tenants from year to year; he has made a grant to a friend for three years of the property. This grant is dated in the present year, but is not registered; neither does it require registry. The tithe-owner cannot recover off the land or from its occupier. If he sues the individual I speak of he will be defeated by the production and proof of this grant; and then there is an old outstanding mortgage on the estate which, at all events, protects the owner from suit.

Yet he prefers to stand upon his own grant, in order to expose the absurdity of Stanley's Tithe Act. It was Stanley's intention that no grantee of any interest by a deed subsequent to August, 1832, should have such an estate as to intervene between the owner of the land and the parson; yet, by omitting in the ninth line the words "*created or arising after the commencement of this act,*" his intention is defeated. The judges cannot insert, nor are they warranted to imply these words. And thus the grant I have mentioned prevents the owner of the estate from coming within the meaning of the 12. section, and prevents the tithe-owner from being able successfully to see him.

But the blundering in the act does not cease here, because such a grant as I have mentioned, being in form a demise, and being executed subsequent to August, 1832, the grantee is, by the 13. clause, expressly exempted from the payment of tithe-composition!!!

Thus the case is, that the occupier of the land cannot be distrained upon or sued, the owner of the land cannot be

sued, the grantee of that owner cannot be sued, nobody can be sued. The tithe-owner is for the present without remedy; he must wait until one year and a half's tithes are due before he can take any steps with any prospect of success, that is, one year and a half's composition, beginning in the year 1834, must be due in order to enable the tithe-owner to commence any suit.

And even then he will have to deal with all the incumbrances upon the estate. There, however, is a prospect that, supposing the law of tithes not to be altered, the tithe-owner may begin in the year 1836 to receive some part of what shall in the interval accrue due, provided there be then no general and unlawful combination to prevent his having the benefit of the law, such as it is.

These are some of the difficulties by which the tithe-owners are beset. I say emphatically *some*, for it would require a moderate volume to point out *all* the legal perils which the state of incumbrances affecting so extensively as they do Irish estates, must interpose between the tithe-owner and the enforcing or levying of tithe composition.

The tithe-owner will therefore, after the 1. of November next, find himself in this position:

1.—He cannot distrain any lands occupied by any tenant from year to year, or by any tenant at will!!! or by any tenant holding under any lease made subsequent to the 16. of August, 1832.

2.—He cannot sue at law or in equity any of those persons with success.

3.—He has no means to discover who it is against whom his suit may be brought with any prospect of success.

4.—He is liable, after going to all the expenses of a suit, to be defeated at the last moment by the production of a private or concealed deed or instrument.

5.—He is liable, in like manner, to be defeated by outstanding terms for years, mortgages, and incumbrances, of which, especially of terms for years for children's portions, he cannot possibly have any notice or intimation whatever. Yet they may "be the first in-

"terest in the lands greater than
"tenancy from year to year."

6.—He has no remedy in the ecclesiastical court.

7.—The Government cannot allow him the police or military force to aid him anywhere in distraining, because the right is to distrain is so limited and confined, and so liable to be taken away by the means stated in the act of Parliament, that the Ministry would be highly criminal if they were to use force before the right was tried by due course of law.

Out of this sea of difficulties, in which Stanley's act of 1832 has plunged the tithe-owners, Mr. Littleton, by his bill, sought to relieve the parsons and lay impropriators. See how different their case would be if his bill had passed. That bill has also been called mine. I certainly did give it my support. But see how completely Mr. Littleton would have relieved them. He would have taken them out of all litigation, chicane, perplexity, and trouble of any kind. Instead of being involved in an ocean of doubts and perplexities, they would have only to call at, or to send to, the Bank of Ireland, and to receive for every nominal 100*l.* an order for 77*l.* 10*s.*, payable with interest in every part of the British dominion.

Yet it was such a change, so favourable to the parsons; so satisfactory to any man of meek or Christian spirit, that an archbishop, of the hideous name of Beresford, and the soft and smooth Recorder of Dublin, kicked out, and consigned the author of it to all manner of evil. In plain truth, no man was ever treated with such ingratitude as Mr. Littleton has been by the parsons and their vile satellites. I myself, too, have reason to complain that they are not quite as thankful to me as they ought to be.

Having thus shown the present state of the law of tithes, and the legal difficulties to enforce that impost, I return to my plan for the total annihilation of tithes.

It is simple; an enactment "that the
"payment of tithes and of all composi-
"tion rent, modus, or other satisfaction

"thereof, or substitution thereof, shall
"totally and for ever cease." Such is the act which I trust will pass in the next session of Parliament.

You have a right, my esteemed friend, to state, and I know you are ready to state, broadly and distinctly, the three objections which may be made to this act, and I will endeavour, in the first instance, to put forward candidly those objections, and afterwards to meet them, I trust, to meet them fully and satisfactorily.

The first objection is "that this would
"be a less destruction of public property
"which, though it were taken away
"from the parsons, ought to be pre-
"served for public purposes, and not
"bestowed in pure bounty to the exclu-
"sive use of the Irish landlords."

You will see that I state this objection in its fullest strength and latitude.

The second objection is, "that the
"lay impropriators have become pur-
"chasers of this species of property
"under the sanction of the same laws,
"and in the same modes by which
"landed estates have been acquired and
"are secured. They ought not, there-
"fore, to be despoiled of their inheri-
"tance therein."

The third objection is "that the be-
"neficed clergy of the Protestant esta-
"blishment have a vested interest for
"the lives of the present incumbents in
"these tithes, that some of them give
"value in spiritual instruction for the
"tithes, and that none of them ought to
"be despoiled during their respective
"lives of any part of their vested in-
"terests."

To the first objection I reply that I concur with you in admitting that tithes are public property, although this fact has been denied by interested bigotry, or at least has been qualified only by a kind of half admission; that if public property at all, they were, however, irrevocably attached to the Protestant episcopal church, and could be employed only for purposes connected with the religion of the church. But this is an assertion which should be treated with the most profound, I would say, with ineffable contempt. Yet it is the lan-

guage of Stanley and Peel, of Inglis and Shaw, and of that class of statesmen who speculate on the excess of human folly as the means of obtaining the objects of their worthless ambition.

It is well to tell these people again and again the history of tithes, in order to confound their arrogant pretensions. The tithes then were dedicated to the public in *this* manner, and no other ; that is, they were assigned to the parochial clergy of the *people* as trustees, in three portions, one-third to build and keep in repair churches for the *people* to worship God in ; one-third for the relief and sustentation of the sick and indigent poor ; and the remaining one-third for the support of a clergy to administer to the spiritual wants of the *people*. By tracing the original grants it will at once be found that the services which the clergy, upon whom these tithes were conferred, were required by the donors thereof to perform were these, to pray for the prosperity, temporal and eternal, of the donors, and for the deliverance of their souls from purgatory ; to invoke the intercession of the blessed Virgin, and of the other saints of God, in favour of the living and of the dead ; to celebrate mass on every Sunday and holiday, and on as many week days as possible ; to administer seven sacraments, and to keep the people instructed in that mode of faith, which sanctioned and required all these ceremonies and sacraments ; and above all, the sacrifice of the mass offered for the living and the dead.

Then came what was and is called the " reformation." Of course I am only speaking of that event historically, and not with any species of polemics. It took away from the sick and indigent their one-third of the tithes. Was not this, my friends, a palpable spoliation and robbery, the spoliation of the poor ? It took away from the duty of building and repairing churches one other third ; was not this something like spoliation ? and it gave *ALL* to a clergy who invoked no saint, who prayed for no dead sinner, who repudiated purgatory, who struck off at one blow five out of the seven sacraments, and sadly mutilated one of

the remaining two, who abolished the sacrifice of the mass, and taught, and insisted, and proclaimed that the religion was *IDOLATRY* to whose service the tithes had been dedicated by the *OWNERS* of the soil.

There was no idolatry, however, in the tithes themselves ! The Protestant clergy took the portion of the poor, the portion of the church, the portion of the Catholic instructor and priest.

You will perceive, respected sir, that I am not disputing with you upon the superiority of either of our modes of faith ; I am only speaking of matters of history, and I submit to your sense of justice and of right whether a more unjust, a more iniquitous, a more totally indefensible transaction ever stained the pages of history, than the transfer of *ALL* the tithes, unconditionally and absolutely, to the Protestant clergy.

In England I know that this injustice was perpetrated by act of Parliament, and consequently, there is a legal title to the tithes in England. You will be surprised to hear that there is *no such statute in Ireland*. I took for granted that there was such a law in Ireland ; but that was caused by my ignorance. I owe the discovery of the fact, that no such law ever was passed in Ireland to Dr. Lefroy, the Member for the University of Dublin. I thank him for it. He was insisting in the House of Commons, on this monstrous doctrine, that the title of the Irish Protestant church to the tithes was to be found at common law. He alleged that they did not claim by any statute, for that *there was none such*. His claim to a common law title could, as of course, be only a subject of derision ; but his denying the existence of a statute confirming the tithes on the Protestant clergy of Ireland, caused me to search diligently the statute-book, and to my equal surprise and delight I found that he was right ; that really there is no such statute, and that, therefore, mark this I pray you, the Protestant clergy of Ireland cannot show any one particle or pretence of legal title to the tithes, nothing more than possession ; a possession usurped without law, and

against the plainest principles of common justice and honesty.

Yet, sir, it is the advocates of a clergy so circumstanced who presume to cry out robbery, and spoliation, and sacrilege, when the legislature deals now with this property. The Catholics of Ireland, a country where the people never became Protestants, and therefore, never required, but, on the contrary, always repudiated the services of the Protestant clergy, appear still to retain the right in the eyes of reason, common sense and justice, to this property. But the clergy of that people disclaim all connexion with it, as if it contained in itself all the ingredients of contamination. They would not consent to my plan of applying part of a fund to be raised by the sale of the right to tithes in the purchase of glebes and manses. They totally and for ever repudiate all contact with a fund which has been rendered odious in Ireland as the cause of ten thousand oppressions, ten thousand murders, and countless other crimes.

What then is to become of the tithes? They must be annihilated. But will that annihilation be to the sole and exclusive profit of the landlord?

Let us first consider how far the landlord will benefit from the abolition of tithes. To ascertain this, we must recollect that land alone is not the only ingredient to constitute tithes. There must, indeed, be the land as the raw material, but as no more than the raw material; there is next the capital of the tenant in purchasing manure, seed to sow, and implements of husbandry of every species; there is, lastly, the tenant's labour. Thus, if you annihilate tithes, you relieve the tenantry of Ireland from this consumption of their labour in vain, from this waste of their capital, but you clearly bestow one-third upon the landlord. Indeed I fear much more than one-third, because the competition for land in Ireland, the hard-heartedness of our absentees, and of so many out of the comparatively few resident proprietors, will stimulate and enable the landlords to take more than their due share of the benefits to arise from the annihilation of tithes.

Still some portion of that benefit will fall to the share of the tenantry. They will have but one claimant upon them, which is in itself an advantage, and they will not expend capital and labour without having some recompense or value given them for that labour and capital. Thus far the people will obtain relief.

Besides, the system of tithes is in its nature a tax on the produce of the soil, and of course is borne to a certain extent by the consumers of that produce, and the annihilation of tithes will relieve the people so far as they are—and they all must be consumers of such produce—whilst it also will increase the demand for, and profit of such produce, as is always the case where there occurs a diminution in the cost of producing any article for consumption.

But still the landlord will take away the lion's share of the advantage of abolishing the tithe system altogether. This evil will, *for the present*, be the more deplorable, as whatever increases the landlord's rents, will necessarily increase the absentee drain, there will be more of the income of the country exported, the exhaustion of the heart's blood of the country will be accelerated, and the fell absentees will be gorged with more of the fat of the land.

How do I propose to obviate this calamity? How do I propose to deal with the landlords so as to prevent their being the persons over-benefited by my measure? My plan is this:

First—One act of Parliament totally abolishing tithes, and composition rent, &c., and including in its provisions the extinction of minister's money in towns and cities.

Second—Another act of Parliament laying on as a quit rent sixpence in the pound upon all rents paid to, or in trust for, all person entitled to the fee and inheritance, and three-pence in the pound upon all intermediate rents payable to any intermediate landlord.

The landlords would thus be compelled to pay out of *their rents* a price for the advantages they will derive from the abolition of tithes. It is calculated that there are at least twelve millions of pounds annual rents payable to the

owners of the fee. This calculation I believe not to be exaggerated. This, at sixpence in the pound, would give an annual income of 300,000*l*.

It is calculated that there are eight millions annually of intermediate rents. This, at three-pence in the pound, would give an annual income of 100,000*l*. The total of both would give us an annual fund of four hundred thousand pounds. I will presently state how this fund should be disposed of. I, however, in the meantime return to your second objection, and will, I think, be able to dispose of it satisfactorily in a few sentences.

The second objection is, in substance, that "the property of lay impropriators in tithes ought not to be taken away without making them compensation."

This point I do not mean to discuss, because I think the objection ought to be yielded to. It will, however, leave a question behind as to the amount of compensation, and the mode of providing for it.

I am prepared upon both these heads.

First—As to the amount. There have been many recent cases of the acquisition of the right to lay tithes at very small prices. Some attorneys, in particular, delighting in the prospect of catching fish in troubled waters, have *speculated* in buying up this species of property. I believe I could point out an unfavourable instance of this kind in the neighbourhood of Belfast, as well as in Munster. Well, I would propose to enact that all persons who purchased such tithes within the twenty years before the 1. of January, 1834, or since that day, should receive for compensation for the extinction of their rights the sums they actually and *bona fide* paid as purchase money. This would not, on the whole, average any thing like twelve years' purchase.

Then, as to the rest, I would make the sum to be paid for their extinction to amount to twelve years' purchase of the sum fairly payable, as tithe-compensation. It may be said that twelve years' purchase is quite too low, but my reply is ready. There is a vast body of evidence upon this subject before Parlia-

ment, given with another view, but meeting the present exigency fortunately and precisely. It is in this way proved by the law and land agents, and public men best acquainted with the subject, that twelve years' purchase was in Ireland, in quiet times, the fair selling price in the market of lay tithes. Thus it follows that the rate of compensation I point out is the actual fair selling price of the article in a favourable market. No lay impropriator, therefore, can complain that we do him any injustice.

The parliamentary returns presented in July and August, in the present year, show that the lay tithes of Ireland amount at the utmost to something about one hundred thousand pounds per annum. This would, at twelve years' purchase, be covered by 1,200,000*l*.

Secondly—As to the mode of providing for the payment of these twelve hundred thousand pounds, there is no kind of difficulty. The rent-tax will give an income, as I have shown above, of 400,000*l*. a year. It will be easy to borrow the 1,200,000*l*. at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or say 4 per cent., to cover all expenses. The sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum out of the rent-tax may be applied to pay off, first the interest, and afterwards to sink the principal of this loan. Thus, at the end of the first year, 48,000*l*. may be applied to defray interest, 52,000*l*. to pay off so much principal. The second year a less sum will be necessary for interest, leaving a larger part of the 100,000*l*. to discharge principal; and thus the lay impropriators will be fully paid off in the first instance, and the money raised to pay them off will be liquidated in a very few years.

It is, of course, part of my plan to compel the lay impropriators to accept the twelve years' purchase in full discharge of their rights. Provision usual in such cases will be made for securing the interests of any persons on whom the lay tithes may happen to be settled in remainder or expectancy.

You will, I trust, agree with me, that considering the great object to be attained in the tranquillization of Ireland by

the extinction of the tithe system, root and branch, it will not be unreasonable to make it compulsory on the lay impropiators to receive the sums I have thus suggested in full satisfaction of the right of property in tithes; a right derived by a still more flagrant act of tyranny and injustice, more barefaced in its enormity than any clerical transfer of tithes could possibly be.

The third objection alone remains, it is founded on the vested rights of the existing incumbents.

Having disposed of the lay tithes, this objection brings us to consider the rights of the clerical tithe receivers. That compensation should be made to some of them seems admitted by all. How far that compensation is to be extended is another and a serious question. It is one upon which I should much desire to know your deliberate opinion; and, indeed, I should wish to be guided rather by the judgment of others, in whom I could confide, than my own.

I have been long of opinion that all existing incumbents should be deemed to have vested interests in their clerical incomes, and be entitled, as such, to compensation during their respective lives. But recent events have staggered this opinion. The unchristian conduct of the parsons

Orange faction has naturally inclined me to consider these claims in a more unfavourable point of view, and I have brought myself very nearly to the conclusion that there ought to be a marked distinction between the working part of the Protestant clergy and those who have received a great deal of money without having done any duty at all.

I could name the Protestant rector of two united parishes, in each of which there is a large Catholic population, exceeding 3,000 souls. In the one there is not one single resident Protestant, nor Protestant at all save a few English sailors acting as coast guards. In the other there is but one Protestant family of six or seven individuals. This rector appears, by the returns to Parliament, not to have read divine service for at least the last three years. Ought this man to get compensation equally with

a laborious Protestant clergyman of Ulster, who has been in the habit of performing burdensome duties? I submit to your cool judgment and good sense, that while the latter ought to get compensation to the full amount of his present income, the claim of the other ought to be totally rejected.

One thing, after all, is quite clear, that no person will contend for it, that if tithes are extinguished there should be any successors to the present incumbents provided for parishes where there are no Protestants, or where the Protestants do not amount to one-third, or at the least, to one-fourth of the inhabitants. Upon this scale, that is taking it at one-fourth, I believe there would not be a successor necessary in any one parish of this extensive county, Kerry, although it contains upwards of two hundred and sixty-four thousand inhabitants.

For my part, you perceive, I contend for it that the sinecurists should be struck off at once, and not allowed any compensation. For this purpose, however, I would reduce the scale, and consent that no incumbent should be deemed a sinecurist in whose parish or benefice one-tenth of the inhabitants were episcopalian Protestants; but that there should be no successor to the present incumbent salaried by the state, unless the number of Protestants amounted to one fourth.

In either view we have ample fund for compensation to the beneficed clergymen for the total abolition of tithes. There are the 400,000*l.* rent-tax, 100,000*l.* of it being in the first instance applicable to the payment of the money raised to satisfy the lay impropiators, there would remain three hundred thousand pounds at present subject to be augmented as the "lay loan" should be discharged.

Taking it at 300,000*l.* at present, we will see what is the amount of clerical tithes to be extinguished; and it appears by the parliamentary returns that these tithes exceed 500,000*l.* per annum. It would, therefore, be necessary and right to turn the compensation to the clergy into a dead weight; to

issue Exchequer bills to meet the present surplus of the five hundred thousand pounds for tithes, and the three hundred thousand pounds now available out of the rent-tax funds. This deficiency would soon be made good by the deaths of incumbents.

For example: the Protestant incumbents are estimated at twelve hundred; now, taking into consideration the age a man must attain in order to get a living, it is reasonable to suppose that there would be an annual decrease of five per cent. or of sixty on the whole. It will thus appear that the rent-tax fund would soon redeem all needful advances, and be amply sufficient to meet all charges for clerical compensation.

But if the sinecurist clergy be struck out at once, the 300,000*l.* rent-tax would alone suffice, or nearly suffice, to provide at once for all proper, just, and reasonable compensation for the loss of all that ought to be deemed vested rights.

Thus I think I have shown :

First—That the tithes may be extinguished, and yet the landlords compelled to contribute to make good to the public a reasonable share of the property which the exoneration of these lands from tithe would confer on them.

Second—That the lay impropiators would receive a just and reasonable compensation.

Third—That all the beneficed clergymen may, without difficulty, receive a similar compensation.

There is, therefore, no one solid or substantial objection to the immediate extinction of tithes, in name, in nature, and in reality. The people of Ireland demand that extinction with a voice of thunder. It is necessary to the peace, to the strength, and to the security of the British empire.

You may ask what my plan is with respect to the rent-tax fund, after it shall have discharged and fully satisfied all rights of compensation for the destruction of the tithe system. It will amount to at least 400,000*l.* per annum, and will augment with the growing prosperity of Ireland.

My plan is to apply that fund in the

various counties in Ireland to relieve the occupiers of lands from grand jury cess; to defray all the expenses of dispensaries, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, and to multiply the number of these institutions until they become quite sufficient for the wants of the sick, the sore, the hurt, the maimed, the blind, the deaf, the diseased or afflicted with any malady, temporary or chronic, amongst the indigent and poor all over Ireland. This is the species of poor-law which would not tend to aggravate any of the mischiefs it was intended to remedy, but would do much good to those who most want relief and assistance.

This letter has run to such length, that I have not space to detail the difficulties in which landlords will involve themselves who interpose by taking upon them the payment to the tithe-owner of the tithe composition, difficulties in point of law, greater embarrassments still in point of fact. But this might lead to terrific consequences, to create a confusion between the landlord's right to rent, which has not as yet been disputed in the most criminal period of our wretched agrarian disturbances, and the landlord's substituted claim to tithe composition; an impost which has been the fruitful source of these agrarian disturbances themselves, replete as they are with every horror and every crime.

I trust our Irish landlords will be cautious how they apply the torch to combustible materials, and once more involve the wretched and persecuted peasantry in all the guilt and all the misery of Whitefeet atrocities.

Inviting your candid criticism upon my plans and views, requesting your aid and co-operation to rouse every parish in Ireland to prepare at once and have ready for presentation on the first day of the next session petitions for the total extinction of tithes,

I have the honour to be,

Respectfully,

Your faithful servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THIS HISTORY will certainly be completed in a few days. See advertisement next *Register*. In the last number (20) will be found a leaf, paragraph 220, for the end of volume I.; another, paragraphs 221 and 222, for the beginning of volume II.; and a title-page for the latter volume.

GARDEN SEEDS.

SEVERAL gentlemen have applied for seeds. Due notice shall be given when they are ready for sale.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those de-

tails, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.**JERVIS, F. P.**, Rathbone-place, Oxford-street, upholsterer.**STARLING, W.**, Bishopsgate-street-without, hatter.**BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.****BICKERDIKE, G.**, Huddersfield, victualer**BANKRUPTS.****BARROW, J.**, and **R. W. Viser**, Bristol and Basinghall-street, merchants.**BENTLEY, J.**, **C. Dear**, and **J. J. M. Richardson**, Cheapside, warehousemen.**BONSON, H.**, Stewart-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.**DAVIDSON, J.**, and **J. Davis**, Garratt-lane, Wandsworth, silk-printers.**GEORGE, H.**, Bathwick, Somersetshire, bookseller.**GRIFFITH, J.**, Cateaton-street, wool-broker.**GROOCCOCK, W. A.**, Kentish Town, merchant.**HINGSTON, T.**, Bristol, cabinet-maker.**HORTON, W.** and **A.**, Sheffield, button-manufacturers.**MILLETT, J.**, sen., Fulham, market-gardener.**MOORE, R. M.**, Bishopsgate-street, oilman.**MORRIS, R.**, Carnarvon, dealer.**NICHOLLS, T.**, Lowther Arcade, linen-draper.**PARKER, R.**, Rupert-street, harness-maker.**POOLE, W.**, Nottingham, boot and shoe-maker.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.****RAMSEY, W.**, Grange, near Edinburgh, gardener.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7.

BANKRUPTS.**BALDWIN, W.**, Limehouse, coal-merchant.**FORTH, I.**, Castle-street, Southwark, hatter.**GIRWOOD, G. F.**, Edgware-road, surgeon.**GOODWYN, G. N.**, Tavistock-row, Covent-garden, hair-dresser.**HOWARD, N.**, Denton, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.**FRY, W. R.**, Portland-terrace, Portland-town, Middlesex, merchant.**RAIKES, R. M.**, London-wall, merchant.**ROBSON, J. A.**, Bank Chambers, Lothbury, discount-agent.**STARLING, W.**, Bishopsgate-street-without, hatter.**THOMPSON, J. T.**, Long-acre, upholsterer.**WELLS, W.**, Nottingham, paper-dealer.**LONDON MARKETS.****MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 6.**—
The arrivals fresh up to this morning's mar-

ket from the home counties have been moderate, but added to the quantity left over from last week, caused the stand to be well filled with samples. Fine white Wheat continues in a very limited supply, and at the opening of the market a few extra prime parcels realized more money, with rather an improved demand for the better qualities, but towards the close of the trade the finer descriptions were noted only steady at the previous rates, while the middling and inferior qualities met with little or no attention, though 1s. less money than this day week would have been accepted to have effected a clearance. For good runs of Kentish red Wheat only 40s. were offered. A partial inquiry existed for low-priced bonded Wheats for export.

Barley was in moderate supply, but as the warmth of the weather prevents the maltsters from commencing their operations, the demand is still on a limited scale. There were some good malting qualities offering, and the prices of last Monday were in general supported.

Malt heavy sale, but prices nominally unaltered.

The fresh arrivals of Oats this morning has been limited; the sale, however, was slow, as dealers as well as consumers refrain from purchasing in anticipation of increased supplies. Good sweet old corn sustained no alteration in the currency, but the new descriptions hung on hand, and must be noted 6d. lower than this day week. Oats in bond met with little attention, and are nominal at 10s. to 11s. Good fresh feed Oats are offering free on board, at from 10s. to 10s. 6d. per barrel.

Beans supported the former quotations, and for bonded qualities an inquiry has existed at 21s. to 22s.

White Peas, owing to the foreign sample pressing on the market, are 1s. to 2s. per qr. lower, but as these qualities are, no doubt, now being worked off, and the duties advancing, prices are likely soon to improve. Maple and Grey 1s. per quarter cheaper.

The Flour Trade rules dull, but the want of wind and water, which is now generally preventing the millers from working, checks any further fall in the price of the article.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 45s.
White	50s. to 54s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire.	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
West Country red	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
Northumberland and Leicestershire red	36s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	37s. to 40s.
White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
Irish red	34s. to 38s.
White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Maltng	31s. to 34s.
Chevalier	35s. to 36s.

Distilling	28s. to 30s.
Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	33s. to 37s.
Maple	34s. to —s.
White Boilers	35s. to 41s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
Harrow	33s. to 36s.
Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
Short, small	22s. to 25s.
Poland	22s. to 25s.
Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Berwick	24s. to 26s.
Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
Potato	23s. to 24s.
Black	22s. to 23s.
Brass, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
Single ditto,	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland, ..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, October 6.

This day's supply of Beasts was for the time of the year, good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porks but limited. Trade was with prime Mutton, somewhat brisk, at an advance; with prime Beef dull at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; whilst the middling and inferior kinds, as also Lamb, Veal, and Pork, experienced a tardy sale, at Friday's quotations.

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8. **MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.**—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

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TO MR. GEORGE KING.

SIR,—In sending you the few following particulars, describing the severe bodily affliction I have endured upwards of eight years, and the great relief I have experienced from said affliction, in an extraordinary short space of time, by the use of Morison's Pills, I am sure that I will incur the derision of the sceptical, and the sneer of the scoffer. However, this will not deter me from performing what I consider an imperious duty to my fellow-creatures in affliction, that they may learn where to find a remedy in time of trouble. My case was as follows:

During the number of years above-mentioned, I may say sound sleep has been a stranger to me, by reason of severe nervous affections or starting fits, which troubled me in such quick succession, when I laid myself down in my bed, that until four in the morning I was unable to close my eyes in peace; and what rest I got was not refreshing, for when I awoke in the morning I felt myself quite exhausted and languid. Accompanied with the above distressing symptoms, I felt, at almost all times of the day and night, sharp severe pains in my breast and sides. Oftentimes during this period of severe suffering and distress, my stomach was so wretchedly bad, that although the most dainty viands had been set before me, I was unable to partake of any thing, it quite sickened and disgusted me to look at victuals. A severe husky cough, with inclination to vomit, always troubled me in the morning; and, latterly, about five months ago, my stomach and bowels swelled to such an extent, that I was afraid dropsy had taken place. After trying many remedies to dispel my tormentor, but all to no use, as a last resource, at the instigation of a near relation, I thought of trying Morison's Pills; and it was well for me that I did so, for, by the blessing of God accompanying the means, before I had used two small boxes, I enjoyed a state of health to which I had been a stranger for many years. My sleep is now sound, my appetite good, and all the swelling and pain dispelled from my body. As I intend to recommend the Medicines to all my acquaintances, you may give whatever publicity to this statement you think proper.—Sir, yours, &c.

Inverness, 14, Feb., 1834. **WIDOW GIBB.**

Some people, after reading the foregoing certificate of cure, may be apt to cry "Bah! the woman has been hypochondriac." Well, allowing this to be the case, if Morison's Pills cure hypochondriasm, it is more than all the M.D.'s of Europe put together, with the Pharmacopoeia to boot, could do.

G. K.

CHEAP and **LEGAL ALMANACKS** for 1835.—The Repeal of the Stamp Duty on Almanacks having opened a channel for spreading useful information amongst all classes of the people, the following list of Almanacks, now ready, is respectfully submitted to the public:—

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Booksellers in the country will please take particular notice that these Almanacks are inferior to none, are all worked on good paper, with new type cast expressly for the proprietors—and that the profit will be larger than that allowed by the "olden" monopolists, or the "diffusion" people. All orders, with references in town for cash, promptly attended to, without any charge for commission.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 86.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



No. IV.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,
LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

MARSHALL, *Waterford, 6. Oct., 1834.*

I BROKE off my last letter in telling you, that I would tell you about the farmers another time. There are *some* large farmers, and these have *barns* and thrashing-machines; but the greater number have from 5 acres of land to 40 perhaps. *Our acre* is about three quarters of an *Irish acre*; but I speak of *our acre*. Where there are barns, they are of stone. The ground of all this kingdom seems to be upon beds of stone, and great part *lime-stone*; so that all buildings are of these, stone and mortar; and the *fences*, where there are any, are of stone. The farmers in general have *no barns*. They put their sheaves into little cocks and seldom thatch them; and they do the same with the hay. They beat out the corn (wheat, &c.) in *their miserable houses*, and winnow it by the wind, on cloths, having no vans to do it with. They then put it into bags holding about six of our bushels, which are lifted on a *car* (a sort of *bed* of a cart without head or tail or sides, which, when wanted to carry potatoes or apples, are made of *oziars*), and carry it and sell it to the corn-dealers, who send almost all of it to England. The *farmer* and his family are all in half nakedness or rags; their lot is little better than the mere labour-

ers. They raise wheat and barley and oats and butter and pork in great abundance; but never do they *taste* any of either, except, perchance, a small part of the meal of the *oats*. Potatoes are their sole food. I wish the farmers of our parish could see one that I saw in the fine county of KILKENNY. His dress was a mere bundle of rags, tied round his body with a band of straw; his legs and feet bare, no shirt, and his head covered with a rag, such as you would rip out of the inside of an old *cart-saddle*. The landlord generally lets his great estate to some *one man*, who lets it out in *littles*; and this *one man* takes *all* from the wretched farmer. Some of the farmers in England *grumble* at the *poor-rates*. Well, there are *no poor-rates here*! Let them come here then, and lead the life of these farmers! They will soon find that there is something worse than *poor-rates*! And if the Scotch vagabonds, of whom I have spoken so often, should succeed in their schemes, you may tell the farmers of our parish, that they will be in *this very state*; that their wives will have no hats, bonnets, or caps; but must, in wet weather, *have a wad of straw tied upon their heads*! Mrs. WEST and Mrs. FASCOTTEN and Mrs. HEATHORN would look so nice, naked up to the knees, some rags tied round their middle, no smock, and their heads covered with a wad of straw! And this will be their lot, if ever the *poor-rates* be abolished in England; as the Scotch villains (who have *beggared the industrious people of their own country*) are endeavouring to prevail on the Parliament to abolish them in England.

Marshall, I have now been over about 180 miles in Ireland, in the several counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Waterford. I have, in former years, been in every county of England, and across every county more than one way. I have been through the finest part of Scotland. I have lived in the finest parts of the United States of America. And here I

am to declare to all the world, that I never passed over any 50 miles, in my life, any 50 *unbroken miles*, of land so good on an average during the whole way, as the average of these 180 miles. Perhaps there are parts, *patches*, of England better than this land; but take England, one with the other, it is nothing like so good as this; and yet here are these starving people! And this is only because they have *no law* to give them their due share of the fruits of their labour!

In coming from Kilkenny to Waterford I and my friend (Mr. O'Higgins), in a post-chaise, came through a little town called MILLINAVAT, where there was a fair for *cattle* and *fat hogs* and *apples*. There might be 4,000 people; there were about 7 acres of ground covered with cattle (mostly fat), and all over the street of the town there were about THREE THOUSAND BEAUTIFUL FAT HOGS, lying all over the road and the streets; and our chaise was *actually stopped and blocked up by fat hogs*; and we were obliged to stop till the civil and kind people could get them out of our way! There was a sight to be seen by me, who had never seen thirty such hogs together in the course of my life, these hogs weighing from *ten to thirty score* each! Ah! but there arose out of this fine sight reflections that made my blood boil; that the far greater part of those who had bred and fattened these hogs were never to taste one morsel of them, no not even the offal, and had lived *worse* than the hogs, not daring to taste any part of the *meal* used in the fattening of the hogs! The hogs are to be killed, dried or tubbed, and sent out of the country to be sold for money to be *paid to the landowners*, who spend it in London, Bath, Paris, Rome, or some other place of pleasure, while these poor creatures are raising all this food from the land, and are starving themselves. And this is what we shall come to in *England*, unless we call upon our member, Mr. LEBACH, to protect us.

I will tell you more about these *landowners* another time; but I will now, before I conclude this letter, give you

one fact, which will enable you to judge of what would be the lot of the working men in England, if there were to be no *poor-rates*. There are here, as there are in England, several *sorts* of potatoes: some are called *minions*, others *apple-potatoes*; these are the *best*. Others are called *lumpers*; and these are the *worst*. When men or women are employed, at *6d.* a day and their *board*, to dig *minions* or *apple-potatoes*, they are not suffered to *taste them*, but are sent to another field to dig *lumpers* to eat; and this is called *boarding* them! That fact is enough: it is enough for you to know that *THAT* is what the Scotch vagabonds mean when they propose to bring you to "COARSE food": it is enough for you to know *THAT* to *rouse you all to a sense of your danger*, and to urge you to come to a *county-meeting* and to do your duty like men, true to your country and true to the King and to the laws of England.

I hope that all of you are well; and that not a man of you will ever again suffer a potato to grow in your gardens, or be brought into your houses; and if any one bring a potato into my house, except to *stuff a fat goose*, or a *fat sucking pig*, Mr. DEAN has my order to *discharge that person directly*. You have peas and beans of all sorts for summer; carrots, parsnips, beets for winter; white cabbages *all the year through*; the best of bread, bacon, and puddings always; and if you still hanker after that accursed root without which Ireland could not have been brought to its present state, and which has *banished bread* from the labourer's house here; if you still hanker after this "COARSE food," you shall go elsewhere to get it; for you shall not have it in the service (in house or out of house) of

Your master and friend,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Kilkenny, 8. Oct., 1831.

SIR,—Here I am, in the country which has the honour to be the birth-

place of your father and mother, and which was very near to having the greater honour of being the birth-place of yourself. The accounts, which you get from England, will show you the *good*, the *glorious good*, which your wise and just measures are producing there. They have brought down prices *one third* in that country, and have filled CORRUPTION with a degree of alarm that makes her knees knock together. Here, WHITE LAMMAS WHEAT sell (highest price) at 18s. the barrel of 280 pounds; that is, AT 33s. THE ENGLISH QUARTER; so that the 30 millions a year to be paid to the fundholders now demands about *three times and a half* as much wheat as it demanded before Peel's Bill was passed!

What wise men we have to manage our affairs! If your countrymen support you in your measures for giving to your country a currency of HARD-MONEY; if they do their duty, as all the world knows that you will do yours, you and they will establish for ever, the security, the power, the glory of the United States, and make your country, for ages, that which it now is, the refuge and the avenger of the oppressed of all other nations. There are persons *here*, who are sending away to you thousands upon thousands of men, with *gold in their pockets*: no, not to you, to CANADA: convenient *filtering stone*! For, there all the *feeble* remain, while the stout and useful cross the line, and join their well-fed and well-clad countrymen in the United States, to add to her wealth and her power. But, we have *so much gold!* and *so many able men!* It would be to be niggardly not to send you *some* of both!

When it pleased God to permit a portion of the creation to be imbued with *maliginity of the most hellish character*, He, in mercy to mankind, took care that that malignity should be accompanied with *imbecility*, which, in the end, must counteract and punish the malignity. Without troubling you with a description of the *particular instance* by which this doctrine is so amply illustrated and verified, and which instance will, indeed, instantly suggest

itself to your mind; it is with inexpressible pleasure and gratitude that I behold in you, sir, the greatest and most efficient instrument in His hands, in accomplishing this work of counteracting and of punishing.

Sir, I should fail, if I were to try my best, to do a tenth part of justice to the admiration and the honour with which your name is pronounced by the millions of men of sense and of virtue in this kingdom; and, I have only to hope, that you will do me the justice to believe, that, in this respect, no one of all the millions surpasses him who has the honour to be,

Your most humble
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
LORD RADNOR,

On his reported speech, in the House of Lords, on the 21. of July, 1834, on the New Poor-Law Scheme.

LETTER IV.

*Evergreen Lodge, Cork,
12. October, 1834.*

MY LORD,

I AM now to speak to you on the subject of that "LAW OF NATURE," to which your grave and sober and sensible Scotch Mentor *appealed* (in justification of this project) *from the law of the land* and the revealed law of God. The "LAW OF NATURE" is, in fact, no law at all. It means a state of things, in which every man has a right to take and use that which he can get into his possession, if he have need of that thing. Nature; man's nature, teaches him (unless his nature be perverted and vicious) not to kill other people; not to hurt them, or bite them, or be in any way cruel to them; it forbids him to eat that which others have earned, unless he cannot sustain life without it; but, it opposes no restraint at all on any man, other than those restraints which are imposed by the dictates of nature herself. It is a very curious affair, that his "*law of nature*" is cooked up for

the purpose of denying the right of relief to the poor ; is cooked up by the barbarous and nasty **MALTHUS**, and by his disciples ; is pleaded in bar of the express law of God, and the express law of the land, for this savage purpose ; but is held in abhorrence ; is held to be even legally seditious, when pleaded by poor men, in bar of the rights of property. Poor **SPENCE** was imprisoned two years ; and **EVANS** was tried for high treason, for no other offence than that of asserting, *that all the lands belonged to all the people at large, and that the people ought not to take them into their possession* ; and, whether your lordship recollects the fact or not, it is the fact, that one of the express grounds for passing the gagging and the dungeoning bill of 1817, was, that the "**PRETENDED REFORMERS**" (which was a lie, however) ; that the "*pretended reformers asserted, that the land was 'the people's farm'*" ; and this is to be seen in the report of the committee of the Lords, who proposed the passing of the power of imprisonment, the gagging, and the dungeoning bills ; the bills that enabled **SIDMOUTH** and **CASTLEREAGH** to cram the dungeons with men that had committed no crime ; the bills that drove me across the Atlantic, whence, with my long arm, I so belaboured the greedy and savage borough-mongers.

Yet suppose the charge against the reformers to have been true, instead of being a scoundrelly lie ; suppose the allegation to have been true, what more did it amount to than that we pleaded the **LAW OF NATURE** against the law of the land ; that we pleaded, "that the land was the people's farm" ; that we denied proprietorship in the land to all men : supposing this to have been true, instead of being, as it was, a scoundrelly lie ; what did we do more than your steady, sober-minded, and humane Scotch guide now does ? He pleads the "*law of nature*" (and we shall presently see with what object he pleads it) against the law of the land ; and, what, I say, did we do more, even if the lying allegation against us had been true ?

The charge was, that we said, in so many words, "*that the land was the people's farm*" ; and, my lord, is your park, or are your farms, yours, any more than they are ours ? Did **NATURE** give them to you ? Is your **BODY** part and parcel of them ? Have the **ELEMENTS** combined to say, that no one shall share in them but yourself ? Oh, no ! Your estate is no more yours than it is that of the poorest man that toils upon it ; by **NATURE** it is no more yours than it is his ; there is no express law of God to give it you ; and you have not a shadow of right to the possession of it, if you appeal to the **LAW OF NATURE** against the law of the land.

You have no strength to secure the exclusive possession of it ; *nature* has given you no means of compelling any one to give you a farthing for any part of it : you live at your ease, and without toil : you fare sumptuously, in consequence of being able to draw from the estate that which is earned upon it by others : you do not make a single ear of wheat to come, nor a blade of grass : were there no law of the land ; were there no constable, justice of the peace, jailer, judge, and hangman, you would have no more out of the produce of that estate, than that which came out of it by your bodily labour ; and that is all that you would be entitled to. It is very right ; and, if it were necessary, I could show, that it is very useful and beneficial to a people at large, that there should be a certain portion of the kingdom parcelled out in large estates ; and that there should be constables, jailers, judges, and hangmen, to keep the owners of estates in quiet possession of them : but, then, they must cast aside appeals to the "*law of nature*," and take away the argument of your Scotch guide ; his *best* argument for the passing of this bill.

His assertion was this ; that all legal relief to the necessitous was wrong, was an evil ; and that even all that which was called *charity* ; benevolence, as it was called ; that even these were evils ; because they either tended to make the parties receiving relief, idle, negligent, improvident ; or, in case of the parties

being really objects of deep compassion they prevented the *parents and kindred of the poor and indigent from obeying THE LAW OF NATURE, and giving the relief that was wanted.* He is reported to have said, that, "when he came to the third species of charity "that which went to support the aged and infirm, he would say, *that it was against all sound principles.*" CHADWICK *who is to be the Secretary to this Board and whom you applaud to the skies, by implication at least, speaks thus of a proper officer, to manage the poor; he says, that this proper officer must be "a man of remarkable intelligence, remarkable activity, remarkable firmness, and of remarkable disinterestedness ready to sacrifice himself to the performance of his duty; a man of great penetration, of great firmness, that will refuse to relieve the real indigent, regardless of popularity ready in the performance of a thankless duty to incur the curses of the profligate, the censures of the sentimental, and the enmity of the powerful, he must be a man not of narrow sympathies, governed by the appearances of misery before him, whether those appearances be real or assumed."*

Now, this is the doctrine upon which your lordship has supported this bill according to the report given of your speech. It would be insincerity of which you are not capable; and it would be the excess of foolishness besides, to pretend that you supported the bill upon principles *other than these.* You supported the bill after the hatcher and mover of it had laid down these principles as having guided him in the framing of the bill. You are incapable of attempting to shuffle; but the most shuffling and tricky fellow that ever sponged a living out of the taxes would not get out of this conclusion. Well, then, these principles you make *your own*: the words were spoken by BROUGHAM, and written by CHADWICK, the penny-a-line reporter; but they become *your words*, if the report of your speech be correct; and you are for an *appeal to the law of nature*, and for putting the

poor under the hard-hearted wretch described by CHADWICK.

It is NATURE's law that parents and children and brethren and kindred should take care of one another, and relieve one another's distresses; share with one another the last farthing and the last bit of bread. This is NATURE's law, and God's law too; and your lordship remembers well what the apostle says, that "he that neglects his own kindred is worse than a heathen." In accordance with this law of nature and law of God has been the law of the land, until the day on which you passed this Poor-law Bill. The law of ELIZABETH, in making a legal and certain provision for the destitute, took care to provide that the fathers, the mothers, the grandfathers, and the grandmothers, should relieve the necessities of the children and the grandchildren, if *able to do it*; and that the children and grandchildren, if able to do it, should relieve the necessities of their fathers, mothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers. But do you not know? Yes, you know it well; whatever plea of ignorance the Scotch projectors may have, you have no plea of ignorance on this score, my lord: you know well that it every day occurs that persons are found in a state of the utmost destitution, having neither parent nor child, nor any relation in the whole world, able to afford them the smallest degree of relief; and you know besides, that the working people, aye, and many tradesmen and farmers too, have been brought into this state, not by any offences, or negligences, or bad conduct of their own; but by having their earnings taken from them by taxes laid on by the two Houses of Parliament; and which taxes, as far as they operate upon the working people, were kept on to the last penny, at the time when you were passing this bill.

But, my lord, is shame completely vanished from this world? Is there no such thing left appertaining to human nature? My lord, I have no pleasure in tipping up these things. I have no desire to stir up the boiling rage of the working people, but hearing you; I would not have minded what was said

by BROUGHAM or GREY, nor by any such people; but when I hear you support and praise a project, founded upon an assertion that the industrious classes of this country disregard the precepts of nature and the commands of God, by leaving their kindred to starve; when I hear you doing this; when I see a reported speech of yours sanctioning this horrible libel on this good and kind and just working people, I cannot refrain from asking your lordship to look at the conduct of those; to look at the conduct of *the aristocracy*, and see how *they* act as to this matter; to look at the millions; I deliberately say millions, which they swallow up every year, in pensions, in sinecures, in allowances, in grants; to look at the fifteen hundred thousand pounds given to the poorer clergy during the Regency of George the Fourth; given to *relieve the poor clergy*, while the rich clergy took away the endowments which the poor clergy ought to have had. And do the *relations of your lordship* receive nothing in this way? Yet you are of ability to relieve them. The "*law of nature*," and the command of God, bid you relieve them. How many peers are there, and how many members of the other House, who, by themselves or by their relations, do not receive *relief* of some sort or other, out of the taxes paid, and in great part paid by the labouring people? What becomes of BROUGHAM's LAW OF NATURE here? The "*law of nature*" bids me provide, if I be able, for my own kindred; but the "*law of nature*" does not bid me provide for the *relations of the nobility*; and as to the commands of God, they forbid me to keep silence, while I see the relations of the rich pampered up and kept in luxury out of the fruit of the labour of the poor.

I never yet heard anything worthy of the name of an apology for taxing the food and the drink of the working people, for the purpose of collecting the means of feeding and clothing, and keeping in the style of gentlefolks, the brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts, and cousins, of lords, or other men of great estate. I never heard

anything worthy of the name of an apology for this; and I should be glad to hear some one attempt it; at any rate apologized for, and justified too, it speedily must be; or we must hear the open declaration, that you will continue to do it **BECAUSE YOU HAVE THE POWER!** And indeed we are little short of hearing this declaration now; but we must have it out, plain and entire: this Poor-law Bill gives the people *the challenge*, and stirs up all rights and all claims to their very foundation.

You charge the industrious classes with an abandonment of the Christian duty; the duty imposed by the law of nature also. Stop here while I think of it. Did the "*law of nature*" give to the nasty and greedy parson MALTRUS his PENSION? He told us, that a law ought to be passed to refuse relief to all poor persons whatsoever who should marry after a certain day, to them and their children. He told us that for such persons "*there was no seat at nature's board.*" Monster! Did nature bid him, then, have a pension of a hundred pounds a year for doing nothing; and that pension, too, wrung from the sweat of the labouring people? God is just, but if there were not punishment to fall upon the heads of those who have the blasphemy to hold principles like these, or to support principles like these, God would not be just; but he is just, and justice he will inflict upon these persons; these audacious contemners of his law, these profligate blasphemers. The nasty MALTRUS says, that a man who shall marry and be in want, after notice given him, "*has no claim upon society for the smallest portion of relief.*" Impudent parson! What claim had he? And what claim have the swarms who are upon the pension list, upon the sinecure list, and upon the dead-weight list; and all the lists that swallow up the earnings of the working people? And is impudence to prevail *forever*? Is it *always* to be thus? Are we *always* to be told that Englishmen were born to be slaves; and that their food is not COARSE enough yet? No: it is not *always* to be thus; a day

of justice must come, and will come ; a day of judgment it will be, to those who plead the law of nature for giving pensions to the rich, and for not giving relief to the poor.

When I stopped at the beginning of the last paragraph I was about to notice the audacity of charging the industrious classes of this country with an abandonment of the duty of relieving their own kindred, as imposed by the law of nature and the law of God. And this is a foul charge, a base charge, an audaciously lying charge. It frequently happens amongst the industrious classes, that parents and grandparents have children and grandchildren in a state of great indigence requiring relief : it as frequently happens, that children and grandchildren possess the means of relieving parents and grandparents who are in a state of indigence. The law of ELIZABETH requires that these persons of substance shall perform these duties, and that the indigent persons shall not be thrown upon the parish. There is not, perhaps, one single parish in the whole kingdom which does not contain certain persons who must either die or be relieved by the parish, if they were not relieved by their kindred ; and yet how few, my God ! how few are the instances in which it is found necessary for parish officers to resort to the law on this score ! It is a thing that we hardly ever hear of amongst all the thousands of the parishes, and all the millions of the industrious classes ; and mind, it is a thing which the parish officers *never neglect* ; and which they never neglect, nor the magistrates either, to perform in the *strictest possible manner*. Indeed they sometimes perform it in a manner so strict as to stand in no need of the example of Parson Lowe, or the precepts of CHADWICK, as I now shall show by an instance which I shall lay before your lordship.

At TICEHURST, in Sussex, an old man, upwards of eighty, I believe, who had had a son, who died and left behind him three children, two boys and a girl. The mother was dead, too, I believe ; but the children stood in need of employment or of parish relief. The boys,

and I think the girl too, were constantly employed by the farmers of the parish, but not earning a sufficiency, or rather, not receiving a sufficiency in *the shape of wages* to maintain them, they were got into the *poor-book* ; and after a good while, the parish officers brought in a bill to the grandfather of all the disbursements that they had given out of the *poor-book* to the children ; and he, refusing to pay, was summoned before the magistrates, who decided that he should pay. This poor man, who had had nothing but his labour to depend upon all his life, and who had been so industrious, so sober, and so frugal, as to have brought up ten children without going to the parish for assistance in any way whatever, when he told the magistrates that all that he possessed in the world were two miserable tenements, worth fifteen pounds a year, was told that he might *sell those tenements* ! and thus be left, between eighty and ninety, to come to the workhouse at last. Things were in this state when the man made his complaint to me. How it ended I do not know, but the case, as far as I have knowledge of it, is enough : and, my lord, when a lord, or a squire, or a dignified parson, comes to cram his relations into the pension-list, why is he not summoned before magistrates, to show cause why he should not maintain them out of his substance, by sale of his estate if he be otherwise destitute of means ? And, again I say, shall we *never* see a day of justice ; and while men of great estate are thus swallowing up the earnings of the poor in order to give relief to their relations, shall the poor be thus compelled to maintain their own relations out of the fruit of their own earnings ? It is useless to talk about the matter any more ; this Poor-law Bill has laid all bare ; has ripped up every thing, and has given us but this one choice : JUSTICE to the industrious classes by one means or another.

The law of primogeniture has long been detested by a large part of the people of this country. My constituents proposed to make it a point with me that I should endeavour to cause the

abolition of that law, to which proposition I did not assent; because while an abolition of that law would set at nought the succession to the crown, I could see, as I told my constituents, no harm that this law could do *them, if the House of Commons did its duty*. Their opinion was, that it was this law, giving all the estate to one child, and leaving the rest with nothing, which threw that rest, with hungry jaws and naked backs, to be fed and clad out of the labour of the people; that it tended to create unnecessary offices; military and naval academies; that it gave us two hundred and fifty admirals, and four hundred and fifty generals, when a dozen of each would be more than enough; that it ruined the colonies by heaping on them the sons and the dependents of the great; that it heaped livings in the church on the nobility and their relations, while it left the working clergy to starve, as in the case of your lordship's brother, that I mentioned before in my last letter, who has a great living and a prebend, while there are thousands of parsons, even incumbents, who have not each a hundred pounds a year, and while taxes are sweated out of the people to be given to these poor incumbents. And, in short, that the country was devoured in consequence of the nobility, gentry, and higher clergy, causing their endless liters to be kept in food and raiment, purchased by the earnings of the people.

This was all very true; and my answer was, that if the law of primogeniture could not exist unaccompanied with these things, I would call in the devil to assist me to destroy it, if I could not destroy it without his assistance; but that this was not the fact: the law of primogeniture could exist, and has existed for centuries, without these monstrous encroachments and swallowings existing at the same time. An instance or two in proof will be sufficient. We have now to pay 212,100*l.* a year, as pensions to the widows of officers and their families; but in the year 1792, after the tremendous and bloody American war, when we had to fight with France, Spain, and Holland, at the same

time, we had to pay only 9,381*l.* a year. Monstrous difference! Yet the law of primogeniture existed in 1792, as well as it does now. Oh, no! It is not the ancient law of primogeniture that does us the harm; but it is the want of a House of Commons with a resolution that the people shall not have the money taken from them to be given to the aristocracy and their relations; and there must come such a House of Commons, or there must come something that I will not attempt to describe!

Thus, my lord, this Scotch *feelosofical* poor-law project sets us to work to rake up every thing; it makes us sift and analyse every claim, every acknowledged right, every title, and as Mr. OASTLER says, in a pithy little pamphlet, which he has just published, entitled, "*A Letter to the Editor of the Argus and Demagogue, on the validity of Sir John Ramsden's title to the sums of money he claims for Canal Dues*"; now, that the game is begun "we must inquire into the validity of all property." I wish your lordship would read this little pamphlet of Mr. OASTLER. I would insert it here, for it should be read by every man in the kingdom; and while I acknowledge myself not bold enough to do this, I beg Mr. OASTLER to accept of my best thanks for his most meritorious little pamphlet: he has laid the matter bare; he has shown that it is our right and our duty now to inquire into the nature and origin of property: now to discuss the right to rent, as well as the right to rates. After expressing his hope, that correct lists will be published of those who supported, and those who reproached the Poor-law Bill, he exclaims, "What a glorious sight it would have been for England, if, when the Commons sent up to them the Poor-law Bill, the Lords had risen *en masse*, and said, 'WE WILL THAT THE LAW OF ENGLAND BE NOT CHANGED'; then would the people have hailed them as their fathers and protectors: but, alas! and then he goes on to say, that which I do not choose to repeat, but that which I believe to be true. I myself looked

upon it almost as a matter of course, that the Lords would do this; and, therefore, I, seeing the bill had passed the Commons, exclaimed, "THANK GOD THAT WE HAVE A HOUSE OF LORDS!" I never could believe that the Lords would give their sanction to this bill. There was every reason in the world against the belief, and no one for it. What! There were the GREY newspapers suggesting the justice and necessity of *reforming the House of Lords*. Unequivocally asserting, that an hereditary assembly ought to be suffered no longer to exist. There were others in abundance calling for the ousting of the Bishops from Parliament: there were publications coming forth every day, putting forth what proved to every man of sense, that your order was closely besieged by the money-monster, and that it must rely for protection, if protection it finally had, upon the millions of industrious and unambitious people; and this is the moment you choose, not only for agreeing to this bill in eager haste, but for improving it in point of harshness.

Very much, indeed, are you deceived, my lord, if you imagine, that none but mere labourers; none but what is called "*the poor*," feel any interest in this matter. Faith! all men who are not landowners, perceive that they, if they be farmers, tradesmen, mechanics, they all perceive that the bill is not intended to do *them* good. They all know what the bill is intended to do; they all know that they are within the reach of possible poverty and possible want. In vain does your lordship talk about sparing the purses of *those who pay the rates*. Those who pay the rates pay the *rents*; and there are none of them such asses as not to perceive, that if the rates were abolished, you would exact the amount from them *in rents*. Very kind of you, to be sure, to take the expending of the rates out of the hands of those who pay them *into your own hands*, or into the hands of *commissioners appointed by you*, and removable at your pleasure; those commissioners having CHADWICK for their secretary too; CHADWICK, who was a

runner under the Bishop of London and STURGES BOURNE, and who is now manifestly intended to be the soul of the commissioners. Very kind of you, too, TO GIVE YOURSELVES THE VOTES AT THE VESTRIES, and in case of your absence, enabling you to vote by PROXY! My lord, and do you really imagine, that the farmers and the tradesmen, and all the industrious part of the people, who, in reality, pay all the taxes; do you believe that none but landowners and titled persons can see to the bottom of a scheme like this? If you do believe it, you are the most deceived of all mankind.

I suppose that BROUGHAM will call this bill the "*LAW OF NATURE*"; and I should not wonder if some half-mad, half-drunken, devil, were to step forward and assert, that, the "*law of nature*" gave you the right to the votes in the vestry, and the voting by proxy. If this be so, I trust in God we shall repeal the "*law of nature*," as soon as we meet. Such NATURE as this we have never heard any thing of before.

All this while, it is the poor that are to be *bettered*, by the workhouse dresses, by the big workhouse, fifty miles off, by being left to starve, or submit to degradation, heretofore unheard of. They are to be *bettered* by the system of PAISON LOWE! GILBERT and FEARN, whose acts are recorded in my second letter to your lordship, did not think that they were *bettered* by it. This is the most shameful pretence of all: the most unblushing of all the instances of impudence on the part of the supporters of this bill: impudent enough to pretend that the *tenants* will be *benefited* by the landlords having the *votes* in the vestries, and voting by *proxy*! Impudent enough in affecting to believe that it will be a benefit to morals, and tend to promote chastity, to let loose the policemen, the soldiers, the squires' and lords sons, the whiskered hands of the sister-services, the swarms of footmen, grooms, and coachmen, fed out of the taxes; impudent and profligate enough to pretend that the taking of all these from the prostitutes, and turning them loose with the security of impunity,

upon the yet unprostituted part of the young women; quite impudent enough to pretend that this would have a tendency to promote chastity and to correct dissolute morals; but the impudence of all impudence is, to support this bill under the pretence that it would make the lives of the working people *more happy*, when there lie the instructions to the barrister who drew the bill stating, "THAT IT IS DESIRABLE TO BRING THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, BY DEGREES, TO LIVE UPON COARSER FOOD THAN THEY NOW LIVE UPON." Of all the impudence that the world ever witnessed, the impudence of supporting this bill upon the ground that it will make the working people *better off*, is the greatest.

Perhaps I do the supporters of this bill a wrong, after all. It may be, that they are actuated by motives of *piety*. They know that holy men have asserted, and have proved, that to keep the flesh in a tame state, is necessary sometimes to preserve the purity of the soul, and to ensure its salvation. Hence the fasts and the vigils so sternly exacted by priests of extraordinary piety; and these supporters may possibly think that taking away the bacon and the bread, and by supplying their place by potatoes and sea-weed, will have a tendency to ensure the salvation of the souls; and this motive may possibly have been powerful with the Bishop of London, and with his brothers, the bull-frog farmers of Norfolk, one of whom I saw at New York, preparing, as I understood, to be *citizenized*, being in search of "*profitable employment for capital*," emigration here being strictly associated with accumulation.

Ah, my lord! Nobody is deceived *now*! The bill was hurried along: there was too much of it for men to understand in so short a space of time: the House of Commons is less to blame than people generally think: the members had no time to read the reports, and no time at all to reflect on them. Not one member out of ten saw the drift of the scheme. Now, every one sees it; and every one sees that, unless it bring

down *living* and *wages* to something like the Irish standard, it will fail in producing the effect intended by its projectors, and by a great part of its supporters. What have you to say, my lord, in answer to my positive assertion about the "COARSER FOOD"? You must either say, "that you believe me to tell a lie; and a wilful lie; and that I told this lie to the face of Lord ALTHORP, who could have contradicted me, and who did not do it: you must believe that this is a lie; you must believe that the instructions to the barrister contained no such words; or you must believe, that it is the intention of the Government to make their commissioners adopt regulations to force this COARSER FOOD upon the people. You must believe one of these two; the former you *cannot* believe; or, at least, if you can, no man living will *believe that you can*: you must, therefore, believe the latter; that is to say, you must believe, that it is the intention of the Government to make the commissioners adopt regulations which shall induce the people of England to live on a COARSER food; it being, of course, agreeable to the *LAW OF NATURE*," that those whose labour causes the victuals, the clothing, the houses, and the drink, to come, should live upon potatoes and sea-weed, while the lazy part of the community have the meat and the drink, and all the good things of this world. You must believe this; and yet you profess that you support the bill because you believe that it will make the working people *BETTER OFF*!

And, now, I have two things to ask of your lordship: first, *in what way are the people to be induced to live upon COARSER FOOD* than they live upon at present? and, second, *why it should be desired* to make them live upon coarser food, than they live upon at present? And now, my lord, these are two *little pithy and most interesting questions*: they take us right away into the very heart of the scheme: they show us that the big workhouses, the ugly workhouse dresses, that the separating of man from wife, and both from chil-

dren; that the vestry *votes* of the *proxies* of the landlords, are by no means mere idle fancies; by no means whims and caprices, not at all theoretical illusions; but that they have *real practical, substantial* objects in view, bottomed upon the most solid of all foundations; namely, that of *pounds, shillings, and pence*; and of this I am now about to leave no doubt in the mind of any sane man living.

My first question is, in *what way* are the people to be induced to live upon *coarser food*? Be pleased to mind, my lord, that you must believe this to be intended by the bill; because I state to you, that this intention was expressed in the instructions to the barrister who drew the bill; because, I assert this; because, you can see the instructions whenever you please; because, you can contradict me, if you will; because, it was tacitly acknowledged to be true by the Minister in the House of Commons; and because, neither PIS-ALLER PARKES, nor any of the rest of them, have dared to contradict it, even in that worn-out battered old jade, the old *Morning Chronicle*.

Very well, then, you believe it; and now, *how is it to be done*? By *preaching*, my lord? Will your brother quit his venison, hanging up and mortifying ready for his lips in the Close at SALISBURY; and, full of good meat and drink, tell the people at PEWSEY, that, if they have a mind not to go to hell, potatoes and sea-weed are the protection? This will never answer. The people at PEWSEY know all about his eatings and drinkings as well as he does; and they will say, that, if potatoes and sea-weed be so effectual with regard to their souls, he must be a madman to stuff in turkeys and wine and venison himself; or he must be a reprobate, having no sort of regard for his own soul. In short, they will ask, as poor ROBERT MASON did the parson of BELLINGTON, "What God sent the corn and the meat for"; or why they should live upon potatoes and sea-weed, while he took away all the wheat and the meat of PEWSEY? They will ask, whether the "*law of nature*" formed his mouth for the wheat and the

meat, and theirs for the potatoes and sea-weed; and, perhaps, the rubric would have compelled him to read to them just before, a lesson from the Bible, promising to the good and the virtuous, plenty and fatness. He might have read to them how ISAAC blessed his son, not by promising him potatoes and sea-weed; but in these words: "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." If he happened to read the 28. of PROVERBS to them, he would have told them that God has promised, that, "he that tilleth the land shall have plenty of bread." Any of the hundred chapters would answer the same end. He might have read to them that maxim of the apostle, "That he that will not work, neither shall he eat." Any of these would do; and what must they, after hearing their priest say, that good living was to be the reward of virtue; what must they think after this, at hearing their priest inculcate the necessity of potatoes and salt, in order to make them favourites with God!

Then this will not do. The Bishop of London might try his hand, and there would be an answer very soon for him. In short, it is so directly against nature, so monstrous a thing, to persuade people that it is for their good to live badly; that it is not to be accomplished except by *compulsion*. The terrors of hell and the hopes of heaven, may produce temporary, volunteer, poor living; but even these terrors and these hopes must fail, if practised, or attempted to be practised, for any length of time: that hunger, which will "break through stone walls," is not to be silenced by arguments. It must be *force*, then, of some sort or another; and there is but one species of force that could succeed; and that is, *the keeping of the good food away from the people*; the making of it impossible for them to get their good food into their possession. And *how* is this to be done? What are the means to be made use of to keep the good food out of their possession? *Bayonets*? No! *Tread-mills*? No! It would require too many *nuzzles* put upon their months, which the villainous Jews were forbidden to

put upon the ox as he trod out the corn? and yet *better the lot of the poor!* But No: for to muzzle one million would require four millions of unmuzzled ones at the least. It would be devilish work, indeed, before the lazy-bone dogs could muzzle the workers. Well, then, it must not be *direct bodily force*; it must be, not by withholding the food, but by **WITHHOLDING THE MONEY WITH WHICH THE FOOD IS PURCHASED.** Ah! how the light darts out when we just touch this point! How we begin to see all at once to the bottom of the whole thing! And what a strong hand it requires to hold us back from getting at the second question!

The second question is, **WHY; WHY** is it desirable to induce the labourers to live on coarser food? Your lordship says it is to make them *better off*. Lord ALTHORP said it was *to relieve the farmer*. Your Scotch Mentor had, however, the discretion to tell you, *that it was to save your estates*. However, here we have it out from one and the other. Their *coarser food* is to come from the *lowering of their wages*; and that this is the intention, the main object, the grand purpose, the man that pretends not to believe, is at once the most stupid of creatures, and the lowest and most cowardly of hypocrites. Your Scotch Mentor is plain, he avows his object; the bill, he says, is *to save your estates*; and he says, that he himself may become a pauper if this bill do not succeed. Not questioning his steady and sober judgment, I take leave to dissent from his opinion, and to express my firm belief, so help me God! that **THE BILL** is much more likely **TO MAKE HIM A PAUPER, BEFORE IT BE OVER,** than the want of the bill was likely to make him a pauper. My *wishes* upon the subject are nothing; but my *belief* is, that both your lordship and your Mentor are, beyond all measure, *more likely to become paupers WITH the bill than WITHOUT the bill*; and so much for that.

My lord, Lord ALTHORP told us, that this bill would *relieve the farmer*. It seems strange to us if he could relieve the farmer by the bill; that is to say, to cause him to *pay less* in poor-rates,

and yet *better the lot of the poor!* But he doubtless had in view *the wages*; and the wages are something. It is the wages which the advocates of coarser food have all along had in view; envying the happy state of the *landlords of Ireland* and the *heritors of Scotland*. Here we come to the *ticklish* part of the thing. *Rents*, undeducted from by rates, and very little deducted from by wages, "**RENTS," "RENTS," "RENTS,"**" as Lord BYRON exclaims, when justly lashing the landlords of England. Higher rents! Sweeping away the poor-rates, if they could be all swept away at once, would do nothing in this way. Tithes, which would go in an hour, only they *belong to the aristocracy*, for the far greater part, and indeed wholly; so that, having gone the complete round with the rest of the community in abolishing the tithes, they would only be bilking themselves; but even they are nothing compared with the wages throughout the far greater part of England.

Let us look at this matter a little in detail. Suppose a farm of a hundred acres, at a rent of one pound an acre.

Annual rent	£100	0	0
Poor-rates	27	0	0
Tithes at 5s. an acre . .	25	0	0
Wheelwright	10	0	0
Blacksmith	14	0	0
Collier-maker	7	0	0
Carpenter	3	0	0
Bricklayer	3	0	0
Labourers	180	0	0
£369 0 0			

There, my lord, that's about it; and you will please to observe, that the tradesmen are to be included amongst those receiving wages; and that their wages must inevitably come down along with the wages of the labourers. I have not included the county-rates, and the greater part of which are expended in prosecutions for the preservation of the game of the aristocracy; but you see what a trifling concern all the rest is compared with the amount of the wages; and so it ought to be, for it is

the millions that have to be maintained by the wages, without the labour of whom the land would be worth nothing more than so much moonshine spread over the face of the country; and those who work upon your estates have as good a right to a living out of it as you have to a living out of it; and if I do not *prove* it to be *better*, it is not, by any means, because I cannot produce such proof whenever I like.

Now, then, we see how it is, that the farmer cares so little about rates and tithes, and how much he cares about *rent*; because he knows that if you take off these twenty-seven pounds, and these twenty-five pounds, the landlord would make him pay *fifty-two pounds a year more in rent*: therefore the farmers are all against this bill; and **ALTHOUGH** does not make them understand how it will relieve them. They ask, too (cunning rogues!), why the landlords *should want to have the votes in their vestries*, and to vote by *proxy*, too, when they cannot be present. They ask, with a stare of surprise, why the great gentlemen and all the lords, should want to have *votes* in vestries all at once, and to vote there by proxy!

FARMER (*who rents the above farm*). Why should the gentlemen not let us have the *trouble*, as we always have had it?

COBBETT. It is not the *trouble* that they want, farmer, but the *money*.

FARMER. What money? Why we pay the money to the poor; and it is *our own money*.

COBBETT. Yes, just now it is; but they mean to have it by the means of this bill.

FARMER. How are they to have it? They won't become paupers, will they?

COBBETT. Not in *name*, farmer, though many of their families are so in fact. What they mean is, that you should give them the amount of the rates, instead of giving them to the poor.

FARMER. But I shan't though; if I don't give it to the poor, my landlord shan't have it.

COBBETT. He will have it, farmer; for he knows that you now pay twenty-

seven pounds a year in poor-rates, and he will clap that sum upon your present rent, or else he will turn you out of your farm.

FARMER. Oh, God d——!

COBBETT. Don't swear: at least, not yet, till you have heard what they propose about the *coarser food* for the labourers.

FARMER (*in Surrey*). Coarser! what do they want any thing *coarser* than bacon and bread?

COBBETT. Yes, farmer: what think you of *potatoes* and *sea-weed*?

FARMER. Why that's *Irish* work.

COBBETT. Precisely so; and that is what the Scotch *feelosophical* vagabonds mean. They mean that you should give your labourers sixpence a day instead of two shillings.

FARMER. Why, the labourers would

COBBETT. Hush! We shall all get into jail if you talk so loud.

FARMER. But what *good* would that do to my landlord now? The men wouldn't work: we couldn't live in our houses; we must all run away out of the country; but if we could bring them to this pass, why we farmers should get the money, and it wouldn't be any good to the landlord.

COBBETT. Sad mistake! Your landlord would soon find that you paid sixpence a day instead of two shillings, and that you paid your tradesmen just about in the same proportion; that, in short you saved a hundred and fifty pounds a year in this way, and he would make you pay him *rent three hundred and fifty-four pounds a year*, instead of one hundred pounds a year. You would be a great deal poorer than you are now; your wretched labourers would be without shoes or stockings; their beds would be straw, and nothing but straw; you would be a set of wretched beggarly slaves altogether; and your landlord would drive a coach and six, instead of going in a gig.

I beg leave to assure your lordship, that the *whole scheme* is thus seen through all over the kingdom; and that now, none but natural fools are deceived

with regard to it. Lord ALTHORP told us that the scheme was to *relieve the farmer effectually*. It is possible that the above may be an exaggeration of the degree; but clear as day-light it is, that whatever is squeezed out of the belly of bones of the labourer, whether in rates or in wages, must go into the pocket of the landlord, and not one single farthing of it into the pocket of the farmer. I am sure that it is impossible that your lordship should not now see this. I should be sorry to believe, that you saw it from the beginning; and yet how could you miss seeing it, at the time when you made your reported speech you having then heard all about the "*coarser food*"; you having then heard all the opinions of parson LOWE and COWELL and CHADWICK and the rest of the gang; and you having heard the Lord Chancellor say, that the object of the bill was, to *save your estates*. I am loath to say that I believe that your lordship knew the tendency and object of this bill; yet, as I know you to be a man of sound understanding and clear perception, how am I to come to the conclusion, that you did not perceive its objects and tendency?

But, as to the *execution* of this project; as to the compelling the labourers of England to live upon potatoes and salt, or sea-weed; as to compelling them to go bare-footed and bare legged, and to wear dirty shirts, and to go with unwashed hands and faces, from month's end to month's end, my Lord ALTHORP, with all his anxious desire to reduce the *south* to the manners and living of the *north*, will no more succeed in it than he would in moving the sun from the south to the north; and rather than see him succeed in it; rather than see him succeed in taking one single step in such a progress, I would see a great deal more take place than I shall take the trouble now to describe. He never will succeed in getting on one single step towards that object; and all that will have been accomplished at this *long-meditated blow at the rights of the poor*, will only have taught the least thinking part of the nation to *look into rights of all sorts*, and to *call in ques-*

tion the claims of property of every description.

In the midst of all this agitation upon this point, comes the ticklish question of the *currency*. There must come a discussion, and a general discussion of the *rights of the fundholders*, compared with the rights of the *landowners*; and the Poor-law Bill will have given an appropriate shake to these latter rights, just as these latter are entering upon a contest with the former. For my part, I was always ready to take part with the land against the money-people. I *am no longer so*: I am for whatever I shall deem most likely to restore the working people to the enjoyment of their rights. Here has now been a *great change made in the constitution of our country*. The law of ELIZABETH, which HALE describes as interwoven with the very constitution of our Government, has now been abrogated in effect. The local Governments of the country have been supplanted by one general all-absorbing board, sitting in London, composed of three men, removable at the pleasure of the Government. This is, then, no longer the Government under which I was born: it is a new thing; and my duty now is, to endeavour, by all the legal means in my power, to cause the former Government to be restored. To uphold the money-people may possibly be the only means of effecting an object so desirable. At any rate, the rights of the poor were as sacred as those of the *land*; and if they can be thus dealt with, I see no reason why I am to give a preference to the rights of the land before the claims of the money-people.

One-pound notes and legal tender will co-operate most harmoniously with the Poor-law Commissioners. Paper-money flourishes exceedingly in a state of things, such as this Poor-law Bill will produce! If the thing had been contrived on purpose, if a set of the cleverest men that ever were born had been in council for a whole year, to devise the means of making the difficulties of this Government so great, as not to give it a chance of escape, they could not have contrived any thing to surpass

this poor-law project, which in its very nature, *unfixes the minds of all men with regard to the rights of property*; which rouses all the indignant, all the angry feelings of the millions of the community; and directs those feelings against those orders which depend wholly on extraneous support; which possess a showy power, but which have at bottom no power at all, if once it be disputed by the millions.

I am of opinion that commotions without end will inevitably be produced by this bill. I will not doubt that there is wisdom enough left in the two Houses of Parliament to repeal it as soon as possible. I am thoroughly convinced that that is the only safe course. "Try it," as your lordship said, "for a short period." Short period! I know not what is meant by a short period, and about trial. How is it to be tried, until the big workhouses shall be built? In short, how is it to be tried, till it has done all the mischief? Repealed, I am sure, it will be; or, if it be not, I am sure, that that will happen, which, as I said before, I shall not attempt to describe.

I have one more letter to address to your lordship on this subject. In that letter I shall inquire of you, upon what is founded the right of the state to compel men to come out to serve in the militia; and shall ask BROUGHAM and MOTHER MARTINEAU, whether the "LAW OF NATURE" imposes this duty upon them for the protection of a land in which they are now asserted to have no share. And, in conclusion, I shall endeavour to give a little sketch of the history of the progress of the aristocracy in their encroachments on the rights of the industrious classes, and in their measures for changing the fundamental laws of the country; and I do hope, that while I thus zealously and laboriously discharge MY duty, those who possess a friendship for the cause of the people, and for the principles which I am here maintaining, will do their utmost to cause these letters to be circulated in every part of the kingdom. Your lordship has acted your part. I look upon you as at the head of those who have

caused this bill to be passed. I am sorry to have to say this; but I should be ashamed, not to say it; and not to declare my belief in the fact, and my determination to oppose you by all the lawful means in my power.

I am

Your lordship's most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

FROM THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

(Continued from p. 757.)

In the last letter, I told you that I would, in the present one, continue the discussion of the great question of *theft, or no theft*, in a case of taking another's goods without his consent, or against his will, the taker being pressed by extreme necessity. I laid before you, Judge HALE's doctrine upon the subject; and I mentioned the foul conduct of Blackstone, the author of the "Commentaries on the Laws of England." I will not treat this unprincipled lawyer, this shocking court sycophant; I will not treat him as he has treated King Solomon and the Holy Scriptures; I will not garble, misquote, and belie him, as he garbled, misquoted, and belied them; I will give the whole of the passage to which I allude, and which my readers may find in the fourth book of his Commentaries. I request you to read it with great attention; and to compare it, very carefully, with the passage that I have quoted from SIR MATTHEW HALE, which you will find in the last Register. The passage from BLACKSTONE is as follows:

"There is yet another case of necessity, which has occasioned great speculation among the writers upon general law; viz., whether a man in extreme want of food or clothing may justify stealing to relieve his present necessities. And this both GROTIUS and PUFFENDORF, together with many other of the foreign jurists, hold in the affirmative; maintaining by many ingenious, humane, and plausible reasons, that in such cases

"the community of goods by a kind of
 "tacit concession of society is revived.
 "And some even of our own lawyers
 "have held the same; though it seems
 "to be an unwarranted doctrine, bor-
 "rowed from the notions of some civi-
 "lians: at least it is now antiquated,
 "the law of England admitting no such
 "excuse at present. And this its doc-
 "trine is agreeable not only to the sen-
 "timents of many of the wisest an-
 "cients, particularly CICERO, who holds
 "that 'suum cuique incommodum fe-
 "rendum est, potius quam de alterius
 "commodis detrahendum'; but also
 "to the Jewish law, as certified by King
 "Solomon himself: 'If a thief steal to
 "satisfy his soul when he is hungry, he
 "shall restore sevenfold, and shall
 "give all the substance of his house';
 "which was the ordinary punishment
 "for theft in that kingdom. And this is
 "founded upon the highest reason: for
 "men's properties would be under a
 "strange insecurity, if liable to be in-
 "vaded according to the wants of
 "others; of which wants no man can
 "possibly be an adequate judge, but
 "the party himself who pleads them.
 "In this country especially, there would
 "be a peculiar impropriety in admitting
 "so dubious an excuse: for by our laws
 "such a sufficient provision is made for
 "the poor by the power of the civil
 "magistrate, that it is impossible that
 "the most needy stranger should ever
 "be reduced to the necessity of thiev-
 "ing to support nature. This case of a
 "stranger is, by the way, the strongest
 "instance put by Baron PUFFENDORF,
 "and whereon he builds his principal
 "arguments: which, however they may
 "hold upon the continent, where the
 "parsimonious industry of the natives
 "orders every one to work or starve,
 "yet must lose all their weight and
 "efficacy in England, where *charity is*
 "*reduced to a system, and interwoven*
 "*in our very constitution.* Therefore,
 "our laws ought by no means to be
 "taxed with being *unmerciful*, for de-
 "nying this privilege to the necessitous;
 "especially when we consider, that the
 "King, on the representation of his
 "ministers of justice, hath a power to

"soften the law, and to extend mercy
 "in cases of peculiar hardship. An
 "advantage which is wanting in many
 "states, particularly those which are
 "demeritocratical: and these have in its
 "stead introduced and adopted, in the
 "body of the law itself, a multitude of
 "circumstances tending to alleviate its
 "rigour. But the founders of our
 "constitution thought it better to vest
 "in the crown the power of pardoning
 "peculiar objects of compassion, than
 "to countenance and establish theft by
 "one general undistinguishing law."

First of all, I beg you to observe, that
 this passage is merely a *flagrant act of*
theft, committed upon Judge HALE;
 next, you perceive, that which I noticed
 in the last letter, a most base and
 impudent garbling of the Scriptures.
 Next, you see, that BLACKSTONE, like
 HALE, comes, at last, to the *poor-laws*;
 and tells us that to take other men's
 goods without leave, is theft, *because*
 "charity is here reduced to a system,
 "and interwoven in our very constitu-
 "tion." That is to say, to relieve the
 necessitous; to prevent their suffering
 from want; completely to render star-
 vation impossible, makes a part of our
 very constitution. "THEREFORE,
 "our laws ought by no means to be
 "taxed with being *unmerciful* for deny-
 "ing this privilege to the necessitous."
 Pray mark the word *therefore*. You
 see, our laws, he says, are not to be
 taxed with being unmerciful in deeming
 the necessitous taker a *thief*. And *why*
 are they not to be deemed unmerciful!
 BECAUSE the laws provide effectual
 relief for the necessitous. It follows,
 then, of course, even according to
 BLACKSTONE himself, that if the consti-
 tution *had not* provided this effectual
 relief for the necessitous, then the laws
would have been unmerciful in deeming
 the necessitous taker a thief.

But now let us hear what that GRO-
 TIUS and that PUFFENDORF say; let us
 hear what these great writers on the
 law of nature and of nations say upon
 this subject. BLACKSTONE has mention-
 ed the names of them both; but he has
 not thought proper to notice their argu-
 ments, much less has he attempted to

answer them. They are two of the most celebrated men that ever wrote; and their writings are referred to as high authority, with regard to all the subjects of which they have treated. The following is a passage from GRIORIUS, on War and Peace, Book II., chap. 2.

"Let us see, further, what common right there appertains to men in those things which have already become the property of individuals. Some persons, perchance, may consider it strange to question this, as proprietorship seems to have absorbed all that right which arose out of a state of things in common. But it is not so. For, it is to be considered, *what was the intention of those who first introduced private property*, which we may suppose to have been such, as to deviate as little as possible from *natural equity*. For if even *written laws* are to be construed in that sense as far as it is practicable, much more so are *customs*, which are not fettered by the chains of writers. Hence it follows, first, that, in case of *extreme necessity*, the *pristine right of using things revives*, as much as it they had remained in common; because, in all human laws, as well as in the laws of private property, *this case of extreme necessity appears to have been excepted*. So, if the means of sustenance, as in case of sea-voyage, should chance to fail, that which any individual may have, should be shared in common. And thus, a fire having broken out, I am justified in destroying the house of my neighbour, in order to preserve my own house; and I may cut in two the ropes or cords amongst which any ship is driven, if it cannot be otherwise disentangled. All which exceptions are not made in the written law, but are presumed. For the opinion has been acknowledged amongst divines, that, if any one, in such case of necessity, take from another person what is requisite for the preservation of his life, *he does not commit a theft*. The meaning of which definition is not, as many contend, that the proprietor of the thing be bound to give to the

needy upon the principle of *charity*; but, that all things distinctly rested in proprietors ought not to be regarded as such *with a certain benign acknowledgment of the primitive right*. For if the original distributors of things were questioned, as to what they thought about this matter, they would reply what I have said. *Necessity*, says Father SENECA, *the great excuse for human weakness, breaks every law*; that is to say, *human law*, or law made after the manner of man.

But cautions ought to be had, for fear this license should be abused: of which the principal is, to try, in every way, whether the necessity can be avoided by any other means; for instance, by making application to the magistrates, or even by trying whether the use of the thing can, by entreaties, be obtained from the proprietor. PLATO permits water to be fetched from the well of a neighbour upon this condition alone, that the person asking for such permission shall dig in his own well in search of water as far as the chalk: and SOLOON, that he shall dig in his own well as far as forty cubits. Upon which PLUTARCH adds, *that he judged that necessity was to be released, not laziness to be encouraged*."

Such is the doctrine of this celebrated civilian. Let us now hear PUFFENDORF; and you will please to bear in mind, that both these writers are of the greatest authority upon all subjects connected with the laws of nature and of nations. We read in their works the result of an age of study; they have been two of the great guides of mankind ever since they wrote: and, we are not to throw them aside, in order to listen exclusively to PARSON HAY, to HULTON OF HULTON, or to NICHOLAS GRIMSHAW. They tell us what they, and what other wise men, deemed to be right; and, as we shall by-and-by see, the laws of England, so justly boasted of by our ancestors, hold precisely the same language with these celebrated men. After the following passage from PUFFENDORF, I shall show you what our own lawyers say upon

the subject; but I request you to read the following passage with the greatest attention.

"Let us inquire, in the next place, whether the necessity of preserving our life can give us any right over other men's goods, so as to make it allowable for us to seize on them for our relief, either secretly, or by open force, against the owner's consent. For the more clear and solid determination of which point, we think it necessary to hint in short on the causes upon which distinct *properties* were first introduced in the world; designing to examine them more at large in their proper place. Now the main reasons on which *properties* are founded, we take to be these two; that the feuds and quarrels might be appeased which arose in the *primitive* communion of things, and that merit might be put under a kind of necessity of being industrious, every one being to get his maintenance by his own application and labour. This division, therefore, of goods was not made, that every person should sit idly brooding over the share of wealth he had got, without assisting or serving his fellows; but that any one might dispose of his things how he pleased; and if he thought fit to communicate them to others, he might, at least, be thus furnished with an opportunity of laying obligations on the rest of mankind. Hence, when *properties* were once established, men obtained a power, not only of exercising commerce to their mutual advantage and gain, but likewise of dispensing more largely in the works of humanity and beneficence; whence their diligence had procured them a greater share of good, than others: whereas before, when all things lay in common, men could lend one another no assistance but what was supplied by their corporeal ability, and could be charitable of nothing but of their *strength*. Further, such is the force of *property*, that the *proprietor* hath a right of delivering his goods with his own hands; even such as he is obliged to give to others. Whence it

follows, that when one man has any thing owing from another, he is not presently to seize on it at a venture, but ought to apply himself to the owner, desiring to receive it from his disposal. Yet in case the other party refuse thus to make good his obligation, the power and privilege of *property* doth not reach so far as that the things may not be taken away without the owner's consent, either by the authority of the magistrate in *civil communities*, or in a *state of nature*, by violence and hostile force. And though in regard to bare natural right, for a man to relieve another in extremity with his goods, for which he himself hath not so much occasion, be a duty obliging only *imperfectly*, and not in the manner of a *debt*, since it arises wholly from the virtue of *humanity*; yet there seems to be no reason why, by the additional force of a civil ordinance, it may not be turned into a strict and perfect obligation. And this *Selden* observes to have been done among the *Jews*; who, upon a man's refusing to give such alms as were proper for him, *could force him to it by an action at law*. It is no wonder, therefore, that they should forbid *their poor*, on any account, to seize on the goods of others, enjoining them to take only what private persons, or the public officers, or stewards of alms, should give them on their petition. Whence the stealing of what was another's, though upon extreme necessity, passed in that state for theft or rapine. But now supposing *under another government* the like good provision is not made for persons in want, supposing likewise that the covetous temper of men of substance cannot be prevailed on to give relief, and that the needy creature is not able, either by his work or service, or by making sale of any thing that he possesses, to assist his present necessity, *must he, therefore, perish with famine? Or can any human institution bind me with such a force that, in case another man neglects his duty towards me, I must rather die, than recede a little from*

"the ordinary and regular way of acting? We conceive, therefore, that such a person doth not contract the guilt of theft, who happening, not through his own fault, to be in extreme want, either of necessary food or of clothes to preserve him from the violence of the weather, and cannot obtain them from the voluntary gift of the rich, either by urgent entreaties or by offering somewhat equivalent in price, or by engaging to work it out shall either forcibly or privily relieve himself out of their abundance; especially if he do it with full intention to pay the value of them whenever his better fortune gives him ability. Some men deny that such a case of necessity as we speak of can possibly happen. But what if a man should wander in a foreign land; unknown, friendless, and in want, spoiled of all he had by shipwreck or by robbers, or having lost by some casualty whatever he was worth in his own country; should none be found willing either to relieve his distress or to hire his service, or should they rather (as it commonly happens), seeing him in a good garb, suspect him to beg without reason, must the poor creature starve in this miserable condition?"

Many other great foreign authorities might be referred to, and I cannot help mentioning COVARRUVIUS, who is spoken of by Judge HALE, and who expresses himself upon the subject in these words: "The reason why a man in extreme necessity may, without incurring the guilt of theft or rapine, forcibly take the goods of others for his present relief, is, because his condition renders all things common. For it is the ordinance and institution of nature itself, that inferior things should be designed and directed to serve the necessities of men. Wherefore the division of goods afterwards introduced into the world doth not derogate from that precept of natural reason, which suggests, that the extreme wants of mankind may be in any manner removed by the use of temporal possessions." PUFFENDORF tells us, that PERSEIUS maintains, that, in case of extreme necessity, a man

is compelled to the action, by a force which he cannot resist; and then, that the owner's consent may be presumed on, because humanity obliges him to succour those who are in distress. The same writer cites a passage from St. AMBROSE, one of the FATHERS of the church, which alleges that (in case of refusing to give to persons in extreme necessity) it is the person who retains the goods who is guilty of the act of wrong doing, for St. AMBROSE says, "it is the bread of the hungry which you detain; it is the raiment of the naked which you lock up."

Before I come to the English authorities on the same side, let me again notice the foul dealing of Blackstone; let me point out another instance or two of the insincerity of this English court sycophant, who was, let it be noted, Solicitor-general to the queen of the good old King." You have seen, in a former letter, a most flagrant instance of his perversion of the Scriptures. He garbles the word of God, and prefaces the garbling by calling it a thing "certified by King Solomon himself"; and this word *certified* he makes use of just when he is about to begin the scandalous falsification of the text which he is referring to. Never was anything more base. But the whole extent of the baseness we have not yet seen; for BLACKSTONE had read HALE, who had quoted he two verses fairly; but besides this, he had read PUFFENDORF, who had noticed very fully this text of Scripture, and who had shown very clearly that it did not at all make in favour of the doctrine of Blackstone. Blackstone ought to have given the argument of PUFFENDORF; he ought to have given the whole of his argument; but particularly he ought to have given this explanation of the passage in the PROVERBS. It was also the weight of insincerity in BLACKSTONE to pretend that the passage from CICERO had any thing at all to do with the matter. He knew well that it had not; he knew that CICERO contemplated no case of extreme necessity for want of food or clothing; but he had read PUFFENDORF, and PUFFENDORF had told him that CICERO's was a question of the

mere *conveniences* and *inconveniences* of life in general, and not a question of pinching hunger or shivering nakedness. BLACKSTONE had seen his fallacy exposed by PUFFENDORF; he had seen the misapplication of this passage of CICERO fully exposed by PUFFENDORF; and yet the base court sycophant trumped it up again, without mentioning PUFFENDORF'S exposure of the fallacy! In short this BLACKSTONE, upon this occasion, as upon almost all others, has gone all lengths; has set detection and reproof at defiance, for the sake of making his court to the Government by inculcating harshness in the application of the law, and by giving to the law such an interpretation as would naturally tend to justify that harshness.

Let us now cast away from us this insincere sycophant and turn to other law authorities of our own country. The *Mirror of Justices*, Chap. 4, Section 16, on the subject of arrest of judgment of death, has this passage. Judgment is to be staid in seven cases here specified, and the seventh is this: "in **POVERTY**, in which case you are to distinguish of the poverty of the offender or of things; for if poor people, to avoid famine, take victuals to sustain their lives, or clothes that they die not of cold (so that they perish if they keep not themselves from cold), they are not to be adjudged to death, if it were not in their power to have bought their victuals or clothes; for as much as they are warranted so to do by the law of nature." Now my friends, you will observe, that I take this from a book which may almost be called the BIBLE of the law. There is no lawyer who will deny the goodness of this authority, or who will attempt to say that this was not always the law of England.

PUBLIC MEETING IN GATESHEAD.

A NUMEROUS and respectable meeting of the electors of Gateshead was held on Monday evening last, in Freeman's

long room, for the purpose of voting a reply to Mr. Rippon's address to the electors of that borough, Mr. James Walsh in the chair. The meeting was opened by the chairman explaining the objects of the meeting.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY then rose and said, It had been his lot to address on some former occasions meetings of the electors and inhabitants of Gateshead, and though some of these, and one in particular, was calculated to flatter his feelings, yet he must candidly confess he felt more pleasure on the present than even on that very pleasing occasion. Were he not to struggle strongly against the impulses of a pardonable vanity this could not be so, but he hoped he should even be able to feel more strongly a public matter of great and pleasurable public interest than anything however complimentary yet affecting mostly himself. (Applause). Who would not be proud of the situation in which they the electors of Gateshead stood assembled to hear a frank bold straightforward exposition of his sentiments by their representative, and to make a reply in the same spirit if not the same elegance of language? (Cheers). Who could avoid contrasting their situation at that moment with that of another borough, to which he need not more particularly allude, the electors of which absolutely dared not or at least did not put their names to a vote of censure upon two members, who had voted for the continuation of a pensionist, against which their constituents had been exclaiming for their whole lives. (Loud cheers) For his own part he could not help feeling glad that he had ceased to be a resident elector of that borough. It was a mixed feeling to be sure, some sorrow there was in it; he was sorry to be so glad, (laughter), but glad he was and proud he was to have men for his neighbours who he knew would, if necessary, "dare to be honest in the worst of times." (Applause). He would now turn to the letter of Mr. Rippon—it was a pleasing and bold communication, and it would be unpardonable to pass over such a document without the most respectful notice they

could give it. Mr. Rippon himself would of course expect it when he made use of the term "interchange of sentiment"; no term could be more expressive, and the best answer to give to the excellent address of their member was to send him a respectful, but full, free, and frank exposition of their opinions. (Loud applause). This, however, is not all. They were not to consider what was due to Mr. Rippon alone, but also to themselves and their country. It was for them to set the example of a constituency corresponding as independent men ought to do with the representative of their choice, their real representative. It was important on all accounts, important to Mr. Rippon, important to their own character, important to their country. There was too little of this "interchange of sentiments," but there would soon be more. As far as his (Mr. D.'s) individual opinions went he hardly differed from Mr. Rippon in any one particular. One there was, and he would say a few words upon it. Mr. Rippon talked of "remodelling" the House of Lords, he might even here misinterpret the honourable gentleman, but he supposed he meant to make it something of an elective House. If this was the meaning, he differed from their member on this point. He thought changes in form more dangerous than changes in essence and spirit; and if he could get substance he would adhere to form rather than depart from it. Now, he must say the House of Lords was neither less nor more than an assemblage of rich country gentlemen of fair average ability and character, set to make and revise laws. The mischief was not in the men, but in the great temptation to legislate badly. They had put in their own complete power for the last century or more, all the good things of the country, the fat livings, the sinecures, the promotions of all sorts, in short the whole. (Loud cheers and laughing). What human being could stand such a situation as that? Now his care was to take away the temptations and let the Lords alone, not to patch up the Lords and leave the

temptations alone. If they could not finger the taxes they would not vote them, why should they? leave them to their own estates, and they would have the same interest we all had (applause) in cheap living. (Cheers). That is the real point. As for legislation, Paine spoke a good aphorism when he said "government is a plain thing." All good government consists in protection to person and property, and this last chiefly means taking as little away in the shape of taxes as possible, (loud cheers); in short, stopping all kinds of pillage. Further than this, he saw nothing in Mr. Rippon's letter to call for comment from him; and as he was labouring under the dregs of a severe cold, he would stop short and move his resolution.

Resolved 1.—That this meeting have heard with great pleasure the frank, manly, and able exposition of his political sentiments by their honourable representative; and that they deem the full expression of their sentiments to be the best return they can make to Mr. Rippon.—Seconded by Mr. Gray.

Mr. D. then rose and said, before he read the letter in his hand he must make one remark; it was a monstrously long one, and what was most curious, it was great good luck it was so. They would stare at this assertion, but he would tell them why. (Laughing). They most of them, perhaps, had read Lord Brougham's speech at the Edinburgh Whig dinner. In that speech, when he came to mention them, he meant the Radical Reformers, the Lord Chancellor was pleased to compliment them, he said they were "honest creatures." (A loud laugh). You may laugh, but that is a step for us, gentlemen (said Mr. D.); we were revolutionists and anarchists three months ago. (Cheers). He said they were honest, but this was at the expense of their intellect, for, says his Lordship, "they have no sort of reflection." Now here was the lie direct to this, for if there be no reflection in all this (holding up the papers) the d—l's in it. (Loud laughter). The reflection may be all wrong, but reflection there is despite my Lord Brougham's

assertions. (Loud cheers). It might be Lord Brougham's case to see notes in other people's eyes, and miss beams in his own. After jeering us, the reflective Lord took to vapouring about the new Ministry, they would do this and not do that, nobody should hurry, nobody impede them, in short, they could go on as they liked themselves. Now has the deep revolving Brougham "reflected" whether they can go or as they like "Will" without "can" is easier said than done. (Laughing). Has my Lord Brougham "reflected" that wheat is selling at 4s. 6d. a bushel, and that peradventure the 'squires may think it is time to cease paying part of the taxes, (cheers); aye and so may the merchants, and so the shipowners, who are selling goods for no profit, or bringing goods from the Baltic at worse than no profit as he happened to know. Mr. D. would just ask if Lord Brougham had thought of this before he taunted the Radicals, and Mr. D. then read the following letter:

TO CUTHBERT RIPPON, Esq., M.P.

SIR,—It would be not only a want of courtesy but a want of truth were we to fail in our expression of the sincere delight with which we have received your communication. Where collateral circumstances of a pleasurable nature are added to the more direct causes of gratification, the total effect cannot but be great. Such in this instance is our situation; we have not only to thank you, our representative, for a communication at once frank and flattering, but to acknowledge an indirect claim upon our gratitude for the excellence of the example; and you will pardon us, sir, if we attribute some share of the pleasure you have given us not only to the intrinsic merits of your kind communication of sentiment, but also to the very novelty of the circumstances. Too long have we been accustomed to behold in persons insolently and audaciously styling themselves "the people's representatives," men mean enough to become crawling supplicants once in seven years to constituents, whom for the rest of that term they are predetermined to

insult and disregard. With such impostors we are proud to see you resolved to have as little in common, as have we the independent electors of Gateshead, with the emasculated herds who style themselves their constituents. We hail you as our representative indeed; and we call with pride upon the long-deceived people of England practically to learn from you the meaning of that name. It is true, sir, that from the hollow and mendacious deceivers whom you rebuke by your example, you may expect that example to be condemned. Their censure you will feel as praise, and for the petty annoyances of irritated aristocracy you will find ample repayment in the gratitude of the people, and in your own honest heart. Believe us, sir, however, that to such alone will these unworthy feelings be confined. The passive and degraded beings, over whom in the guise of servants they domineer as masters, inwardly hate and despise their unprincipled tyrants, and admire in secret those examples which they have not the courage to enforce or to imitate.

We now turn to the more general and therefore graver topics of your letter, and permit us, sir, to add the emphasis of our united voices to that of yours in general reprobation of the conduct and of the measures of the Ministry during the late session of Parliament. True it is, sir, most true, that 'they dare not abolish, but endeavour to disguise abuses, and have sought to conceal a vicious policy by the low contrivance of shifting public grievance.' The Reform Bill, it is now clear, was carried less by Earl Grey than his traditional character. His reputation has "ruled us from his urn." He has carried on his three years of shifting Government, not by being what he is, but by having been what he was; and this is fully evinced by every measure of that government from the time of his assuming the reins of power until that period when they were filched from his nerveless hand, and he sunk at once into the imbecile old man twenty years behind his age in political knowledge, and, totally ignorant of the

situation of the tottering country which events called upon him to govern. His errors were not the consequence of his want of heart, but his want of knowledge; nor can any one wonder that he was alarmed and irritated by difficulties which before they came he could not expect, nor when they came, understand.

The great public grievance, which though it cannot, as a whole, be "shifted," has been assiduously sought to be "disguised," is the enormous disproportion of the taxes to the means of paying them. These taxes have been caused by the blind and devouring profligacy of the aristocracy which has for so many unhappy years governed this most industrious, most cheated country. That profligacy has developed itself in the creation of pensions, sinecure places, unmerited promotions, clerical pluralities, and all the Protean varieties of corruption; but most of all in the creation of that most unparalleled and enormous compound of folly and wickedness extreme called, for the purposes of fraud, by its creators, "the nation's debt"; a thing for extent of unspeakable blindness and hideous corruption, unequalled in the past, and never to be equalled in the future history of mankind. In this monster of legislation we see a system based in deception and fraud, the most barefaced and impudent, fostered by the madness of a profligacy indelible; aggravated by ignorance and arrogance unmatched; and only endured by a passiveness engendered by centuries of toil amidst misrepresentations the most unceasing, and under the night of obedient ignorance, perpetually played upon by knavery grown gigantic in success, and endless in devices. At the very mention of the pretended necessity which is set up as a pretext for borrowing this money, we do not know whether indignation or surprise ought to predominate, or to which we shall yield. Necessity! why can any man be ignorant that in cases of national necessity not only every man's property, but every man's person may be levied upon *en masse* by the Government, and that if this money had really been wanted for purposes of ur-

gent state necessity, it might have been demanded and taken by the King with every sanction of national law? This necessity would have justified, but not a borrowing at usurious interest, not a mortgage on the country and its future possessors. In the security offered for these fraudulent loans we see the same contempt of equity, law, and common sense. That a man may mortgage property over which he has an entire control is evidently proper, because he may if he pleases sell it. But men cannot sell their country, much less their children and their children's children. How then can they mortgage that in which only a life-estate is theirs; or make a bond slave of the babe unborn? Yet this is what the horrible abortions called national debts do; they not only pledge to usurers the free soil of a country, but give an unholy lien upon the very bodies of its future inhabitants. If the pretended security, however, be founded in fraud and wickedness, the value supposed to be lent we know was not less so. We know that the money lent was false money, the declining value of which was only saved from utter annihilation by the mistaken confidence of the people; and we know further that it was only by the usurious gains of one man that another was enabled to be made; and that in the application of his false money the nation was cheated doubly and plundered on all sides. Thus it means the most nefarious we behold our country saddled with a pretended debt, probably equal in value, if its lenders are not liars, to all the lands, houses, and property of every kind constituting that country. At an assertion so apparently wild we can readily believe that even a man of your political information may start in bewildered surprise. We speak it, however, advisedly and deliberately; and in order that we may make clear to you our opinions on a matter so important, we beseech your kind indulgence to allow us to quit for a moment the routine of epistolary communication, in order to crave your attention to a simple set of figures, which, simple as they may be, are powerful as to this matter. The following estimate, sir, of

the actual value of England as it exists (leaving its people out of the question, who are invaluable,) was made with the most careful attention to accuracy, and upon a comparison with the estimates of others, and the returns of the income, property and other taxes. We respectfully beseech you to over-read this valuation, and supposing you to have done so we shall continue our address.

Value of land at 28 years' purchase	£ 812,000,000
Value of houses at 20 years' purchase	170,000,000
Manufactories, machinery, &c. &c.	20,000,000
Household furniture.	42,500,000
Apparel, provisions, fuel, wine, plate, watches, jewels, books, carriages, &c.	40,000,000
Cattle of all kinds.	90,000,000
Grain of all kinds.	10,600,000
Hay, straw, &c.	6,600,000
Implements of husbandry..	2,000,000
Merchant shipping	12,500,000
The navy	6,000,000
Coin and bullion	24,000,000
Goods in the hands of merchants, &c.	16,300,000
Goods in the hands of manufacturers, retail and wholesale dealers	20,000,000
	£ 1,972,800,000

Since this estimate was made, which was three or four years after the war, the rents of land and the prices of most commodities have fallen not less than forty per cent. The rents of houses and manufactories have also fallen, but the houses and manufactories themselves have increased: leaving out then the houses and manufactories, and the coin and bullion, and deducting one-third from the remainder, and adding the two together, the total value of England and all it contains is not more than nine hundred and nineteen millions, eight hundred and seventy thousand pounds, that is to say a very few millions above its debt, so called, including the funded and unfunded debt, and the government debt to the Bank. From this we must deduct, if the debt is to be liquidated,

all that belongs to the funholders. Thus then, in order, to pay this pretended debt, it would be necessary to give up England and all it contains to a body of people, consisting principally of old persons of both sexes, of the middle rank; gamblers in loans and in stock: government pensioners; younger sons of the aristocracy who have amassed fortunes in military, naval, and civil situations of trust; corporate bodies; savings' banks, and infants under guardianship; an idea so enormously extravagant as to exceed the wildest hallucinations of moony madness, and outstrip the most outrageous fictions of even Eastern romance.

It is here, sir, that we find the grand grievance of the country so long "disguised" under specious forms and names. It is under the phantom weight of this unnatural nightmare that England is gasping for breath, struggling for utterance, and panting to push the monster from her breast. Other reforms would no doubt give particular relief; the repeal of the corn-law monopoly would in time do something, the extinction of pensions and sinecure places would be a small respite from the overwhelming weight. But we firmly believe, that until the incubus of the debt be got rid of, England cannot know what happiness means. Neither do we despair of being happy. To take from the people yearly, a sum equal (since the carrying into effect of Peel's bill) to the rent of all the land, and all the houses of that Great Britain which they inhabit, is something too monstrous to continue. To talk of "liberal institutions" under such a system is a farce. Free government consists in protection to person and to property. Protection to property is that it cannot be taken without the owner's consent. How there can be protection to property when that consent is pledged and mortgaged fifty years before the owner is born: how there can be protection to person, when the very labour and talent of every man may be pledged and mortgaged fifty years before he is born, let those who support that system show.

For your bold and persevering efforts

to reform that corporation, which is styled "the Church of England," we take this opportunity cordially to thank you. In that church we, as you do, see an institution, for the continuance of which there remains, not only no reasonable ground, but not even a plausible pretext. Whilst all England believed in one and the same creed, there was reason in supporting the church as a national establishment. Whilst the higher dignitaries of the church were really ornaments of religion, and beloved by their flocks however reduced in numbers, good feeling stepped in and pleaded its continuance. But now, when we see the spiritual work which remains to be done left to starving curates; when we see clergymen, from the archbishop down to the vicar, men of whom the best we can say is that

That the House of Lords should by an almost suicidal vote have endeavoured to prevent the mitigation of this intolerable abuse, is perhaps not to be wondered at. That their lordships' conduct should have called down your severest reprehensions is still more natural. Admiring as we do, the boldness and straightforwardness of your views and language upon this topic, you will, we fear, deem us inclined to draw too largely upon your courtesy, when we beg to be allowed to pause before we entirely concur in them. Such, however, unwillingly, we must do.

Man is the creature of habit, and it has long appeared to us, that substantial and essential changes may be made with more of ease and less of danger, than changes in mode and form; when men appear to be walking upon the same path they go on as before, though the real substratum of the road be changed. We had rather change the spirit of that House than its form, and that change is practicable. Men are made in a vast measure by circumstances. What is the House of Lords? A set of country gentlemen of average ability and character, placed amid circumstances of peculiar temptation and consequent difficulty. The Lords are not what they are because they are part of the legisla-

ture, but because for a century and more they have been the whole of it.

They were an oligarchy with the whole plunder of the country at their feet. The consequence is natural; and the true cure is not to remove the Lords and leave the temptations, but to remove the temptations and leave the Lords. An elective senate placed amid the same sources of corruption, and legislating amid the same difficulties, would share the same fate; nor is there any reason why, if that corruption and its existing effects were destroyed, the House of Lords in conjunction with the really popular House of Commons should not be fully competent to carry on the business of the country. "Government is a plain thing," and honesty, not cunning, is the grand requisite. Good government mainly consists in husbanding resources, and in a moderate expenditure; and what interest could men, who had ceased to live upon taxes, have in augmenting them? Such is the view we take of this subject, but we quarrel not with others who may differ from us.

If, however, we hesitate to remodel the House of Lords, we do not scruple as to the House of Commons, and if we had no other reason to acknowledge the necessity of a still further extension of the right of suffrage, of triennial Parliaments, and the vote by ballot, we must candidly confess that the one great measure of the last session, "the Poor-law Amendment Bill," would have decided us. We shall feel less difficulty in expressing our opinions as to this bill, because though in the communication with which you have honoured us, you have not expressed your sentiments regarding it; yet we know that on another occasion you have called it, and most properly and most sensibly called it, "a harsh and dangerous measure." It is so; and because it is "harsh," we thank God it is "dangerous"; and we fervently every pray that every measure "harsh" to the people, and especially to the poor, may be "dangerous"; dangerous indeed to the contrivers and abettors. And first, sir, permit us to remark upon the singular misnomer of

this bill. What business has the term "amendment" with a measure of abrogation and bereavement; with a measure the same as that which was meted out to Count Ugolino and his children, a prison and starvation; with a measure at once the most unjust, cruel, and impolitic, that ever was entertained by any legislature? This bill is not a bill of "amendment," but a bill of destruction. The meaning of the poor-law is to prevent persons, by any possibility, from suffering through want by providing relief. This bill is a means to make persons suffer through want by denying relief.

This, sir, whatever may be said to the contrary, we hold to be the intention of this bill; and that intention we hold to be at open war with the law of nature, of God, and of society. Natural law, as laid down by all civilians, holds that no man is bound to die from want if food is within reach, and that the taking it in such a case is not crime. The law of God, as written in the moral precepts of the Old and New Testaments, puts charity in the very front of moral and Christian duties; and that which holds society together is the preservation of all its members, without which bond the rights of property must cease. With all this denial of relief and the imprisonment of the poor are at war. To a man of your great information it must be known that the poor always have been relieved, first by private charity, or the lords of the soil, next by the church out of the proceeds of estates, left especially for that purpose by virtuous individuals; and that the English poor-law of Elizabeth was an express compensation for the seizure of those estates in England, by the monster Henry VIII., and a rapacious aristocracy. The poor then hold their right to relief by the same tenure under which the Russells hold the lands of Woburn Abbey, formerly the property of the poor; and the resumption of the one, in our opinion, includes legally the resumption of the other.

To a man of your historical knowledge it must be well known that those laws existed almost unchanged from the time

of Elizabeth in 1597 to the middle of the reign of George the Third; through these centuries they were never felt as a grievance. The people cheerfully taxed themselves, and distributed that tax, which until the time of the American war and growth of the debt (we respectfully beg you, sir, to mark that) did not exceed a few hundred thousand pounds; they cheerfully distributed that tax by means of an overseer chosen by themselves, and who was the friend and neighbour of poor men whom he relieved; if bad management has increased the poor-rate, why did it not take place then? Are we less wise or less industrious than our forefathers two centuries since? Whatever others may do, we, sir, cannot believe in the monstrous absurdities upon which this bill is founded; and especially the incredibly ignorant assertion of Malthus, that men increase too fast unless they are starved, when the direct contrary is the case, not only with men, but with all animals, and even with the vegetable creation, as every farmer and gardener knows, and when Malthus ought to have known that the very House of Lords, which have just passed this bill, would not have been there to pass it but for continual new creations by which alone their numbers can be kept up. Oh! no, sir; if the poor-law needs amendment it is the amendment of softening not of hardening. The weight of the poor-rate is a consequence, not a cause of the misery of the country. There are ten times as many poor people and ten times as much poor-rate as there were in Queen Anne's time, because there is more than ten times as much debt, and more than ten times as many taxes as there were in Queen Anne's time; and the only way to reduce the poor-rate is to reduce that debt and those taxes; one has grown up with the other, and with the one the other will die. There is one topic more, sir, to which we should not have alluded, had not you, by setting the example, rendered it in some measure proper that we should do so. You have alluded to an illustrious earl to whom the electors of Gateshead owe a debt of gratitude,

and to the probability of his being prime minister of this country. To that noble earl we probably owe the privilege we are now enjoying, that is to say, of replying to a letter addressed to us as electors by our representative. We seize this opportunity to acknowledge that obligation, and to express the feelings of gratitude we must ever entertain towards that nobleman. Upon his lordship's qualifications for well governing this too-long-misgoverned country, it would be arrogance indeed for us to decide, because his lordship has never yet distinctly said what his intentions are in the event of his having power to carry those intentions into effect. His lordship has indeed made use of general terms, conveying a desire to extend the liberty and happiness of his country; but we have so long and so often been deceived by these general professions in the mouths of statesmen; these indefinite phrases have been so often and so long polluted by the mouths of knaves, that even the high character and honourable breath of the Earl of Durham cannot sanctify or sweeten them to our apprehensions. We feel that the time is now past for treating the people like children, for bidding them "open their mouths and shut their eyes," and trust to the giver for what they shall receive, and we therefore can only say that if the Earl of Durham will plainly promise to reduce our taxes to twenty millions a year, when he is a minister, he will assuredly receive the support of the people of Gateshead.

These, sir, are our opinions; and for some of them, and especially for those regarding what is termed the national debt, we are all well aware we shall receive the virulent abuse, both of those who are blinded by want of honesty, and those who are blinded by want of wisdom. We console ourselves with the reflection that some of the best, most acute, and most profound of mankind, of all political parties, have advocated these opinions.

We recall to mind that the Tory David Hume has asserted that "the country must destroy public credit, or public credit must destroy the country."

That the Whig Burke has said that "the nations of Europe are running into an ocean of boundless debt, which must eventually be their destruction." That the Republican Paine has said, "the funding system will be the wonder of posterity, not so much for the length to which it has been carried, as the folly in believing it." That the Constitutionalist W. Cobbett has predicted that "the debt must, in the end, bring down the aristocracy and the church for the sake of which it was created"; and that Sir James Graham and Daniel O'Connell have recommended its reduction; and lastly we read in scripture that when Nehemiah was sent by the great Artaxerxes to restore Jerusalem, then unwallled and in a state of ruin and distress; he found them oppressed by a heavy debt, contracted, however, for the sacred purpose of defending their city; buying corn in famine for the poor; and keeping the remnant of the people together; they naturally complained (as he tells in the fifth chapter) to Nehemiah of the bondage caused by this debt: "Our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren; said they, our children as their children; and lo! we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards." What was the conduct of Nehemiah in this exigence? We shall quote his own inspired words: "I was very angry when I heard their cry, and these words: and I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, ye enact usury every one of his brother, and I set a great assembly against them; and I said unto them, We, after our ability, have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? And shall they be sold unto us? Then they held their peace and found nothing to answer. And I said, Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their oliveyards and their houses; also the hundredth part

"of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact from them."

"Then said they we will restore them, and will require nothing of them, so we will do as thou sayest, and all the congregation said Amen and praised the Lord."

So dealt Nehemiah with the Jewish "national debt," thus committing under the immediate direction of God himself that which some persons, who must be heathens, as they cannot be Christians, or Jews, style a "public robbery." Upon these most beautiful and useful texts it has probably never been your lot, sir, as it has certainly never been ours to hear any discourse in any place of worship. Nor do we expect to do so until that reform of the church, which you have so well advocated shall be made; and for your able advocacy of which the hope of such a pleasure impels us once more to thank you.

We now hasten to conclude. This full declaration of our sentiments appears to us, sir, at once the most respectful and manly reply we can give to your kind and flattering communication. In all and every one of these opinions we cannot expect you to concur; but it would be an ill compliment to ourselves to imagine that a man of your intelligence and public spirit should not concur in most. Be that as it may, we believe them to be founded in immutable truth, and to that truth courtesy does not forbid us to say we are determined to adhere.

With deep and sincere regard,

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed) JAMES WALSH,
Chairman.

Mr. Turnbull then moved the following resolution:

"That the letter read by Mr. Doubleday be transmitted to the honourable member for Gateshead, as the reply of this meeting."—Seconded by Mr. Tucker.

Mr. T. REVELY said, there was one particular part to which he objected, both in

Mr. Rippon's letter, and in the document which had been read by Mr. Doubleday. It was that part which comprised their wholesale condemnation of Earl Grey. Mr. Doubleday had complained of the Lord Chancellor for not reflecting. Now he remembered that when Earl Grey was complained of as not going far enough, he (the noble Earl) said, "it is easy to say do this, or do that, but you forget the difficulties which lie in the way, and that there are more interests than one to consider." Now were they aware of the difficulties which Earl Grey had had to encounter? Were they quite sure that the King would go as far as Earl Grey had desired? He believed they were not; and to condemn a man without knowing that he really deserved condemnation, would, he thought, be extremely uncharitable. He also, though he confessed he was not very conversant with the doctrines of the constitution, differed from Mr. Doubleday as to the best mode of managing the House of Lords. This gentleman wished the Lords to remain as they were, and to take away the temptations that surrounded them. Now he (Mr. R.) would prefer Mr. Rippon's plan; for if they could once get an adequate infusion into the Upper House of Lords elected for life, they would have gone a great way towards removing all those influences which were the bane of this country, and that, too, with perfect safety. (Applause). Mr. Revely not moving any amendment, the question was again about to be put to the vote; when

Mr. ROWNTREE rose, and after apologizing for interfering with the business of the meeting, and describing Mr. Doubleday's letter as one which exhibited great research, and as highly honourable to his talents and abilities, proceeded to say that a letter which entered deeply into many important subjects was scarcely one which the electors were qualified so hastily to adopt as containing a full exposition of their political sentiments, and which was to be laid as such before their representative. For his own part, he felt that there were financial statements con-

tained in the document in which I could not concur; nor was it possible to test their accuracy on so short a notice. There were also some other portions of the letter to which he could not assent. In the first case, he appreciated the character of Earl Grey very highly. He was almost old enough to remember that in 1792 the noble lord proposed a plan of reform something similar to that now in operation; he had seen him supporting the principle of reform in the representation ever since, and finally bringing it to a successful issue. Whilst he admired the noble earl's consistency and honesty, and agreed with him on many points, there were several other points on which they differed still, however, he felt that Earl Grey had given them the power of effecting further necessary reforms, because every thing now depended on their sending honest men to Parliament. The electors, he feared, could be bought as well as the elected: they wanted honesty in the electors, and when they got that, he thought they might easily gain every improvement which the country required. He (Mr. Rowntree) was the advocate of triennial Parliaments, and more especially of vote by ballot, because he thought that until the latter was gained, they would never have an honest Parliament. In reforming the church he would go as far as Mr. Doubleday; and tithes he repudiated as having inflicted greater injury on the country than almost any other tax. But when he looked at Mr. Doubleday's proposition for the reduction of the taxes to twenty-four millions, he must at once declare that he could not, in such a proposition, coincide with that gentleman. There were a great number of widows and orphans who would be entirely destitute were it not for the small incomes which they derived from the funds. Many individuals, during the last few years, had invested their only property in the funds for the benefit of their families; and it would be the height of cruelty and injustice to deprive the latter of the little provision which had thus been made for them. If Mr. Doubleday had come forward with such a proposition in 1815,

at the close of the war, he (Mr. Rowntree) might have agreed with him; and after the peace, landed, household, shipping, and other property, was depreciated in the ratio of thirty per cent., and he would have reduced funded property in the same way. But he could not agree in the proposition, that now, when a number of individuals had left their property invested in the security of the funds, many probably within the last few weeks, the widows and orphans should be deprived of the interest they had in these investments, which might, in the majority of cases, be all on which they had to depend for subsistence. If they could touch the original contractors for the debt, he would go along with Mr. Doubleday in compelling them to disgorge their ill-gotten gains; but he would never be a party to spoliation of the other description. Mr. Rowntree then repeated his disapproval of the unmeasured attack which the letter contained on the public character of Earl Grey, and called upon the meeting to consider the difficulties with which he had been forced to contend. He looked upon the noble earl as one who had been a great benefactor to his country; and he would direct their attention to the splendid meeting which had just taken place in Edinburgh (laughter and disapprobation), and yet, notwithstanding the applauses which had been showered on Earl Grey from all parts of Scotland, they were about to send a letter condemnatory of his public conduct. If they wished to condemn him let them do so with reference to some particular measures; let them show he parts of his conduct for which he was worthy of condemnation. He (Mr. Rowntree) would undertake to say, that if they took the history of this country from the time of William the Conqueror downwards, and scrutinized the conduct of every prime Minister who had existed during that very long period, they would not find one who, in the same length of time, had conferred so great a boon on his country as had been conferred upon it by Earl Grey within the last few years. Applause and disapprobation). If Mr. Doubleday would alter his letter so as

to gain his object, and at the same time avoid the objections which he had urged he would vote in its favour; but if not he would be compelled to hold up his hand against it. (Cheers).

Mr. D. said he should expend little time upon answering Mr. Revely and Mr. Rowntree, their objections had been stated with great good humour, so should be his reply. And first the charge against Mr. Rippon and himself for censuring the Reform Bill was really unfounded neither had done so. What they censured were the after measures of the Grey ministry, and they were bad enough. It was clear Lord Grey knew nothing of the real situation of the country. (Cheers) In this he must persist. As for the charge of spoliation it was an easy thing to address their better feelings and talk of widows and orphans, but he (Mr. D.) begged them to remember how many poor widows and orphans that debt had made. (Loud applause). Let them remember that, these were the pitiable widows and orphans, not widows and orphans with snug little fortunes in the funds, but poor, destitute, starving, broken-hearted people. These were the fruits of that debt. To say the adjustment of the debt would not cause suffering was absurd. But that suffering would be final, short, and less than was supposed. As to the justice, the plain fact was they had no right to mortgage the country, still less the people. There was only a life interest (Yes, and loud applause), and if mortgaged persons would not look at the nature of the security whose fault was that? Nobody was forced to buy into the funds, or to leave such directions in wills. He denied the term "spoliation" was applicable, it was an adjustment of a difficult and painful matter, and that was all. (Loud applause). The question then was put.

Resolved, *S.* That the letter be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and that he transmit the same to our representative, Cuthbert Rippon, Esq.—Moved by Mr. Turnbull, and carried by acclamations.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

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From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

DAVIES, R., Clerkenwell-green, licensed-victualler.

ORSMOND, R., Wilton-place, Knightsbridge, coal-merchant.

RUFFY, W. J., Budge-row, Watling-street, printer.

WARD, T., Liverpool, hatter.

BANKRUPTS.

BRADLEY, T., Clown, Derbyshire, joiner.

CREWE, W. P., Newcastle-under-Lyme, surgeon.

FOLEY, H. F., Windsor, surgeon.

LONG, W., New Sarum, Wiltshire, grocer.

MASSEY, Hon. G. L., lodging-house-keeper.

MOODY, W., Caistor, Lincolnshire, scrivener.

MULLINS, T., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, scrivener.

SEDDON, J., Radcliffe, Lancashire, fustian-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BENTLEY, J., Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.

HENRY, W., Judd, Bath, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BELLAMY, J., Ross, Herefordshire, apothecary.

HARDISTY, J. and W. Beck, Liverpool, druggists.

HODGKINS, J., Liverpool, brush-manufacturer.

HOLDSWORTH, T., Armley, Yorkshire, wheelwright.

MANN, J., Norwich, grocer.

MEREDITH, T., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, maltster.

MITCHELL, J., Sowerby, Yorkshire, cotton-spinner.

MUIR, F. H., King's Lynn, Norfolk.

NEED, G., Bristol, provision-merchant.

NEEDHEAD, Wm., Jun., Lime-street, shipbroker.

WOOTTON, P., Birchington, Kent, grocer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 13.—We have been this morning liberally supplied with wheat from the home counties; fine parcels, particularly white, continue, however, scarce, and at the commencement of the market, selected parcels, being in request by the millers, realized rather more money, but

towards the close, the trade relapsed, and the clearance effected had been only partial, the currency remaining unaltered from last Monday. The calmness of the weather, and want of water preventing the mills from working, is a principal cause of the limited extent of the present demand on the part of the millers. Some good red Wheat, weighing 62lbs., but slightly infected with smut, obtained only 37s. In banded Wheat there is little at present transacting, the inquiries being confined to hard qualities at low prices.

Barley was in limited supply, and as the maltsters have now pretty generally commenced working, fine qualities were in request, and Chevalier advanced in consequence 1s. per qr., 38s. having been paid for fine samples. At the beginning of the malting season there is generally a competition on the part of maltsters to procure the best barleys, and therefore the present prices do not afford any accurate criterion of the rates the currency is likely to settle at. Middling and inferior qualities, as well as grinding and distilling parcels, were dull at last week's prices.

The Malt trade was heavy, and prices barely supported.

The supply of Oats fresh to this morning's market, has been considerable, several of the anticipated arrivals from Ireland having at length come to hand. The quality of the new Irish samples, which constitute the bulk of the imports, are full 2lbs. lighter than the growth of last year, averaging in weight from 38 to 40lbs., many spongy and unfit for immediate use. Old fresh corn was in request, and supported fully the previous rates, but other descriptions, though saleable, must be noted 6d. per quarter lower than this day se'nnight, yet the trade was expected to suffer further depression from the extensive importations.

Though upwards of 3,500 quarters of foreign Beans paid the duty of 14s. per quarter last Wednesday in anticipation of advanced rates, yet being at the present currencies kept off the market, and the supply of British being very limited, prices were fully supported, and in some instances rather more money obtained.

Peas were dull at Friday's quotations, which were 1s. lower than this day week. White foreign qualities have been forced off at 30s. to 36s. per quarter, but fine white English boilers being scarce, sustained no further depreciation in value.

The Flour trade continues firm from the shortness of the supply, and ship qualities met an improved sale at fully as good prices.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 45s.
— White	50s. to 54s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } — and Yorkshire	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
— West Country red	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and } — Berwickshire red ..	36s. to 44s.

— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and } — Rothshire red	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malt	31s. to 34s.
— Chevalier ..	35s. to 36s.
— Distilling ..	28s. to 30s.
— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
— Norfolk, pale ..	52s. to 60s.
— Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	33s. to 37s.
— Maple	34s. to —s.
— White Boilers	35s. to 41s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Harrow	33s. to 36s.
— Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
— ————— Potato	to 27s.
— Berwick	24s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
— ————— Potato	23s. to 24s.
— Black	22s. to 23s.
Brass, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland ..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ..	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, October 13.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great; its supply of Sheep moderately good; of Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, but limited. Trade was, with prime Mutton, and prime small Veal, somewhat brisk; with Beef, Lamb, and Pork, as also with the coarser and inferior kinds of Mutton and Veal, dull at Friday's quotations.

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BRITISH COLLEGE OF HEALTH. CURE OF COLERA MORBUS.

To Mr. Shepherd, Hygeia, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

DEAR SIR.—If any glowing cases be of sufficient importance for publication, you may give them all the publicity you think proper.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,
WILLIAM NEVISON, North Shields.

John Nevison, Mariner, belonging to the Elizabeth and Sarah, of North Shields, gives the following description of his case—

"We sailed from Dublin for Quebec on the 3, of May, with 225 passengers; when we had

got about 700 miles from Dublin the Cholera Morbus broke out among the passengers, and 22 persons died. I caught the awful malady, and I was so violently held that I entertained little hope of recovery, and what added to my discouragement (being unwell of another complaint while at Dublin), I had nearly expended my stock of MORISON'S PILLS, having only one dose left, which, when attacked, I immediately took, when my stomach was emptied of its contents, I drank largely of hot tea or coffee, which I continued to do while the disease was upon me, my shipmates also rubbed me almost incessantly. By the blessing of God upon these means, in less than three weeks I was restored, and am now in perfect health."

"A young lady, in North Shields, was attacked with violent retching, pain, coldness in the extremities, change of colour, eyes nearly fixed, and other symptoms which clearly indicated the presence of Cholera Morbus. Her father (who himself had received great benefit by the use of the Universal Medicine) gave her seven No. 2 pills, which immediately relieved the stomach, a repetition of the dose operating freely, restored the circulation, produced abundant perspiration, removed the pain, re-animated the whole system, and effected an entire cure."

"A married lady, in North Shields, was attacked in a similar way; her husband gave her a large dose of No. 2 pills, which operated in the same manner, and she was quite cured by taking a few doses."

"Mrs. Angus, North-street, Milburn-place, North Shields, has been afflicted many years with a painful disease in the eyes, which the faculty had denominated Egyptian Ophthalmia, and which for some time deprived her of sight. She had employed medical gentlemen eminent for their professional abilities, and punctually attended to their prescriptions, but was only partially benefited. Hearing of the great benefits received by others who had taken the Universal Medicines, she determined to try them, and accordingly procured a supply, and by persevering in the use of them she has been perfectly cured."

"Mr. Robert Cassells, near the Gas Works, South Shields, has for several years been afflicted with a severe bilious disorder; after trying various means without any good effect, he is perfectly cured by the use of Morison's Pills. His wife also, who was dropsical, and had other complaints of a very serious character, had employed the best medical practitioners, and taken medicine to little purpose, was restored to health by the use of the Universal Medicines in two or three weeks; also five of their children cured of the small-pox by using the above medicines only."

1. October, 1834.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



No. V.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

Cork, 17. Oct., 1834.

MARSHALL,

SINCE the date of my last letter I have been in the City of KILKENNY, and have, in a long speech, urged the justice and necessity of *poor-laws*, such as we have always had in England. In another letter, when I get more time, I will tell you how our poor-laws came to be, and I will prove to you, that, in case of need, you have *as clear a right to relief out of my farm, as I have to my cows or my corn, or as Mr. WOODRUFFE has to the land or the timber*. Our rights are very clear; but not more clear than *yours* are. At present I must speak to you of some little part of what I have recently seen and heard. When I get back to NORMANDY, I shall make a *book*, relating to every thing ab ut this country.

From KILKENNY I came to CLONMELL, the capital of the county of TIPPERARY, which is deemed one of the finest in Ireland. The land, in this distance of about 35 English miles, is very fine, except in a few places. But, only four *turnip fields* all the way. The harvest was here *all got in*. But, the *grass*! The fine grass fields covered with herds of fine cattle; fine oxen; fine cows; fine sheep; all seemed fat; and to every miserable thing *called a house*, a fine hog, so white, clean, and fat, so unlike the poor souls who had

reared it up and fatted it, and who were destined never to taste one morsel of it; no, not so much as the offal.

At the town of CLONMELL, I went to see one of the places, where they kill and salt hogs to send to England. In *this one town*, they kill every year, for this purpose, about *sixty thousand hogs*, weighing from *eight score to twenty score*. Every ounce of this meat is sent out of Ireland, while the poor half-naked creatures, who raise it with such care, are compelled to live on the *lumpers*, which are such bad potatoes, that the hogs will not thrive on them, and will not touch them, if they can get other potatoes. The *rooks*, which eat the good potatoes, will not eat these, though they be starving. And, yet, this is the stuff *that the working people* are fed on. There are about *eighty thousand firkins of butter*, and, perhaps, *a hundred thousand quarters of wheat*, and more of *oats*, sent away out of this one town; while those who raise it all by their labour, live upon *lumpers*! "*How*," you will ask, "are the *millions* of working people made to submit to *this*?" I will tell you, when I get back to the Parliament House, or to a county meeting at Guildford. It will be better to say it *there* than here!

From CLONMELL we came to FERMOY, on Saturday, the 11. instant. Fine land; a fine country; flocks of turkeys all along the way; cattle, sheep, hogs, as before; and the people, the working people, equally miserable as before. Here is a fine view, and beautiful meadows, compared to which the meadows at Farnham are not worth naming. From one side of this valley there rises up a long and most beautiful chain (miles in length) of gently sloping hills, and on those hills and on their sides, *corn-fields and grass-fields* are interperred with woods and groves. But, standing on the bridge, and viewing this scene, my *eyes were blasted* by the sight of three BARRACKS for *foot, horse, and artillery*; buildings surpa-s-

ing in extent all the palaces that I ever saw; elegant and costly as palaces; buildings containing, they say, three thousand windows; and capable of lodging forty thousand men! "Good God!" say you; "what can all this BE FOR?" I will tell you, MARSHALL, when I get to the county meeting at GUILDFORD, to which you must all come. "But," you will say, "do these soldiers live upon *lumpers* too?" MARSHALL, do not ask me any more questions about this matter. Ask Mr. DEAN: he can tell you all about it.

But, now, MARSHALL, I am coming nearer home; and I beg you all to pay great attention to what I am going to say. You will think it strange, that all this food should be sent out of the country, and that the people should get nothing back for it. You will think, that we must send them *clothes* and *household goods* and *tea* and *sugar* and *soap* in return for the hogs and other things. To the *rich* we do; and to the *barracks*, but, the millions of working people have only rags for parts of their bodies, and they have neither goods nor tea nor sugar nor plate nor knife nor fork nor tea-kettle nor cup nor saucer.

The case is this: the owners of all the great estates live in England or in France or in Italy. The rents are sent to them; and, as there are no poor-rates, they get all the produce of the land from the miserable farmer, except just enough to keep him alive. They spend these rents out of Ireland; so that the working people here, who might eat meat three times a day, are compelled to live upon *lumpers*! And, be you assured, that this would be the lot of the English working people, if the Scotch vagabonds could succeed in their projects for sweeping away our poor-laws. If that were done, the English farmers would be a set of beggarly slaves, the landlords would take so much from them, that they would be able to give the labourers not more than 6d. a day, and you would all be living in hovels without chimneys, and be eating with the pigs, that you would be rearing and fattening for somebody else to eat! And, are you to come to this?

I would rather see you all perish, and perish along with you!

But, MARSHALL, mind me well. You know, that, at PEPPERHARROW (only about four miles from your cottage) there lives LORD MIDDLETON. You know that he was a long while Lord-Lieutenant of our county. Now, Marshall, HE is one of the GREAT LAND-OWNERS OF IRELAND. His real name is BRODERICK. He is the owner of a town, called *Middleton*, half as big as Guildford. He is the owner of the lands for many miles round, and, it is supposed, that he draws, yearly, from twenty-five to thirty thousand pounds from this estate!

I came here to see things with my own eyes; and, I have, to-day, been to see this BRODERICK's estate, which begins at about sixteen miles from this City of Cork; and the land of this sixteen miles, taking in two miles on each side of the road, the finest that you can possibly imagine. Ah! but, how did I find the working people upon this land of this BRODERICK? That is the question for you to ask, and for me to answer.

I went to a sort of HAMLET near to the town of Middleton. It contained about 40 or 50 hovels. I went into several of them, and took down the names of the occupiers. They all consisted of mud-walls, with a covering of rafters and straw. None of them so good as the place where you keep your little horse. I took a particular account of the first that I went into. It was 21 feet long and 9 feet wide. The floor, the bare ground. No fire-place, no chimney, the fire (made of potato-haulm) made on one side against the wall, and the smoke going out of a hole in the roof. No table, no chair; I sat to write upon a block of wood. Some stones for seats. No goods but a pot, and a shallow tub, for the pig and the family both to eat out of. There was one window, 9 inches by 5, and the glass broken half out. There was a mud-wall about 4 feet high to separate off the end of the shed for the family to sleep, lest the hog should kill and eat the little children when the father and

mother were both out; and when the hog was shut in; and it happened some time ago that a poor mother, being ill on her straw, unable to move, and having her baby dead beside her, *had its head eaten off by a hog before her own eyes!* No bed; no mattress; some large flat stones laid on other stones, to keep the bodies from the damp ground; some dirty straw and a bundle of rags were all the bedding. The man's name was OWEN GUMBLETON. *Five small children*; the mother, about thirty, naturally handsome, but worn into half-ugliness by hunger and filth; she had no shoes or stockings, no shift, a mere rag over her body and down to her knees. The man **BUILT THIS PLACE HIMSELF**, and yet he has to pay a *pound a year* for it with perhaps a rod of ground! Others, 25s. a year. *All built their own hovels*, and yet have to pay this rent. All the hogs were in the hovels to-day, it being coldish and squally; and then, you know, hogs like cover. GUMBLETON's hog was lying in the room; and in another hovel there was a fine large hog that had taken his bed close by the fire. There is a nasty dunghill (no privy) to each hovel. The dung that the hog makes in the hovel is carefully put into a heap by itself, as being the most precious. This dung and the pig are the main things to raise the rent and to get fuel with. The poor creatures sometimes *keep the dung in the hovel*, when their hard-hearted tyrants will not suffer them to let it be at the door! So there they are, in a far worse state, MARSHALL, than any hog that you ever had in your life.

LORD MIDDLETON may say, that HE is not the landlord of these wretched people. Ah! but his *tenant*, his *middleman*, is their landlord, and LORD MIDDLETON gets the *more rent from him*, by enabling him to let these holes in this manner. If I were to give Mr. DEAN a shilling a week to squeeze you down to twelve shillings a week, who would you think was most to blame, me or Mr. DEAN?

Now, MARSHALL, pray remember, that this horrible state of things never could take place if the Irish people had

those poor-laws, which the SCOTCH VAGABONDS would advise the Parliament to take from us. For, then THE LAW would compel those who have the estates to pay sufficiently those without whose labour the land is worth nothing at all.

And even *without poor-rates*, the people never could have been brought to this pass without the ever-damned *potatoes!* People CAN keep life in them by the means of this nasty, filthy, *hog-feed*; and the tyrants make them do it, and have thus reduced them to the state of hogs, and worse than that of hogs.

I repeat to you, therefore, that if any person bring a potato into my house, for any purpose whatever, Mr. DEAN is hereby authorized and directed to discharge that person. And, Marshall, while I will give you, or any man, and all the men, *in the titling*, the finest cabbage, carrot, parsnip, beet, and any other seed, and my corn to plant, I will *never again give constant employment to any man* in whose garden I shall see potatoes planted. I have no right to dictate to you what you shall plant, but I have a right to employ my money as I please, and it is both my pleasure and my duty to discourage in every way that I can the cultivation of this damned root, being convinced that it has done more harm to mankind than the sword and the pestilence united.

I am very much pleased to hear from Mr. DEAN that you are all sober and dutiful, and that you have made the farm so clean; and hoping that all of you and your wives, children and relations, are well, I am,

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE!

City of Lincolns, 20. Oct. 1834.

HERR AM I, having been last evening received with acclamations of joy, by thirty thousand men, preceding my arriage with not less than thirty banners, and with my ears still humming

with their cheers, when, in comes the London post, this morning, bringing, in my insipid old friend and neighbour the MORNING HERALD, an account of the BURNING of the Parliament House! As to the CAUSE, whether by fire and brimstone from Heaven, or by the less sublime agency of "SWING," my friend, the Herald, does not tell me though this is a very interesting portion of the event.

At this distance, a good five hundred miles from the scene, all I can do, with regard to recording the facts, is to direct my printer* (which I hereby do), not to insert my fifth and last letter to LORD RADNOR, about the Poor-law Amendment Bill (which letter I sent him last night); but, to take from the London daily papers, all the different accounts, and all their different sets of wise observations, relating to this matter. This is all I can do at present in the historical way.

But my friend, the HERALD, has made one observation, upon which, distant as I am, and agitated as the reader will naturally suppose my mind to be, I cannot refrain from offering a remark or two. My insipid friend says, "that the MOB" (meaning the people of London), "when they saw the progress of the flames, raised a SAVAGE shout of EXULTATION." Did they indeed! The Herald exclaims, "O, UNREFLECTING people!" Now perhaps the "MOB" exulted because the "MOB" was really a reflecting "mob." When even a dog, or a horse, receives any treatment that it does not like, it always shuns the place where it got such treatment: shoot at and wound a hare from out of a hedge-row, she will always shun that spot: cut a stick out of a coppice, and beat a boy with it, and he will wish the coppice at the devil: send a man, for writing notorious truth, out of the King's Bench to a jail, and there put him half to death, and he will not cry his eyes out if he happen to hear that court is no more. In short, there is always a connexion in our minds, be-

tween sufferings that we undergo and the place in which they are inflicted, or in which they originate. And this "unreflecting mob" might in this case have reflected, that in the building which they then saw in flames, the following, amongst many other things, took place. They might have reflected, that it was in this House,

That the act was passed for turning the Catholic priests, who shared the tithes with the poor, out of the parishes, and putting Protestant parsons in their place, who gave the poor no share at all of the tithes.

That this was the VERY FIRST ACT that was passed after this building became the Parliament House!

That the all-devouring church of England was BORN in this very House.

That, soon after the people became compelled to beg or starve, in this same House an act was passed to put an iron collar on a beggar's neck, and to make him a slave for life.

That, it was in this House, that the aristocracy (who had got the abbey lands and great tithes), solemnly renounced the damnable errors of the Catholic religion, in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

That, it was in this same House, that they solemnly recanted, and received pardon and absolution from the Pope, in the reign of Queen Mary, bargaining to keep the abbey lands and great tithes.

That, it was in this same House, that the same aristocracy chopped about again when ELIZABETH came, and again solemnly renounced the damnable idoltry of popery.

That, it was in this same House, that the act was passed for plundering the guilds and fraternities of their prescriptive property.

That, it was in this same House, that all the tyrannical and bloody penal laws were passed against those who faithfully adhered to the religion of our fathers.

* The printer very much regrets that Mr Cobden's letter arrived too late for his wishes to be complied with |

That, it was in this same House, that the Riot Act and the Septennial Act were passed.

That, it was in this same House, that the sums were voted for carrying on a war to subjugate the Americans.

That, it was in this same House, that the new treason-laws, new game-laws, new trespass-laws, and new felony-laws were passed.

That it was in this same House that the million and half of money was voted to be given to the parsons of the church of England, over and above their tithes to enormous amount.

That, it was in this same House

But I must break off. The post is going. I will finish the list next week.

... ..

WM. COBBETT.

(Extract from the Standard of 17. Oct, 1834)

The sense that the property of respectable persons was in course of ruin; and that the lives of many brave and honest men were in jeopardy, alone controlled an universal disposition to merriment. Hundreds confessed the feeling (of course jocularly), avowed by the old Earl of Kildare, when he apologized for burning Cashel Cathedral, by solemnly protesting his belief that the Archbishop was in it. Some wags said they hoped the fire would reach the *Poor-laws Amendment Bill*. Others regretted that the *bulk and lumber had not been burned five years ago*. There was no mischief whatever in these pleasantries. Not one of Kildare's imitators would in fact have hurt a hair of any Lord's or Commoner's head; but if ever the suffrages of a whole city were unanimous upon one point, they were last night given to this, that there has been nothing in the *existing generation of parliamentary men to command veneration or even respect*. The burning of an oil store, in Thomas-street, a few night ago, excited solemn and sympathetic feelings *exactly opposite to the predominant sentiment in Palace Yard, last night*.

(From the same.)

The pretty general impression yet is, this dreadful event was the work of an *incendiary*. Instead of regretting the event as a national calamity, many appeared to consider it as a *well-merited visitation*, and actually openly expressed their regret that the Lords and Commons *were not sitting at the time*. We frequently heard such remarks as "*There's a bon-fire for the Poor-laws Bill*," and many other similar expressions. A chimney-sweep appeared in high glee, and called out most lustily, "*Ah, they'll let us cry sweep again now, I'll bet a guinea*." This spirit, however, we lament to say, and we speak from personal knowledge, *was not confined to the lowest and most ignorant order*. Many individuals well-dressed, openly professed to feel but little regret while witnessing the progress of the flames. They seemed to think that a visitation so awful would induce the legislature to adopt some *different measures to those that have latterly occupied their almost exclusive attention*; and any event that would produce that effect, they were inclined to consider as a special *interposition of Providence*.

TO THE

EARL OF RADNOR,

On his reported Speech in the House of Lords, on the 21. July, on the Poor-law Scheme.

LETTER V.

MY LORD, Charleville, 18. Oct., 1834.

I HAVE this day seen a long train of most miserable, though laborious, people, living worse than hogs, in places not so good as the *pig-sties* of our labourers; working hard for 6d. a day, and many of them with a wife and five or six or more children to keep. This is what the POOR-LAW BILL, "*amendment*" Bill, MUST, if it be forced into execution, produce in England! Your lordship's speech tells us, that you wished to *relieve the rate-payers*, amongst whom you must have included the farmers. Now then, I have just got on the spot the NAMES of thirty-one farmers; and farmers of good land,

too ; amongst the whole of whose families (consisting of 227 persons) *six pigs* have been killed during the last year ; and one of the six killed to save it from dying ; and who have not tasted a morsel of meat of any other sort, and *not one morsel of bread* during the whole year ! This is the sort of **RELIEF** that you and *Mother Martineau* and *Brougham* and *Chadwick* and your favourite *Parson Lowe* would give to the *farmers of England* ! This is the life of *farmers who know nothing of poor-rates* ! This is the state to which the damnable Scotch quacks would reduce England. Ah ! they are stopped ! The half-drunk and half-mad wretches may be led about and palmed upon the people by half-silly and whole greedy fools of land-owners, but they will not succeed : they will become objects of public scorn greater than any of God's creatures, save and except their at once imbecile and greedy patrons.—So much as a sort of digression ; and I now proceed to my *fifth letter*, with which I conclude a series of letters, by the means of which, and of which alone, *Brougham* and you and *Mother Martineau* will be remembered this day ten years.—N. B. The wheat is selling here for *seventeen shillings a barrel* on an average. A barrel is 280 lbs. ; so that, taking English wheat to be 60 lbs. the bushel (which is good wheat), *two barrels* make an *English quarter*, and *one bushel* and *two gallons* and *five pints* over. So that good wheat is selling here for 29s. 1½d. the *English quarter* of eight bushels, 60 lbs. a bushel, and good wheat too. These “ farmers,” who have no need of your *generous help to relieve them from poor-rates*, winnow their wheat, by God's help ; that is to say, by *wind* ; and it is not so nicely cleaned as ours ; but it is 280 lbs. weight to the barrel. As good, as dry, and as clean wheat as any in England, sells for 20 *shillings* the barrel at the shipping port, and that is less than *thirty-four shillings* the *English quarter* ; that is to say, 4s. 3d. the bushel ! THAT is the thing to *work* you ! THAT will work your “ *Poor-law AMENDMENT scheme*.” That will **RELIEVE** your farmers ! Your

footmen and grooms and coachmen and your policemen and soldiers and dead-weight crew and troops of pensioners will, to be sure, have *nothing to pay for their bastards*, and *Blomfield* and you and *Mother Martineau* and *Carlile* and *Brougham* may exult at this, and so may Messrs. *Grote* and *Clay* and *Hume* and others ; but can YOU get RENTS ? The others have no rents to get, except *HUME*. What, “ canno' the Cosh-Creduts, mon,” get you some “ *rents* ” ? Will not the *Poor-law Bill* “ save your estates ” ? As wise *Brougham* told you it would. Will not your friend, *Parson Lowe's work-house dresses* get you some rents ? Will not the “ cool-tempered *Crook*,” as the penny-a-line *Chadwick* called him, do something for you by *separating poor men from their wives, and both from their children* ! Ah, my lord, you will have leisure to *feelosofize* on these matters ; plenty of time to contemplate the consequences of *extolling Parson Lowe* and taking *Brougham* upon your back down to *Salisbury*, and insulting your honest neighbours by his bawlings ! This last act has fixed your new public character in the minds of the nation.

FIFTH LETTER.

MY LORD,—It is a pretty curious thing that while all *rights* are denied to the poorer classes there is no want of a disposition on the part of the aristocracy to exact *duties* from them. Amongst other *duties* is that of *military service*, and a submission to military law, and a liability to be *flogged* for disobedience of that law, and so liable in virtue of judgments pronounced, *not by a jury and judge*, but by persons set over them by the King, and by his sole authority, and dependent, even for their food, on his *royal breath*.

And now, my lord, according to what principle of our constitution, or of any constitution, is this a *duty* which the people owe to the State, or Government ? On what ground is it that you call upon a working man, to whom you deny any claim of any sort upon the land ; on what ground is it that you

call on him, he being able-bodied ; on what ground is it that you call upon this able-bodied man to come forth and defend your estate, and your mansion and all that you have belonging to you ? Upon what ground is it that you call upon him to quit his home, unless you perchance deny that he have any home ? Upon what ground is it that you call upon him to quit his house ; his aged, and perhaps helpless, parents ; and perhaps his wife and a troop of little helpless children ?

The reasonable and legal ground is that his services are absolutely necessary to the upholding of the laws against rebels in arms, or ready to take arms, or absolutely necessary to the defence of the country against foreign foes. And why should he thus be called upon to assume the ridiculous and hated military garb ; to wield the bayonet instead of the spade or the reap-hook ? Why should he be called upon thus, to be compelled to withdraw himself from the protection of the ordinary laws of his country, and to subject himself to the punishment of imprisonment, flogging, or to that of death itself, without trial by jury ? On what ground is it that you thus call upon him ? I wish to God that I could have your answer ; that, however, I never shall have, either from your lordship or any other man of your order. You cannot answer without passing sentence on the principles of all those who have advocated this Poor-law Bill ; or without asserting boldly at once, that the rest of the community were made by God *for the mere use of the aristocracy*. This is what you will not assert, though it would be the shortest and most satisfactory answer. Therefore, seeing that you will not answer at all I will make an answer for you.

Upon the supposition, for argument's sake, which I admit only for the purpose of the argument, that men should be treated as they are now treated, when they are called out to serve in the militia ; supposing this, merely for the sake of the argument, I allow that the law is just, which compels every able-bodied man to come forth in arms, if it be necessary, to aid and assist in upholding

the laws against rebellious attacks ; and in doing the same, to defend the country against foreign foes. I agree that this is right. And why is it right ? Why should the working man, who owns neither house nor land, and who has nothing to eat, drink, or wear, but that which comes out of his labour, why should he, except in his quality of slave of the aristocracy, be compelled to quit his home, leave his parents, wife, and children ; assume the military garb ; take an oath which binds him to submit to be imprisoned, flogged, or put to death, without trial by jury ; why should this be ; why should he be compelled to do this, seeing that no rebellion, no invasion, no change of rulers, could possibly take from him that capacity to labour, which he possesses in his own body ? The answer to this is, or rather was, that though he possessed neither house nor land, he in reality *possesses a share in both*. Before those spoliationes by which the aristocracy took away his share in the tithes, his portion was like that that the working Israelite had in participating with the Levite ; since that spoliation took place, his share has been awarded to him by the 43. of ELIZABETH, which appoints not only the proportion of the share, but the manner in which he is to receive it, and the persons from whom he is to receive it : in short it provides for him a security for a subsistence, in case he cannot obtain that subsistence by his own strength. He has a share, then, in the houses and the land, compulsory contributions from which are to give him this security : he has an interest, and a deep interest, in upholding the laws, his provision for him being interwoven, as Judge HALE says, with our very constitution : he has an interest in upholding these laws and this government, against rebels, because those rebels might abolish this law, and take from him this security, take from him this his share of the houses and the land, which the law gives him. He has an interest in repelling an invader, in keeping out a conqueror, because a conquest of the country might make him worse off, seeing that the conqueror might abolish

the law, which makes the land furnish him with protection against want. For these reasons his interest, his safety, the safety of his parents, his family and his kindred, impel him to come forth and to serve in the militia. That being the mode of performing his duty, which the law has pointed out.

But, if the law of ELIZABETH be abrogated, in fact, though not in name; if MALTHUS tell him, that he has no claim upon society (that is to say, upon the houses and the land) for the smallest portion of relief, even in the time of his utmost need; if MALTHUS tell him this; if the Lord Chancellor tell him, that all the laws which provide for his security in case of want, are *bad laws*, and ought to be abolished; if a law be actually passed, framed upon instructions which say, "that it is desirable" "that he should be induced to *live upon coarser food* than he now lives upon"; if your lordship support this bill upon these principles, and with these views, proclaiming your approbation of a system, which is to *make the obtaining of relief as irksome as possible*; which is to drag him, in case of his hard necessities arising, to a big distant workhouse, there to have a workhouse dress put upon him; to be separated from his wife, and their children from both, and kept in that state of separation; to be kept at hard labour; to have his little goods taken from him; to be forbidden, even in case of sickness and death, to see parents, friends, or relations: if these be the terms on which you are to give him relief, it is clear that you deny that he has any right at all to relief in any degree; and, indeed, this denial was flatly made by the Scotchman whose motion in favour of the bill you supported, and this being the case, what becomes of the grounds on which you call him out to serve in the militia to defend your estate? Does the "*law of nature*," furnish you with these grounds? Ah, my lord! first burn the Bible, then assert that they have no share whatsoever in the ownership or fruits of the land; then assert that you have a right to cause your estate to lie uncultivated and unpastured; then assert that you have

a right to cause all the people of COLESHILL to die with hunger, or to perish with cold; then assert that God has given you a right; that it is agreeable to his laws, that you should, when you want them, compel them to come out, and leave their fathers and mothers and families, and to submit to be punished, in the most horrible manner, without trial by jury, and finally, to risk their lives in defence of your land at COLESHILL: assert all this, and then find, if you can, that any thing so impudent and so insolent, and at the same time so consummately stupid, ever before proceeded from the lips of any human being quite drunk and quite mad, instead of half-drunk and half-mad!

Do I impute this impudence, insolence, and stupidity to you? By no means: none of these terms belong to conduct deliberately emanating from your own mind; but I do impute them to those by whom that mind has been misled: I do impute them to those on whose opinions and assertions, you have unfortunately been led to give your support to this measure. I am very sure, that your lordship has been grossly deceived: I am very sure that your view into the matter has only been skin deep: I am very sure of this, because the very first "*law of nature*," SELF-PRESERVATION, would have prevented you from stirring up the question of *your rights* as a landowner. Do you perceive, my lord, the monstrous extent to which your denial of the rights of the poor would carry you, with regard to your own unquestioned professions? If your principles be sound, the landowners, a mere handful of men; a mere handful of men who never do any work, have a right TO CAUSE TO STARVE ALL THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY. Let us take yourself, for instance. Have you a right to cause the whole parish of COLESHILL; I believe the whole belongs to yourself; and I know what a blessing it is to the poor people of that parish that you are the possessor: have you a right, I say, to cause all the land in the parish of COLESHILL to lie uncultivated and unpastured, and to turn all the people out

of the houses, and to knock the houses down? Let no one tell me, that it is not possible that you should not shudder at the thought of doing such a thing. I know that very well, but that has nothing to do with my question: my question is, have you a RIGHT to commit this abominable and tyrannical act? Using the word RIGHT in the sense in which BROTHAM made use of it, and in which you adopted its use, you have a right to do it; for the law suffers you to do what you please with your houses and your land. But the same law says, or did say two months ago, that you shall not play this odious and savage tyrant to the starvation and the perishing of the people of COLESHILL, for the law compelled you, and justly compelled you, to furnish the people of COLESHILL with house-room, food, raiment, and fuel, fitting for them in their own native parish.

Take away this law (and it is now nearly taken away), and then you have a right to starve, or cause to perish, the people of the parish of COLESHILL! Nonsense to tell me that you *would not* do it; for I know that you would not if you could, and that you could not, if you would: what I say is, that the principles upon which you supported this bill are tantamount to the claim of right, on your part, to cause to starve and to perish the people of the parish of COLESHILL: and of course, those same principles give the same right to every other landowner in the kingdom; and thus this vaunted constitution is at last come to this point; that a handful of men called *landowners*, have a right, if they shall be so minded, to cause all the millions of the community to die with hunger, or to perish with cold!

Monstrous principles! Worthy of the hungry Scotch place-hunters; worthy of prostituted writers and reporters; worthy of clerical hypocrites, who, while they utter these abominations, wheeze as if with the asthma, from the fat with which their carcasses are filled by the toil of those, to cause whom to starve, or to perish with cold, they insist upon the landowner's right. Monstrous principles, if advocated by

any man: ten thousand times more monstrous when advocated by a man like you!

"I do not advocate such principles," your lordship will say. And I have just told you that you have been deceived, and that you have not seen the extent to which your principles would go. You do advocate these principles, in your support of this bill, after the speech of BROTHAM, boldly proclaiming (he knew the company that he was in), that the poor had *no right to relief*: that they had no right whatever to a share in the produce of the land; and that the laws were bad, and ought to be done away with, that provided relief even for the *aged and infirm*!

The principles which I have just illustrated in the supposed case of COLESHILL, form the basis of this bill. You must assert that you have a right to do with COLESHILL that which I have described: you must maintain, and boldly maintain, your right to starve and cause to perish, the people of COLESHILL; or you must allow, that your right to your property is *limited*: that it is *not absolute*: that you have not created it: that you do not hold it in a grant directly from God: you must allow further that, if the right be not absolute; that if you be not the sole and absolute owner, *some other party shares in the ownership*. This upsets the whole of your principles: it is not *yours* that the poor claim: it is *theirs*, and, they claim it in virtue of laws; in virtue of rights existing, ten centuries before the first of your recorded ancestors was born. To persons who held the principles, or whom he thought likely to act upon the principles on which you have advocated this bill, St. AMBROSE (as quoted by PUFFENBERRY) says, "*It is the bread of the hungry which you detain: it is the raiment of the naked which you lock up*": it is not *yours*, my lord, it is *theirs*; and our greatest lawyers tell us, that if you withhold it, they have a right to take it.

Nothing is so common as to hear, amongst the brutal bull-frogs; amongst the greedy fellows, who do not consider

how much of their own safety they owe to the poor-law of *ELIZABETH*; nothing is so common, as to hear from such men, observations of this sort:

Why am I to give my money to support people who do nothing for me? why am I to be taxed to keep other people's children from starving? what right have other people that call themselves poor, to take a part of my property from me"? And I heard these very remarks one day, and not very long ago, and in a place that I will not name at present, from a proud fellow bursting with fat, who owes every penny that he possesses in the world; he owes the means of showing his head in the place where I saw him, wholly and solely to the toil of hard-working men, from whose sweat, from whose unrequited labour, he has drawn together all that he possesses, even to the shirt upon his fat back, and to the handkerchief that encircles his bull-like neck. What, my lord, is such a reptile, when he has bought out some lord, by money accumulated in this way, who has thus successfully practised the system of *accumulation, concentration, and centralization*; is such a wretch to look upon himself in the light of a *Creator* of the earth; or as a grantee from God, if he believes that there is any God? These notions are all false: the property that the poor take is *thine*; it is *their share*; and there is less reason, and far less reason, to deny them their share, than to deny the rent-charger, or the mortgagee, his share; a great deal better claim have the poor, than either he who has a rent-charge or a mortgage; their right being prescriptive, and making a part of the constitution of the land; his right being founded on mere modern individual convention. Yet, nothing so common as the notions which I have just described; notions that have gained ground only because they were supposed to be too monstrous to be produced as a foundation of legislative action. But, having now been pushed into practice; having now, by this bill, and especially by your having advocated it, been forced upon us as a subject for discussion; we give them a serious encounter: we show their monstrosity: we retaliate upon those who made them, and we shall make it happy for the landowners, if we induce them to retract, while yet there be time; to retrace their steps, before it be too late; to seek peace while it yet may be found; to repeal this Poor-law Bill; we shall make it happy for them, if we succeed in this, and put a stop to the inquiry, on the part of the millions, *who it is that has the best right to the land*, who are the parties to whom God and the law of the land have allotted the fruits of it, and what is the share which those sacred laws have allotted to each party? Alas! my lord! how often has it happened in this world; how often does it now every day happen, that greedy men, by endeavouring to withhold unjustly a small part of their possessions from others, are repaid for their greediness by losing the whole; and how almost invariably has it happened, and does it happen, that when, by acts of injustice, long repeated and persevered in, the millions are goaded on to the righting of themselves, they terminate their work by repaying injustice in kind! It is useless to say, that one should deplore this; and that it is frightful to think of it: we may as well say that winter is deplorable, or that thunder and lightning are frightful: they are things over which we have no control; our wishes on such a subject are as vain as would be those of the dwarf who should wish to be six feet high.

It is surprising that your lordship, as well as all the other advocates of the bill, should have placed implicit reliance on the opinions of the poor-law fellows; the brace of bishops, *STURGES BOURNE*, *SENIOR*, and the rest of the newspaper *reporters*; very strange that you should have relied upon their opinions, and pay no attention at all to the evidence which they collected; that evidence containing the opinions of gentlemen, noblemen, magistrates, clergy, experienced farmers, and parish officers, which opinions, taken as a mass, are directly in the teeth of the opinions and recommendations of the

poor-law fellows. You yourself prefer the opinions of these hired fellows even to your own opinions, as stated in your evidence! That a man of such understanding and integrity should be thus quack-ridden by bawling hair-brained creatures; that a man of princely estate, and of interests so great, depending on the peace of the country, and the goodwill of the working people, always so ready to be grateful, and so cheerfully obedient to their superiors in wealth and rank; that such a man should be quack-ridden to this extent, and by such creatures, too, would be absolutely incredible were the fact not; unhappily, put beyond the possibility of doubt. What! not think your own opinions better than those of these notoriously hired people; notorious adventurers, too, from the very top to the very bottom! Not prefer even your own opinion to theirs, when, too, you see your opinion backed by that of all the noblemen, gentlemen, magistrates, and sensible persons, to whom this impudent crew applied for information!

If your lordship had paid attention to the evidence, you would have found, that all those who had to pay the poor-rates, with very few exceptions, deemed them indispensable to the safety of their property. One of the witnesses, a great farmer, being asked by one of the poor-law runners, whether the poor, if the law were not altered, would not swallow up the whole of his property; whether he would not be ruined by the rates? "Ruined by the rates," said he, "the rates take away all my property! The rates are the security of my property; for the poor people must have a living; and if they did not have it given to them, they must and they would take it"? A parson magistrate of Bedfordshire, the Rev. HENRY BROOK MOUNTAIN, rector of BLUNHAM, being asked whether the poor-rates had made the farmers poorer, answered: "The farmers are aware that the burden of the poor-rates does not at all affect them: IT IS A RENT PAID to the parish instead of to the landlord." The Rev. T. C. FELL of SHREFF MAGNA, in Leicestershire, says, "The poor-laws

"affect the rent, and not the farmer's capital." SIR THOMAS PHILLIPS, Bart., STEPHEN SAVAGE, overseer, and two other gentlemen, at BROADWAY, in WORCESTERSHIRE, tell the brace of bishops and their comrades this: "Agricultural capital is diminishing; but not on account of the poor-laws, which rather tend to KNEE CAPITAL in the parish; but because the great landowners spend less in their parish, by carrying the great bulk of their income annually to London, where it accumulates in the hands of usurers and stock-jobbers, and consequently does not return to the parish with the same rapidity nor in the same proportion as it is drawn out of it."

Your lordship said, in answer to those lords who wanted delay, in order to have time to consider this question, that "there had been plenty of time for consideration." Have you read this evidence? I would stake my life upon the question, that you have not. If you had, on what ground did you assert, that the payers of the rates were anxious to get the bill passed?

However, here we see that the whole scheme is clearly seen to the bottom. Lord ALTHORP's object with regard to the bill was, to relieve the distresses of the farmers; to lessen the burdens of those who paid the rates; "to relieve the industrious farmer and tradesman" from the burden of maintaining the idle and profligate poor. Before the thing came to you, BROUGHAM had boldly declared that the object was to save the estates of the lords. So that, after all the pretences of Lord ALTHORP, here were you urging forward this terrible bill under the pretence of the necessity of saving your estate from the jaws of the poor!

All men are now satisfied that the object is, to lower rates, and, more particularly, to lower wages; and to put the difference into the pockets of the landlords. There is not a man in his senses who does not believe that the main object is this, and, of course, to bring the English laborers down to live upon the bare food, and to be clad in the miserable rags, which are the lot of the wretch-

ed people of Ireland, where a good and honest labourer, as good and as true as any in the world, works for sixpence a day, and sometimes for twopence. This is the object; if not of you yourself, it must be the object of the inventors of the scheme, or they must have been both drunk and mad at the same time, and both in an excessive degree. What! and do the *House of Lords* pass this bill? Yes, they do; and the majority of that House, thinking of BROUGHAM as they think, and talking of him as they talk, and treating *all his other new projects as they treat them*, embrace him here! Reject, with disdain, all his other "*improvements*," suggested by the "*march of intellect*"; but when he proposes to give them, instead of their tenants, the votes at the vestries; and to give them a voting at those vestries by proxy; when he proposes the big workhouses, the workhouse dresses, and says that the poor have no right to relief, and ought to be no charge at all upon the land; and when he tells them, that his bill *will save their estates*; then they cheer him; then you cheer even this HENRY BROUGHAM; then you pass his project almost by acclamation!

Well, but there is this much of good in this transaction, that we have now, at last, their unequivocal declaration of designs with regard to us. We now know, even the dullest of us, what relationship we stand in with regard to them. Until this bill was passed by them, men were divided in their opinions with regard to the aristocratical institutions: **WE ARE ALL OF ONE MIND NOW**: we now all know our duty with regard to that aristocracy; and may every curse that God has in store for the base fall on me, and stick to me for the remainder of my life, if I neglect any part of this my sacred duty. You have done all that you can do; and I will now do all that I can do; and I have to thank God, who has given me health to make that all not a very little. It has given me great mortification to know it to be my duty to select you as the object of this angry address; but it was your pleasure to become the great patron and protector of this bill; and, as you

deserve, so you will, I dare say, be rewarded for that patronage and that protection.

In conclusion of this series of letters, I wish your lordship joy of the feelings inspired by reflecting on the part which you have acted on this memorable occasion; and

I am

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. It was my intention to have noticed, before I concluded the above address, the various encroachments of the aristocracy upon the rights and liberties of the people in general. But those encroachments are so numerous, they are so important, it is so necessary to state them *fully* when they are stated; it is so necessary to give them a formal and permanent existence on record; and for the purpose of making them ground of action for the people; and they relate to matters so various, that this is a task which I must defer; but it is a task necessary to be performed as soon as possible; in order that the people may know what this aristocracy is; what this aristocracy has done to them; and *what it is their duty to their King and their country to do with regard to this aristocracy*.

The Poor-law Commission having done its work, it is high time to think of our establishing that "*Reckoning Commission*," which was proposed by me about two years ago. "*The rights of the poor*" having been so amply discussed, and inquired into, to complete our collection of statistical and economical knowledge, it seems indispensably necessary to inquire into the *rights of the rich*. To send our circulars into the several counties and parishes, and to make the discoveries and obtain a statement of the facts necessary to the completion of this singularly useful branch of "*Useful Knowledge*."

FROM THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND.

(Continued from p. 167.)

Our next authority is one quite as authentic, and almost as ancient. The

book goes by the name of **BARITON**, which was the name of a Bishop of Hereford, who edited it in the famous reign of **EDWARD THE FIRST**. The book does, in fact, contain the laws of the kingdom as they existed at that time. It may be called the record of the laws of Edward the First. It begins thus, "Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, to all his liege subjects, peace, and "grace of salvation." The preamble goes on to state, that people cannot be happy without good laws; that even good laws are of no use unless they be known and understood; and that, therefore, the king has ordered the laws of England thus to be written and recorded. This book is very well known to be of the greatest authority amongst lawyers, and in chap. 10 of this book, in which the law describes what constitutes a **BURGLAR**, or housebreaker, and the punishment that he shall suffer (which is that of death), there is this passage: "Those are to be deemed burglars who feloniously in time of peace, break "into churches or houses, or through "walls or doors of our cities, or our "boroughs; with exception of children "under age, and of poor people who for "hunger, enter to take any sort of victuals of less value than twelve pence; "and except idiots and mad people, and "others that cannot commit felony." Thus, you see, this agrees with the **MIRROR OF JUSTICES**, and with all that we have read before from these numerous high authorities. But this, taken in its full latitude, goes a great length indeed; for a burglar is a *breaker-in by night*. So that this is not only a *taking*; but a breaking into a house in order to take! And observe, it is taking to the value of *twelve pence*; and twelve pence then, was the price of a couple of sheep, and of fine fat sheep too; nay, twelve pence was the price of an ox, in this very reign of Edward the First. So that a hungry man might have a pretty good bellyful in those days without running the risk of punishment. Observe, by-the-by, how time has hardened the law. We are told of the *dark ages*, of the *barbarous customs* of our forefathers;

and we have a Sir **JAMES MACKINTOSH** to receive and to present petitions innumerable, from the most tender-hearted creatures in the world, about "*softening the criminal code*"; but, not a word do they ever say about a softening of *this law*, which now hangs a man for stealing the value of a **RABBIT**, and which formerly did not hang him till he stole the value of an **OX**! Curious enough, but still more scandalous, that we should have the impudence to talk of our *humanity*, and our *civilization*, and of the barbarousness of our forefathers. But, if a *part* of the ancient law remain, shall not the *whole* of it remain? If we hang the thief, still hang the thief for stealing to the value of *twelve pence*; though the twelve pence now represents a rabbit instead of an ox; if we still do this, would **BLACKSTONE** take away the benefit of the ancient law from the starving man? The passage that I have quoted is of such great importance as to this question, that I think it necessary to add here a copy of the original, which is in the old *Norman-French*, of which I have given the translation, above. "Sunt tenus burgessours trestous ceux, "que felonisement en temps de pees "debrusent esglises ou auter mesons, "ou murs, ou portes de nos cytes, ou "de nos burghes; hors pris enfauntz "dedans age, et poures, que, pur feyn, "entrèt pur ascun vitaille de meindre "value q'de xii deners, et hors pris fous "nastres, et gens arrages, et autres que "seuent nule felonie faire."

After this, *lawyers*, at any rate, will not attempt to gainsay. If there should, however, remain any one to affect to doubt of the soundness of this doctrine, let them take the following from him who is always called the "*pride of philosophy*," the "*pride of English learning*," and whom the poet **Pope** calls "*greatest and wisest of mankind*." It is Lord **Byng**, of whom I am speaking. He was Lord High Chancellor in the reign of James the First; and let it be observed, that he wrote those "*law tracts*," from which I am about to quote, long after the present poor-laws had been established. He says (*Law Tracts*, page 55), "The law chargeth

"no man with default where the
 "act is compulsory and not vo-
 "luntary, and where there is not
 "consent and election; and, therefore,
 "if either there be an impossibility for
 'a man to do otherwise, or so great a
 'perturbation of the judgment and rea-
 'son, as in presumption of law man's
 'nature cannot overcome, such neces-
 'sity carrieth a privilege in itself.—
 'Necessity is of three sorts: necessity
 'of conservation of life; necessity of
 'obedience; and necessity of the act
 'of God or of a stranger. First, of
 'conservation of life; *if a man steal
 'viands (victuals) to satisfy his present
 hunger, this is no felony nor larceny.*"

If any man want more authority, his heart must be hard indeed: he must have an uncommonly anxious desire to take away by the halter the life that sought to preserve itself against hunger. But, after all, what need had we of any authorities? What need had we even of reason upon the subject? Who is there upon the face of the earth, except the monsters that come from across the channel of St. George; who is there upon the face of the earth, except those monsters that have the brass, the hard hearts, and the brazen faces, which enable them coolly to talk of the "MERIT" of the degraded creatures, who, amidst an abundance of food, amidst a "*superabundance of food,*" lie quietly down and receive the extreme unction, and expire with hunger? Who upon the face of the whole earth, except these monsters, the ruffians by way of excellence; who, except these, the most insolent and hard-hearted ruffians that ever lived, would contend, or will dare to think, that there ought to be any force under heaven to compel a man to lie down at the door of a baker's and butcher's shop, and expire with hunger? The very nature of man makes him shudder at the thought. There want no authorities; no appeal to law books; no arguments; no questions of right or wrong: that same human nature that tells me that I am not to cut my neighbour's throat, and drink his blood, tells me that I am not to make him die at my feet by keeping from him food or

the raiment of which I have more than I want for my own preservation.

Talk of barbarians, indeed; talk of "*the dark and barbarous ages.*" Why, even in the days of the DRUIDS, such barbarity as that of putting men to death, or of punishing them for taking to relieve their hunger, was never thought of. In the year 1811, the Rev. PETER ROBERTS, A. M., published a book entitled, *COLLECTANEA CAMBRICA*. In the first volume of that book, there is an account of the laws of the ANCIENT BRITONS. Hume, and other Scotchmen, would make us believe, that the ancient inhabitants of this country were a set of savages, clothed in skins and the like.

The laws of this people were collected and put into writing, in the year 694 before Christ. The following extract from these laws shows, that the moment civil society began to exist, that moment the law took care that people should not be starved to death. That moment it took care, that provision should be made for the destitute, or that, in cases of extreme necessity, men were to preserve themselves from death by taking from those who had to spare. The words of these laws (as applicable to our case) given by Mr. ROBERTS, are as follows: "There are three distinct kinds
 "of personal individual property, which
 "cannot be shared with another, or sur-
 "rendered in payment of fine; viz., a
 "wife, a child, and agryfrew. By the
 "word *agryfrew* is meant, clothes, arms,
 "or the implements of a lawful calling.
 "For without these a man has not the
 "means of support, and it would be
 "unjust in the law to *unman* a man, or
 "uncall a man as to his calling."

TRIAD 53d.—"Three kinds of THIEVES are not to be punished with DEATH.
 "1. A wife, who joins with her husband
 "in theft. 2. A youth under age. And
 "3. One who, after he has asked in vain
 "for support, in three towns, and at nine
 "houses in each town." TRIAD 137.

There were, then, *houses* and *towns*, it seems; and the towns were pretty thickly spread too; and as to "*civilization*" and "*refinement*," let this law relative to a *youth under age* be compared with the new *orchard and garden law*,

and with the tread-mill affair, and new trespass law !

We have a law called the *VAGRANT ACT*, to *punish men for begging*. We have a law to punish men for *not working to keep their families*. Now, with what show of justice can these laws be maintained ? They are founded upon this ; the first, that begging is disgraceful to the country ; that it is degrading to the character of man, and, of course, to the character of an Englishman ; and, that there is no necessity for begging, *because the law has made ample provision for every person in distress*. The law for punishing men for not working to maintain their families is founded on this, that they are *doing wrong to their neighbours* ; their neighbours, that is to say, the parish, being *bound to keep the family*, if they be not kept by the man's labour : and, therefore, his not labouring is *a wrong done to the parish*. The same may be said with regard to the punishment of not maintaining bastard children. There is some reason for these laws, as long as the poor-laws are duly executed ; as long as the poor are duly relieved according to law ; but, unless the poor-laws exist ; unless they be in full force ; unless they be duly executed ; unless efficient and prompt relief be given to necessitous persons, these acts, and many others approaching to a similar description, are acts of barefaced and most abominable tyranny. I should say that they *would be* acts of such tyranny ; for generally speaking, the poor-laws are, as yet, fairly executed, and efficient as to their object.

The law of this country is, that every man, able to carry arms, is liable to be called on, to serve in the militia, or to serve as a soldier in some way or other, *in order to defend the country*. What, then, the man has *no land* ; he has *no property* beyond his mere body, and clothes, and tools ; he has nothing that an enemy can take away from him. What *justice* is there, then, in calling upon this man to take up arms and *risk his life in the defence of the land* ? what is the land to him ? I say, that it is something to him ; I say, that he ought to be called forth to assist to defend the

land ; because, however poor he may be, *he has a share in the land*, through the poor-rates ; and if he be liable to be called forth to defend the land, *the land is always liable to be taxed for his support*. This is what I say : my opinions are consistent with reason, with justice, and with the law of the land ; but, how can *MALTHUS* and his silly and nasty disciples ; how can those who want to abolish the poor-rates or to prevent the poor from marrying ; how can this at once stupid and conceited tribe look the labouring man in the face, while they call upon him to take up arms, to risk his life in defence of the land ? Grant that the poor-laws are just ; grant that every necessitous creature has a right to demand relief from some parish or other ; grant that the law has most effectually provided that every man shall be protected against the effects of hunger and cold ; grant these, and then the law which compels the man without house or land to take up arms and risk his life in defence of the country, it is a perfectly just law : but deny to the necessitous that legal and certain relief of which I have been speaking ; abolish the poor-laws ; and then this military-service law becomes an act of a character such as I defy any pen or tongue to describe.

To say another word upon the subject is certainly unnecessary ; but we live in days when "*stern necessity*" has so often been pleaded for most flagrant departures from the law of the land, that one cannot help asking, whether there were any greater necessity to justify *ADDINGTON* for his deeds of 1817 than there would be to justify a starving man in taking a loaf ? *ADDINGTON* pleaded *necessity*, and he got a Bill of *Indemnity*. And, shall a starving man be hanged then, if he take a loaf to save himself from dying ? When Six Acts were before the Parliament, the proposers and supporters of them never pretended that they did not embrace a most dreadful departure from the ancient laws of the land. In answer to Lord *HOLLAND*, who had dwelt forcibly on this departure from the ancient law, the Lord Chancellor, unable to contradict Lord *HOLLAND*, exclaimed,

"*Salus populi suprema lex.*" that is to say, "*The salvation of the people is the first law.*" Well, then, if the salvation of the people be the first law, the *salvation of life* is really and bona fide the salvation of the people; and if the ordinary laws may be dispensed with, in order to obviate a possible and speculative danger, surely they may be dispensed with in cases where to dispense with them is visibly, demonstrably, notoriously, necessary to the salvation of the lives of the people: surely, bread is as necessary to the lips of the starving man, as a new law could be necessary to prevent either house of Parliament from being brought into contempt; and surely, therefore, *Salus populi suprema lex* may come from the lips of the famishing people with as much propriety as they came from those of the Lord Chancellor!

Again, however, I observe, and with this I conclude, that we have nothing to do but to adhere to the poor-laws which we have; that the poor have nothing to do, but to apply to the overseer, or to appeal from him to the magistrate; that the magistrate has nothing to do but duly to enforce the law; and that the Government has nothing to do, in order to secure the peace of the country, amidst all the difficulties that are approaching, great and numerous as they are; that it has nothing to do, but to enjoin on the magistrates to do their duty according to our excellent law; and, at the same time, the Government ought to discourage, by all the means in their power, all projects for maintaining the poor by any other than legal means; to discourage all legging-box affairs; all miserable expedients; and also to discourage, and, where it is possible, fix its mark of reprobation upon all those detestable projectors, who are hatching schemes for what is called, in the blasphemous slang of the day, "*checking the surplus population,*" who are hatching schemes for preventing the labouring people from having children: who are about spreading their nasty beastly publications; who are hatching schemes of emigration; and who, in short, seem to be doing every thing in

their power to widen the fearful breach that has already been made between the poor and the rich. The Government has nothing to do but to cause the law to be honestly enforced; and then we shall see no starvation, and none of those dreadful conflicts which the fear of want, as well as actual want, never fail to produce. The bare thought of forced emigration to a foreign state, including, as it must, a transfer of all allegiance, which is contrary to the fundamental laws of England; or, exposing every emigrating person to the danger of committing high treason; the very thought of such a measure, having become necessary in England, is enough to make an Englishman mad. But, of these projects, these scandalous nasty beastly and shameless projects, we shall have time to speak hereafter; and in the meanwhile, I take my leave of you, for the present, by expressing my admiration of the sensible and spirited conduct of the people of Stockport, when an attempt was, on the 5. of September, made to cheat them into an address, *upbraiding the conduct of the Ministers!* What! Had the people of Stockport so soon forgotten 16. of August! Had they so soon forgotten their townsman, JOSEPH SWAN? If they had, they would have deserved to perish to all eternity. Oh, no! It was a proposition very premature: it will be quite soon enough for the good and sensible and spirited fellows of Stockport; quite soon enough to address the Ministers, when the Ministers shall have proposed a repeal of the several jubilee measures, called Ellenborough's law; the poacher-transporting law; the sunset and sunrise transportation law; the tread-mill law; the select-vestry law; the Sunday-toll laws; the new trespass law; the new treason law; the seducing-soldier-hanging law; the new apple-felony law; the SIX ACTS, and a great number of others, passed in the reign of jubilee. Quite soon enough to applaud, that is, for the sensible people of Stockport to applaud the Ministers, when those Ministers have proposed to repeal these laws, and also to repeal the malt-tax, and those other taxes, which take, even

from the ~~paper~~, one half of what the parish gives him to keep the breath warm in his body. Quite soon enough to applaud the Ministers, when they have done these things; and when, in addition to all these, they shall have openly proposed a radical reform of the *Commons' House of Parliament*. Leaving them to do this as soon as they like, and trusting, that you will never, on any account, applaud them until they do it, I, expressing here my best thanks to Mr. BLACKBURN, who defeated the slavish scheme at Stockport.

In the former letters, I have shown that men can never be so poor as to have no rights at all; and that, in England, they have a legal, as well as a natural, right to be maintained, if they be destitute of other means, out of the lands, or other property, of the rich. But it is an interesting question, HOW THERE CAME TO BE SO MUCH POVERTY AND MISERY IN ENGLAND. This is a very interesting question; for, though it is the doom of man, that he shall never be certain of any thing, and that he shall never be beyond the reach of calamity; though there always have been, and always will be, poor people in every nation: though this circumstance of poverty is inseparable from the means which uphold communities of men: though, without poverty, there could be no charity, and none of those feelings, those offices, those acts, and those relationships, which are connected with charity, and which form a considerable portion of the cement of civil society: yet, notwithstanding these things, there are bounds beyond which the poverty of the people cannot go, without becoming a thing to complain of and to trace to the Government as a fault. Those bonds have been passed, in England, long and long ago. England was always famed for many things; but especially for its *good living*; that is to say, for the *plenty* in which the whole of the people lived; for the abundance of good clothing and good food which they had. It was always, ever since it bore the name of England, the richest and most admired country in Europe; but, its *good living*, its superiority in this

particular respect, was proverbial amongst all who knew, or who had heard talk of, the English nation. Good God! How changed! Now, the very worst fed and worst clad people upon the face of the earth, those of Ireland only excepted. *How, then, did this horrible, this disgraceful, this cruel poverty come upon this once happy nation?* This, my good friends of Preston, is, to all of us, a most important question; and, now let us endeavour to obtain a full and complete answer to it.

POVERTY is, after all, the great badge, the never-failing badge, of slavery. Bare bones and rags are the true marks of the real slave. What is the object of government? To cause men to live *happily*. They cannot be happy without a sufficiency of food and of raiment. Good government means a state of things in which the main body are well fed and well clothed. It is the chief business of a government to take care, that one part of the people do not cause the other part to lead miserable lives. There can be no morality, no virtue, no sincerity, no honesty, amongst a people continually suffering from want; and, it is cruel, in the last degree, to punish such people for almost any sort of crime, which is, in fact, not crime of the heart, not crime of the perpetrator, but the crime of his all-controlling necessities. To what degree the main body of the people, in England, are now poor and miserable; how deplorably wretched they now are; his we know but too well; and now, we will see what was their state before his vaunted "REFORMATION." I shall be very particular to cite my authorities here. I will *infer* nothing; I will give no "*estimate*"; but refer to authorities, such as no man can call in question, such as no man can deny to be proofs more complete than if founded on oaths of credible witnesses, taken before a judge and jury. I shall begin with the account which FORTESCUE gives of the state and manner of living of the English, in the reign of Henry VI.; that is, in the 15. century, when the Catholic church was in the height of

its glory. FORTESCUE was Lord Chief Justice of England for nearly twenty years; he was appointed Lord High Chancellor by Henry VI. Being in exile, in France, in consequence of the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and the King's son, Prince Edward, being also in exile with him the Chancellor wrote a series of letters, addressed to the Prince, to explain to him the nature and effects of the laws of England, and to induce him to study them and uphold them. This work, which was written in Latin, is called *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; or PRAISE OF THE LAWS OF ENGLAND. This book was, many years ago, translated into English, and it is a book of law-authority, quoted frequently in our courts of this day. No one can doubt the truth of facts related in such a work. It was a work written by a famous lawyer for a prince: it was intended to be read by other contemporary lawyers, and also by all lawyers in future. The passage that I am about to quote, relating to the state of the English, was purely incidental; it was not intended to answer any temporary purpose. It must have been a true account. — The Chancellor, after speaking generally of the nature of the laws of England, and of the difference between them and the laws of France, proceeds to show the difference in their effects, by a description of the state of the French people, and then by a description of the state of the English. His words, words that, as I transcribe them, made my cheeks burn with shame, are as follows: "Besides all this, the inhabitants of France give every year to their King the fourth part of all their wines, the growth of that year, every vintner gives the fourth penny of what he makes of his wine by sale. And all the towns and boroughs pay to the King yearly great sums of money, which are assessed upon them, for the expenses of his men at arms. So that the King's troops, which are always considerable, are substituted and paid yearly by these common people, who live in the villages, boroughs, and cities. Another grievance is, every village constantly finds and maintains two cross-bow-men, at the least; some find more, well arrayed in all their accoutrements, to serve the King in his wars, as often as he pleaseth to call them out, which is frequently done. Without any consideration had of these things, other very heavy taxes are assessed yearly upon every village within the kingdom, for the King's service; neither is there ever any intermission or abatement of taxes. Exposed to these and other calamities, the peasants live in great hardship and misery. Their constant drink is water, neither do they taste, throughout the year, any other liquor, unless upon some extraordinary times, in festival days. Their clothing consists of frocks, or little short jerkins, made of canvass, no better than common sackcloth; they do not wear any woollens, except of the coarsest sort; and that only in the garment under their frocks; nor do they wear any trowsers, but from the knees upwards; their legs being exposed and naked. The women go barefoot, except on holidays. They do not eat flesh, except it be the fat of bacon, and that in very small quantities, with which they make a soup. Of other sorts, either boiled or roasted, they do not so much as taste, unless it be of the inwards and offals of sheep and bullocks, and the like which are killed, for the use of the better sort of people, and the merchants: for whom also quails, partridges, hares, and the like, are reserved, upon pain of the galleys; as for their poultry, the soldiers consume them, so that scarce the eggs, slight as they are, are indulged them, by way of a dainty. And if it happen that a man is observed to thrive in the world, and become rich, he is presently assessed to the King's tax, proportionably more than his poorer neighbours, whereby he is soon reduced to a level with the rest." Then comes his description of the English, at the same time; those 'priest-ridden' English, whom CHALMERS and HUME, and the rest of that tribe, would fain have us believe, were

a mere band of wretched beggars.—
 “The King of England cannot alter
 “the laws, or make new ones, without
 “the express consent of the whole king-
 “dom in Parliament assembled: Every
 “inhabitant is at his liberty fully to use
 “and enjoy whatever his farm pro-
 “duceth, the fruits of the earth, the
 “increase of his flock, and the like: all
 “the improvement he makes, whether
 “by his own proper industry, or of
 “those he retains in his service, are his
 “own, to use and enjoy, without the
 “let, interruption, or denial of any. If
 “he be in anywise injured or oppressed,
 “he shall have his amends and satis-
 “factions against the party offending.
 “Hence it is that the inhabitants are
 “rich in gold, silver, and in all the ne-
 “cessaries and conveniences of life.
 “*They drink no water, unless at cer-
 “tain times, upon a religious score,*
 “and by way of doing penance. *They*
 “*are fed, in great abundance, with all*
 “*sorts of flesh and fish, of which they*
 “*have plenty every-where; they are*
 “*clothed throughout in good woollens;*
 “their bedding and other furniture in
 “their houses are of wool, and that in
 “great store. They are also well pro-
 “vided with all other sorts of household
 “goods and necessary implements for
 “husbandry. Every one, according to
 “his rank, hath all things which con-
 “duce to make life easy and happy.”

TO THE

PEOPLE OF SALISBURY.

Limerick (Ireland), 19 Oct., 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

LORD RADNOR has, I see, been shoving BROUGHAM upon you. It seems to have been a most low and despicable affair. A “*Lord High Chancellor*” bawling from a public-house window to a Lord and his footmen and tradesmen! I see that this same bawling fellow has been at the little town of FAREHAM, in Hampshire, bawling out nonsense there! However, I have no time to say more to you now. Next week, I will address a letter to you, and will send a parcel of

it to Mr. BARLING. You shall know all about the fellow whom Lord Radnor has brought down from London to bawl to you. I will not quit this bawling chap, till you know him to the back-bone.

I am your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

CORK-PROCEEDINGS.

I CAN do, at present, no more in return for all the kindness, the real goodness, the great honour that have been displayed towards me in this fine city, than merely insert the testimonials of it, as contained in the Cork newspapers.

1. The meeting in that city (the public-spirited, the manly, and the able, Dr. Baldwin, Member for the city, in the chair) to agree on an address to me.
2. The procession by which I was met, and conducted into the city.
3. The ADDRESSES to me, and my ANSWERS.

MEETING TO ADDRESS MR. COBBETT.

A meeting having been called by the secretaries of the Trades' Union, to assemble at the Racket Court on Monday, at three o'clock, to propose an address to this gentleman, on his arrival, a very full concourse of respectable inhabitants of the city attended there at the time specified. There was an evident anxiety among the labouring classes to pay every respect to Mr. Cobbett, as the street in front of the place of meeting was crowded a long time before the hour of assembling, and his public merits seemed to be fully felt and acknowledged even in this corner of the empire, as several of the humble individuals in attendance made frequent allusions to many of his works, and such of his actions as have thrown a celebrity on his name.

Dr. Baldwin, M.P., was called on to take the chair, which was placed in the gallery of the court, and was surrounded by the friends of the distin-

guished public character, whom the meant to honour by the address, whilst the great body of the people filled the lower area of the court.

The CHAIRMAN, after taking his station, said, they were assembled for the purpose of giving a public entry and preparing an address to Mr. Cobbett. (Cheers). Mr. Cobbett had been the firm friend and the successful advocate of the poor, he ever defended the interests of the trades-people, and the labouring and productive classes, not only of England and of Ireland, but of the whole world. (Hear). For this he was entitled to the gratitude, to the respect and the confidence of the trades and labouring classes of Cork where distress was so general, and where their trade and manufacturing interests were totally annihilated. He (Dr. Baldwin) should bear testimony to the service of Mr. Cobbett in the British Parliament towards this country. He had ever been in the minorities with the Irish popular members, and he himself confessed, that but for the efficient support they rendered to him, he would be unable to stand. (Hear). He never could forget the powerful assistance that he rendered on the introduction of the first Coercion Bill for Ireland, which passed despite of their exertions, and which for a while suspended the liberty of Ireland. He quoted the history of their former conduct to America, and showed that it was the pursuance of a similar line of conduct that drove the Americans into that resistance that finally terminated in the establishment of their independence. (Loud cheers). There was no argument that came with such destructive force against the vile sophisms upon which that law was based, than that parallel. (Hear). His conduct through the entire time that he had been in Parliament had been such as to entitle him to the gratitude of every Irishman, and he (Dr. Baldwin) was sure that his reception in this city would be quite commensurate to his extraordinary merits. (Cheers). After some further observations the honourable chairman concluded amidst the enthusiastic applause of the meeting.

Mr. RONAYNE then rose, and was warmly cheered. He said, my fellow-citizens and brother Radicals, it is now a long time since I last had the pleasure of addressing you (cheers and cries of welcome), I am requested to read the following resolution handed to me, by our worthy chairman. It admirably conveys the spirit of this meeting. Mr. Ronayne here read the following resolution:

Resolved—That the industrious citizens of Cork feeling deeply the obligations of their order in society, throughout the civilized world, to Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M.P., shall go forth to meet him on his approach to our city; and shall in a public address express to him their ardent gratitude for his services."

Mr. R. continued—He had long been a constant reader of Mr. Cobbett's writings, he knew him intimately, and well. He had visited him in his house in England, and so great was his hospitality, that in travelling together into the country, he would not permit him, Mr. Ronayne, to pay one farthing of his travelling or tavern expenses, saying that as long as he was in England, he considered him to be his guest. (Cheers). He had suffered for them fine, imprisonment, and banishment. (Cheers, long-continued). He was the firm, constant, and unswerving friend of the poor, and his exertion to save the life of the unfortunate Cashman will long be remembered. The great instructor of the people. He was their unanswerable writer, and their practical teacher. He instructed them how to cultivate their minds, and he equally taught them the culture of their gardens and their fields. He simplified the rudiments of knowledge, and divested education of its labour and its pedantry, and he was equally successful in his cottage and his political economy. (Cheers). He, it was, who first commented and crushed the Scotch "scolders" of the Edinburgh Review, exposed and refuted these mystifiers, and all the other knaves, or blockheads, or sophists of the Malthusian, the M'Culloch, the Ricardo, and the Huskisson schools, upon the all-important subjects

of the funding system, the currency of the poor-laws; of the taxes and population. He it was who first taught the people the utter fatuity of any reliance on the out-faction; or the in-faction, that is on the Whigs or Tories, Foxites or Pittites. He too was mainly instrumental in carrying the Reform Bill, merely however as an experiment, which has signally failed, and must be speedily remedied by that measure of reform, of which he has been so long the unrivalled advocate, annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot. (Loud cheers). May he live long to survive this only efficient and adequate reform, which can alone establish and perpetuate the rights and liberties of the people. What industry and mental powers must his be, as in fact they are, when he can at the same time, give to the people his invaluable weekly essays, his famous Register; his History of the Reformation (a standard of perfection in research, in truth, irrefutable facts, perspicuous style, and philosophic deductions), and of the Reign of Geo. IV., which he has just brought to a close, another historical work, worthy his courage and literary fame. (Cheers). To these add his grammars, French and English, the best ever published; the Cottage Economy, so instructive to all classes, and especially to those for whom it was so considerably and originally designed. (Hear). Then comes his Emigrant's Guide, written for the noble purpose of directing emigrants, in every thing, which, if adhered to, is sure to protect them from the villanous impositions to which such numbers have become victims. This book is full of information as to what emigrants of all classes should supply themselves with, for going to the United States, and what course to pursue there, to which happy country alone Mr. Cobbett recommends emigration. I am out of breath enumerating the wonders of his head and heart, for there is as much of the latter as the former in all his works. I cannot, however, omit his celebrated Advice to the Young of both Sexes. Never did they get better, nor ever has

any book worked a greater moral reform amongst the youth of both countries, who have had the good fortune to read it. His Poor Man's Friend, in defence of the rights of the people to relief, to adequate sustenance, when unable to work or unemployed, is, as he terms it, the most learned of his works. It never was, because it cannot be answered. It proves beyond question from the Scriptures, the canon and the common and the statute laws of England, the people's right to relief, when incapable of relieving themselves, from infirmities or want of work. Numerous and good as are the other works on planting and gardening; his Woodlands and English Gardener, are superior to them all, while his Year's Residence in America, is decidedly the best account of that country, in which there is a vast deal of practical knowledge, on the best mode of cultivating the soil of America. His book on the cultivation of Indian corn, which is now from his instructions so generally grown in England, has all the charms of a romance, mixed up with all the results of his accurate knowledge of the growth of a plant, and produce, which must at no distant day, compose so much of the nourishing and strengthening food of the English, and I should hope, of the Irish people, for whose advantage the book was written. In fact, as a statesman, politician, moralist, political economist, grammarian, historian, gardener, and farmer, Mr. Cobbett is pre-eminent. Never lived a greater benefactor to the human race; while he so improves our mental faculties, he at the same time teaches us how to adorn the land; and augment its produce and its wealth (hear), in language so seductive, and so perfect in all that constitutes good writing. Swift was before him; the best of our English writers; Cobbett surpasses him in purity, simplicity, in clearness and cogency. (Hear). He is, in fact a prodigy of intellect, of knowledge, of industry, of public usefulness, and of pure and disinterested patriotism. Mr. R. said that he had that morning received a letter from Mr. Cobbett, in which the hon. Member stated that he was obliged

to defer his entry to Sunday (cheers, and cries, "So much the better"), probably because he thought it more convenient for the productive classes, and because he did not wish them to lose a day's work, in going to meet him. (Cheers). He intended to give lectures in the theatre here, and the particulars would be advertised. Mr. Ronayne then sat down amid loud cheers).

Mr. CARVER, one of the most useful, active, and indigent members of the 'Cork Trades' Association, was called on to second the resolution. He regretted that some of the many gentlemen around him, more eminent by their rank, their importance, their intelligence, had not been selected to the honour of seconding the resolution. (No, no). He confessed that he felt much pleasure in seconding the resolution, for what was its object? It was to compliment a man who sprung from themselves, and who had elevated himself by his own exertion and industry to that point of eminence which he now so proudly occupied. (Cheers). To compliment a man who was a model for them all, and by the imitation of whom they may yet hope to arrive at the summit of merit. The liberator of their country, Daniel O'Connell, (loud cheers), had requested them to give him a welcome, for he was one of the few Englishmen who stood by him when others traitorously betrayed their trust. After calling on the meeting, by their warm reception, to testify their gratitude to Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Carver concluded.

Mr. SHEAHAN then suggested that the names originally mentioned in the resolution should be changed, and that the chairman and the two secretaries of the 'Trades' Association should be named instead. The chairman represented the body of the citizens, and the secretaries of association would represent the body of the trades and productive classes in this city. This suggestion was accordingly embodied in the original resolution.

Counsellor O'KEEFE then moved an address to be presented to the meeting, and passed some warm eulogies on the

character and conduct of Mr. Cobbett.

Mr. F. A. WALSH seconded the resolution, and entered into a long defence of Mr. Cobbett from the aspersions that had been cast upon him by the enemies of the people. He may have betrayed inconsistency, but in the main where was there a man so steady, so persevering, so faithful, and so successful a friend of the English people as Mr. Cobbett? He alluded with peculiar force to the honourable member's conduct on the introduction of the Coercion Bill, when he pointed out to them, the result of a similar treatment of the Americans.

Mr. F. B. BEAMISH then proposed that Dr. Baldwin should leave the chair, and that Mr. Sugrue be called thereto.

Mr. R. ROUTINE PEARCE seconded the resolution.

Mr. BEAMISH then proposed a vote of thanks to one who had been as steady an advocate of the rights of the people and the liberties of his country, as was he honourable member for Oldham, to Dr. Baldwin. (Cheers).

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Verling, for kindly affording the place of meeting without accepting any remuneration.

Three cheers were then given for Mr. O'Connell, and three afterwards for the repeal of the Union, and Mr. Cobbett.

The meeting then separated in an orderly manner.

MR. COBBETT'S ARRIVAL IN CORK.

Yesterday morning, (12. Oct.), from an early hour the Lower Glanmire Road was thronged with persons who were anxious to catch a first glimpse of Mr. Cobbett, whose arrival was fixed for two o'clock, and therefore endeavoured to pre-occupy every eminence from which he could best be seen. The day was remarkably fine, and continued so throughout the entire day. We never witnessed a more orderly assembly, and, as is the proud characteristic of our people, when the performance of a political duty is their object,—there was no man to be seen

in a state of intoxication; and we may also here observe, that not a single accident occurred to cast a gloom upon the proceedings.

At one o'clock, the procession formed in Patrick-street, and in half an hour they were in motion. The carriage of Dr. Baldwin, M. P., led the way. He was accompanied by his son, Master Herbert Baldwin, Messrs. Creedon and O'Donovan, secretaries of the Cork Trades' Association, (who, together with the hon. Member, were to present the Citizens' Address to Mr. Cobbett,) and Mr. Rouiere Pearce. Mr. Ronayne's carriage followed, and with him were Messrs. Thomas Sheahan, M'Eligott, James Hayes, and Hennessy. The Messrs. O'Keeffe followed, and were succeeded by numerous vehicles and troops of equestrians. Mr. Cobbett was met at Watergrass-hill, over six miles from the city, by a large body of people, headed by an immense banner, and a band of music, and was greeted by Mr. James Hodnett, Mr. Dwyer, of Middleton, and the following gentlemen who were deputed to present the Address of the Letter-press Printers of this city: Messrs. John Knox, R. O'Connor, John Moore, James Archibald Campbell, Eugene Murphy, James Smith, and John Boylan. The address was printed on white satin, in a style that casts lasting honour upon the printers of this city, and more especially on him that executed it, Mr. William Oakshott, of Mr. Bolster's establishment. Mr. Cobbett expressed himself highly gratified, and said that no mark of respect could he value more. On passing Sallybrook he received a salute of twenty-one guns, from a battery which had been expressly constructed for the purpose, and at about a mile and a half outside the village of old Glanmire, he was met by Dr. Baldwin, and the city cavalcade. Dr. Baldwin alighted from his carriage and welcomed Mr. Cobbett to Cork, in the most cordial manner. Mr. C. shook him warmly by the hand, and thanked him repeatedly. This pause of the procession was the signal for one loud hurra from the thronging multitude for "Mr. Cobbett, the English friend of

"Ireland," and for "their own" respected and emphatically their chosen representative, "Dr. Baldwin."

At the village of Glanmire they were met by Mr. Ronayne, who was received by Mr. Cobbett, with all the warmth of an old friend. Mr. Ronayne went into his carriage; Mr. O'Higgins, a gentleman by whom Mr. Cobbett was attended, having resigned to him his seat, and removed to the box, where Mr. Hodnett sat.

Nothing could possibly look more beautiful than the progress of the procession, as it wound round the road in that beautiful valley from Glanmire to Dunkettle. The scenery was of unrivalled beauty; so much so that we have heard Mr. Cobbett say that though he has been in England, in Wales, in Scotland, in France, and America, he never saw so beautiful an approach to a city: on one side Dunkettle Wood, and on the other the hills of Glanmire, intersected by the glassy and apparently land-locked river, on which there were several boats keeping pace (if we might so speak) with the procession.

When they came near the city the throng was terrific, so much so that there was constant apprehension of the lives of children and women, and not unfrequently of men, from the prancing of the horses, and the turning of carriages. Repeatedly they were obliged to stop, and as frequently the deafening shouts of welcome burst simultaneously from the crowd. On entering the outskirts of the town, every window was crowded with anxious faces asking as he passed, "Which is he?" many of whom we recognised to be not of kindred politics or feeling with Mr. Cobbett, but who were led by irresistible desire to see the historian of the Protestant Reformation, the matchless writer of the *Register*.

By the new church of St. Patrick the crowd stopped. There could not have been less than seventy thousand souls present. They gave three thundering cheers for "Mr. Cobbett and Dr. Baldwin." Numbers crowded round his carriage to have the honour of speaking to him, and several he shook hands with. We

had forgotten to say that frequently the horses were seized for the purpose of taking them from under the carriage, and drawing him into town. Though Mr. Ronayne requested them to desist they still persevered, and nothing prevented them from paying this highest demonstration of feeling but the entreaty of Mr. Cobbett himself, and the expertness of the postilion. The procession moved on through Patrick-street, to the Chamber of Commerce, through the densest mass of people that ever was seen in Cork, with the one exception of the triumphal entry of our Irish friend, which was such as no man breathing but Mr. O'Connell could ever expect. There must have been from eighty to a hundred thousand present. On arriving at the Chamber of Commerce, it was found utterly impossible for Mr. Cobbett to enter it, so the hon. gentleman stood up and said, to those around, that he thanked them sincerely for the cordiality of their reception. He said he had received two addresses, one from the citizens of Cork and the other from the printers. He would not attempt to reply to them, they were both of too much importance, and, therefore, he would take sufficient time to prepare a proper reply. (Cheers). There was an expression in the printers' address, an address upon which he set a very great value indeed; it was "unfortunate country." Now, he disliked the expression, it was not a fact. The country was not unfortunate, but it was mismanaged. (Cheers). Could a country in one town of which, (Clonmell), there were 60,000 hogs slaughtered every year; in which there were 60,000 firkins of butter sold, and in which so immense a quantity of corn was bought, be an "unfortunate" country. No, it could not. An Englishman never said his "unfortunate" country; he said his ill-treated, his mishandled country; he could always find some one to blame for it, (cheers); but he never said that the country was unfortunate. No country could be so that had such a fertile soil as Ireland. It could not be "unfortunate" unless God made it so; or that it had been devastated by the elements.

(Cheers). It put him in mind of the words of Cassius to Brutus:

"The fault is not in our stars, good Brutus,
"But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

After some other observations, Mr. Cobbett concluded, and returned by Academy-street to Doctor Baldwin's, Camden-quay, where he was still followed by thousands.

Mr. Cobbett dined with Dr. Baldwin, together with five-and-thirty gentlemen, who were invited to meet him. They continued to enjoy the proverbial hospitality of the hon. Member till after twelve o'clock, when they dispersed. Amongst those present were, Messrs. Charles Sugrue, James Minnear, Richard Ronayne, James Hodnett, Counsellor and W. O'Keefe, Dunbar, Morough, Rev. James Daly, Arthur O'Leary, D. O'Sullivan, Val. Barry, D. Casey, Thomas Sheehan, Francis A. Walsh, Jeremiah O'Sullivan, Fitzgerald, &c. &c. &c.

Several toasts were given by the respected host, with appropriate prefaces.

The first of which was,

"The Reform King."

"The People" was the next.

"Old Ireland."

"The English friend, the Irish people, William Cobbett."

"The Repeal of the Union."

"The Liberator of his country, Daniel O'Connell."

Mr. Cobbett related many adventures of his boyish days, when he had to struggle against all the disadvantages of poverty and want of friends, which were listened to with the greatest attention by the gentlemen around him, who, when breaking up, declared it was one of the most pleasant evenings they had spent during their lives.

It being generally understood that Mr. Cobbett was to have dined with Mr. Ronayne, of Evergreen, thousands assembled there, and the roofs of the low thatched cottages were covered with men, women, and children.

In the evening, notwithstanding their disappointment, every house at Evergreen was illuminated, and several bonfires and tar barrels were lighted.

On the whole, it must have been most

grateful to Mr. Cobbett, and such as to show him that if you do good for an Irishman he never will forget it, and always endeavour to return the compliment.

ADDRESSES AND ANSWERS.

Yesterday morning, at ten o'clock, the Deputation of the Citizens' and Trades' Association, consisting of the honourable Member for Cork, Dr. Baldwin, and Messrs. Creedon, Carver, and O'Donovan, and the following gentlemen composing the deputation from the Letter-press Printers, Messrs. John Knox, R. O'Connor, James Archibald Campbell, John Moore, Eugene Murphy, and John Boylan, were received by Mr. Cobbett in Dr. Baldwin's parlour, when the following addresses and replies were read :

TO MR. WM. COBBETT, M.P.

Sir,—The industrious and the labouring classes of the inhabitants of Cork, a numerous and a distressed body of men, suffering from the impolicy and injustice of former Governments, and scarcely venturing to hope that the present more popular administration may rescue them from the overwhelming ruin of an oppressed, and impoverishing country, defrauded of its annual income, by the very act which annihilated at once its political independence, and its rising manufactures. These classes, sir, address you, as the powerful, indefatigable, and faithful advocate of the order to which they belong. You have not confined your services to the members of that order, in your native land, but have extended your guardian care, and efficient support to its interests in almost every state of the civilized world. You have instructed its members on their domestic economy, and on their productive labours; you have for their benefit simplified the rudiments of knowledge, and cleared away from the avenues to the temple of science and literature the obstructions which retarded their advances, or prevented their approach to its hallowed precincts; you have demonstrated their import-

ance, in the composite structure of society; you have displayed their paramount dignity; you have elucidated their peculiar interests, by developing the influence of the national debt, of taxation, and of paper currency on the demand for their services, on the wages of their labour, on their expenditure, on their independence, and on their happiness; you have thus not only asserted inalienable rights, but strenuously laboured to improve their permanent condition.

For these immense services to their order, and to humanity, they tender you, sir, their sincere, respectful, and ardent acknowledgments: and they further beg leave, as Irishmen, to convey to you, the national gratitude, for your manly, liberal, and powerful opposition, to that Coercion Bill, which annihilated, for a season, the liberties, as it insulted the pride of Ireland: and also for the uniform inclination of your feelings and opinions, as a statesman, in favour of a country which has been so long the victim of internal faction and discord, and of British monopoly and misrule.

MR. COBBETT'S REPLY.

TO THE INDUSTRIOUS AND LABOURING CLASSES OF THE CITY OF CORK.

Gentlemen,—That any class of persons, in a city, so famed for good sense, public spirit, and political discernment; but any class of persons, in a city, which has chosen to represent it in Parliament that honourable Member who manfully took the lead amongst you on this occasion; that I should be honoured with an address of approbation from any class of persons in such a city; but, that such an address should come to me from the industrious and labouring classes of such a city, is an honour indeed.

Gentlemen, begging you to be assured, that I am fully sensible of the value of this mark of your approbation; participating with you in the very faint hope, that the men now in power may do something to rescue you from the state of ruin and dilapidation of trade, commerce, and manufactures, into

which you have been plunged by their sures recently adopted and pursued, system of monopolizing and centralizing, which system, if unchecked, seems likely at last, to cause even law making to be carried on by machinery, moved by steam; trusting that your whole country will seek for redress of your wrongs, not in supplications to the wrong-doers, but in the wise and resolute exercise of the power which Ireland now has of choosing men to go to the Parliament, and there demand justice in her name, it being impossible for me to believe, that any wrong can remain existing, with a hundred able and resolute men to demand and insist upon redress; having thus shortly, but most respectfully expressed to you my sentiments, as to those matters, suffer me to beseech your particular attention to two of the topics alluded to in your highly valued address; namely, the presumptuous pretensions of the aristocracy, and the nature and effects of what is called the National Debt; with regard to which I beg leave to state:

That as to the presumptuous pretensions of the aristocracy, it will be my duty, in the proper time and place, to inquire fully and in due form, how they came, not by their ribbons and coronets, but by their power, and by the means of upholding that power; to inquire what portion of their immense possessions has had its source in services rendered to the state, and what portion has sprung from other sources; to inquire for what and in what degree they are entitled to the enjoyment of public power, and of respect and veneration from those who live under that power; to inquire in short, and to inquire legally and methodically, who they are, whence they sprung, what they have done for us, in order that we may duly estimate their value, and that we may, in obedience to the precept of Holy Writ, cheerfully render honour to whom honour is due.

That, with regard to that prodigious and portentous phenomenon in the political region, curiously enough called the nation's debt, while everything purchased with money is called the King's, principles recently proclaimed, and mea-

clearly exonerate you and me, gentlemen, from all share in the duty of discharging that debt, and this will, I trust, clearly appear from these plain and undeniable propositions:—

1. That, as was held in the memorable petition of the county of Norfolk, all unmerited pensions, sinecures, grants, allowances and public pay of every sort, ought to cease; and that the Crown Lands, and a large part of the public property, called church property, ought to be applied to public uses, before one farthing ought to be deducted from the interest of the debt.

2. That those unjust exactions having ceased, and that application having been made, an equitable adjustment ought to be adopted; that the interest of the debt ought to be justly reduced; and a just liquidation, or just payment of interest, ought to take place.

3. That the means of this liquidation, or payment of interest, ought to come out of the general taxes of the country, laid fairly upon all property, personal as well as real; upon the fruits of industry, as well as upon the land itself; because, though, the debt was evidently and avowedly contracted for the defence of the land; still, as the poor-laws gave the whole of the people a right, in case of need, to come to the land and demand a share of its produce, to defend the land was, in fact, to defend their right to that share; and, therefore, and only therefore, they were, in conscience, and in accordance with the law of the land, bound to contribute from the fruit of their labour, towards the just liquidation, or towards the payment of just interest of the debt.

4. That now, however, all is changed! That an act has been passed, which abrogates the poor-laws; that the Lord High Chancellor proposed this act upon the express ground, that the people have no claim whatever to any share of the rent, or fruit of the land, though, to have relief therefrom, is necessary to save their lives; that, in many cases, the people have upon this principle, been driven off the land, as having no right to be

upon it, though born upon it; and that in consequence of such driving off, "vast numbers of them have perished of want."

5. That, therefore, in a debt, contracted for the purpose of defending the land, the people, who own no land, can have no share; and that they ought not to be called upon to pay in any way whatsoever, out of the fruits of their labour, any portion of either the principal, or the interest of such debt.

6. That the fruits of the labour of the people, being thus wholly released from all contracts and obligations appertaining to the debt, the debt clearly becomes a mortgage, a real, a bona fide, a tangible, mortgage on the estates of those, who borrowed, or who gave their assent to the borrowing of the money, including (with the nation's consent) those parcels of public property, called crown and church property; and that, as to the mode of satisfying this mortgage by making those estates legally available for a purpose so manifestly consonant with equity and honesty, the lenders, or stock-holders, may, I trust, safely rely on the sound sense and the justice of the people, and on the wisdom, the "good faith" and the "vigour" of a reformed Parliament.

THE ADDRESS OF THE CORK TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION, TO WM. COBBETT, ESQ., M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

Sir,—We the members of the Cork Typographical Association, feeling it our duty, in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens, and proud and highly gratified at having the opportunity on this occasion of being able to do so, step forward with enthusiasm to welcome your arrival in this our native city, and to return you with the most heartfelt gratitude and satisfaction, our sincere thanks, for your truly patriotic and disinterested conduct, in so strenuously advocating at all periods, the amelioration of the wrongs and degradations, which our unhappy and distracted country has so long laboured under. But, sir, in recognising in you the philanthropist and the

philosopher, the scholar and the gentleman, the universal lover of mankind, and their liberties, both civil and religious, it could not be expected that you should not make one amongst the few, the too few, unhappily, we are obliged to say, of your fellow-countrymen, who strive to redress the evils with which this ill-fated land is afflicted. Yet, sir, we look forward with the most ardent hope for the time when, with the assistance of such kindred and noble spirits as yours, and from the rapid progress which intelligence and the wish of asserting the rights of human nature are making in the breasts of men, we may hail the light of freedom and happiness dispelling the clouds of oppression and misrule, which have so long darkened the horizon of this unfortunate country. Happy, sir, to be able to pay you this slight testimony of our esteem and gratitude, for your exertions in the cause of Ireland, and of mankind in general.

We remain, sir,
ever gratefully yours, &c.

J. KNOX, Chairman,

R. O'CONNOR, Secretary.

[On behalf of the Cork Typographical Association.]

MR. COBBETT'S REPLY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CORK TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

Gentlemen,—I have felt peculiar pleasure in receiving this address, that pleasure being greatly heightened by the circumstances of the time, the place, and the interesting manner in which you did me the honour to present it to me.

In young men enthusiasm is always natural and becoming; and you by meeting me many miles on the road, in my approach towards your beautiful city, and the representing to a man who has written more than a hundred volumes with his own hand, and who has, perhaps, caused type to be pressed upon a greater breadth of paper than would cover over half the county of Cork; you, gentlemen, knowing that in all those volumes not one sentence hostile to true religion, hostile to morality, hos-

tile to freedom, or to justice or humanity, is to be found; you, gentlemen, in thus presenting this address, printed in a style the most elegant, tasteful, and costly, acted in accordance with that generous enthusiasm, which it is natural to your age, and so consonant with the well-known and always admired character of your country.

It is very true, gentlemen, that since I have known anything at all of the real condition, and of the treatment of Ireland, I have, to the utmost of my power, asserted her rights, civil and religious and have endeavoured to produce a redress of her wrongs. But, gentlemen justice forbids me to take to myself so large a part as you would assign me of the commendation due to Englishmen in this regard; for it is not "a few" of my countrymen who resent the wrongs of Ireland; and I beg you to receive from me a solemn declaration of my conviction that your religious shackles would not have been broken for, perhaps, ages to come, had not the great body of the people of England been resolved that such horrible cruelty should no longer be inflicted on you, because, and only because, you had faithfully adhered to the religion of their as well as of your forefathers.

Gentlemen, reluctant as I necessarily must be to express, upon an occasion like this, any sentiment not in perfect unison with the sentiments addressed to myself, my age and experience will, I hope, be an apology for my here taking the liberty to say, that I lament that, from young men especially, the phrases "unhappy country," "unfortunate country," "ill-fated country," in this case should have proceeded. The unhappiness, the misfortune, the ill fate of nations must proceed from the judgments of God, or from the hostility of the elements. Neither of those has afflicted this land. And, gentlemen, instead of giving way to that plaintive tone, which never yet softened the heart of tyranny, never yet slackened the grasp of fiscal oppression; pray remember the words of Cassius:

"It is not in our STARS, good Brutus,
"But in OURSELVES, that we are underlings."

Gentlemen, if a man, who has written and caused to be printed more matter than any man that ever lived, and who is addressing himself to the children of that Press, of which he may be called the father; if such a man, cite himself in support of the advice that he is respectfully tendering, it will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous. Look, then, my young friends, at my career! See me, dragged seventy-two miles from my home, and from that farm which I had earned, and was cultivating, as a solid provision for a wife and six then small children; see me in a jail amongst felons for two years with a thousand pounds fine to pay at the end of the two years, and bonds to enter into for seven years after that; see me paying the keeper and his people, twenty guineas a week for one hundred and four weeks, for the privilege of living and seeing my family out of the society of felons; see the thousand pounds exacted by George 4, to the last farthing, and which he and his successor have both refused to restore; and, all this, because I had, in print expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local-militia men, in the heart of England, under a guard of Hanoverian soldiers; contemplate the ruin that all this brought upon me; see me when I had begun to recover this blow, driven across the Atlantic to avoid certain death in a dungeon; see my wife and children following me thither; see me return again to England, see me a second time stripped of my last farthing; with all this family still to provide for, see me thus harassed, thus oppressed; see the unnatural press co-operating with my oppressors; see envy the most malignant and incessant, combining the most unquenchable hatred in the breast of power, unlimited and unsparing; see and contemplate all these, unceasing in operation for thirty years, and find, if you can, in all my more than one hundred volumes, one single plaintive expression. And, at the end of thirty years of oppression and calumny, see me risen from the plough to the Parliament, and, still greater honour, see

me entering your city, amidst the plaudits of, perhaps, eighty thousand people and see me receiving this kind, this generous, this affectionate mark of your esteem and gratitude. No, gentlemen never did I call myself unhappy; never did I call myself unfortunate; never did I complain of my fate; I stated my wrongs, and I resented them: it has been thirty years of injuries, and thirty years of efforts to avenge them.

WM. COBBETT.

City of Cork, 12. October, 1831.

There, you base and envious villains of London, rub THAT out, if you can! though by *trying* to do it, you will not deserve more contempt than you now have from

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1831.

BANKRUPTS.

- BROWN, T. & R., Jarrow, Durham, canvass manufacturers.
 BULMAN, J. J., Coxlodge-cottage, Northumberland, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.
 EVANS, S. D., High Holl-orn, upholsterer.
 EYTON, T., F. Carlisle, and H. Dyson, manufacturing-chemists.
 FULLER, W. jun., Beckenham, Kent, carpenter.
 GREEN, W., Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.
 HARRISON, R., Ludham, Norfolk, coal-merchant.
 JERVIS, F. P., Rathbone-place, upholsterer.
 OUTERSIDE, R., Liverpool, tailor.
 PORTER, W., Gower-street and Keppel-street, surgeon.
 POULSON, J., J. Serjeant, and C. Denton, Bankside, Southwark and Rotherhithe, Surrey, and City-road-basin, stone-merchants.
 ROBINSON, T., Hexham, Northumberland, innkeeper.
 RUFFY, W. J., Budge-row, Watling-street, printer.
 WESTLEY, J., Great Winchester-street, Broadstreet, stationer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MURRAY, W., Wick, innkeeper.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21.

- APPLEBY, J., Cranbourne-street, Leicester-square, Tuscan and straw-hat-manufacturer.
 CARR, W., Hexham, Northumberland, money-scrivener.
 COLE, W., Chester, builder.
 COLLING, J., Yarmouth, grocer.
 CUBIT, G., North Walsham, Norfolk, coal-merchant.
 FORTII, J., Nottingham, hatter.
 HALL, J., Preston, grocer.
 MARKS, S. and J., Exeter, glass and general merchants.
 ORSMOND, R., Witton-place, Knightsbridge, hatter.
 RICHARDS, W., Oxford-street, jeweller.
 RUSSOM, J., Carnarvon, coal-merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 20.—The arrivals of Wheat from Essex, as well as Kent and Suffolk, have been moderate to this morning's market. The change in the weather having supplied both wind and water, and enabled the millers more generally to work, caused them to purchase more freely; and the better qualities experienced an improved sale on fully the rates of last Monday. For the finer descriptions, particularly of White-Wheat, 1s. more money was demanded at the opening of the trade, but not being acceded to by buyers, prices remained firm at the previous rates, while the middling and inferior sorts were difficult of disposal at the quotations of his day se'night. In bonded Corn nothing transpiring.

The weather having enabled maltsters to commence working, and the ground getting in order for sowing, caused an improved demand for Chevalier Barley, which must be noted 1s. per qr. higher than last Monday, 39s. having been realized for fine parcels. Fine malting qualities were also dearer, as the samples which are received continue for the most part thin and ordinary; such descriptions sustained no alteration in value, and hung rather on and, while grinding sorts were 1s. cheaper.

The Malt trade remains dull, the larger brewers refraining for the present from coming on the market.

The supply of Oats, principally from Ireland, has been extensive, but the bulk consists of new quality, many samples of which prove light, and out of condition. Fine fresh old Corn maintained the former rates, but the better descriptions of new Irish were 6d., and other sorts 1s. lower than this day week.

Beans experienced an improved demand, and were 1s. per qr. dearer. Previous to Thursday, last week, when the flux advanced to 15s. 6d., 3,081 quarters of Beans were entered for the consumption, which are, however, at present, off the market.

White Peas were in request, and fully supported their price; other descriptions were unaltered.

The Flour trade was *firm*, and the shortness of the supply, as well as stocks, caused ship marks to realize steadily the previous currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 45s.
— White	50s. to 54s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
— West Country red	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	36s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 34s.
— Chevalier	35s. to 36s.
— Distilling	28s. to 30s.
— Grinding	25s. to 28s.
Malt, new	58s. to 62s.
— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
— Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	33s. to 38s.
— Maple	34s. to 39s.
— White Boilers	35s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	36s. to 39s.
— Harrow	34s. to 38s.
— Tick	32s. to 37s.
Oats, English Feed	19s. to 22s.
— Short, small	21s. to 23s.
— Poland	20s. to 24s.
— Scotch, common	22s. to 25s.
— Potato	25s. to 27s.
— Berwick	22s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	17s. to 20s.
— Potato	20s. to 24s.
— Black	18s. to 21s.
Br per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, October 20.

This day's supply of Beasts was great, but for the most part of indifferent quality; its supply of Sheep and Calves moderately good; of Lambs and Porkers *very* limited. Trade was, with each description of meat, *very* dull; with Veal at a depression of 2s. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, at barely Friday's quotations.

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CURE OF PARALYSIS, &c.

To Mr. Samuel Haydon.

SIR,—In gratitude to God, the giver of every good, and to Mr. Morison, the highly-honoured instrument of good to an afflicted world, I publish my wife's astonishing case. She had been afflicted for twelve years with wind in the stomach and a violent sick headache—she suffered particularly on Sunday evenings, after the day's relaxation from business; her chest and abdomen would be swelled to such an extent that it required great precaution while she attended at night to prevent suffocation, through the uncommon discharge of wind upwards. The pain in the head would become most violent, attended with sickness and vomiting. We tried the faculty in vain for years, but could only obtain momentary relief. Last summer, being in Derbyshire, and hearing a great deal said about Morison's Pills, when I got home I bought two small boxes for her; she took three pills per day, which made her rather poorly and discouraged her, but being desirous of giving the pills a fair chance, I bought Mr. Morison's excellent book called "Morrisonia, or Family Adviser," the reading of which greatly encouraged her to persevere, took greater doses, and in a short time was cured.

About six months after she was attacked with paralysis on the left side; and a dimness, almost amounting to darkness, came over her right eye, which in fact turned the eye on one side out of its proper place. Under these circumstances I obtained advice from your active and worthy assistant, Mr. Lees. She then began with seven No. 1 Pills, next day eight No. 2, and so on till she reached fourteen per day; then took the doses varying from seven to fourteen per day for about a month, when, to our great astonishment, the use of her side gradually returned, until she has at length obtained the complete use of it, and her eye has resumed its former station and brilliancy.

Sir, the above is a statement of unquestionable facts, which you know are stubborn things.

I am, sir, yours respectfully,

G. M'BETH.

Thomas-street, Heaton-lane, Stockport.

CURE OF FOUR IN ONE FAMILY OF SMALL-POX, BY MORISON'S PILLS.

To Mr. Fisher, General Agent for Morison and Moat, Wyke Cop, Shrewsbury.

Dear Sir,—Being informed of the unfortunate and unexpected occurrence which has happened of late at York, in reference to the worthy agent for that city, for administering Morison's Pills unskillfully (as it is said in the public papers) in the small-pox, I herewith, by desire, send the following cases of small-pox, successfully treated by Morison's Pills alone.—Yours respectfully,

JOHN WEBB.

Hyde, Cheshire, Aug. 16, 1834.

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[Price 1s. 2d.]



No. VI.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Furnham, Surrey.*

*Castle Comfort, Abington, Co. Limerick,
25. Oct., 1834.*

MARSHALL,

SINCE I wrote to you from Cork, I have been over a hundred more miles of this country. There is no *sandy* ground here, and no *chalk*. It is all *loam* and *rocky stone*, and great part of this stone is *lime-stone* of a very dark blue colour. In some parts the stone is near to the top of the ground, and in others, quite at the top, so that the ground cannot be ploughed. But, even here, the grass is very fine between the rocky stones, and as good for sheep as our *downs* are. There are few *hills*, compared with our part of England: some about as high as those that rise up in our neighbourhood; and these they call "*mountains*"; but, the greater part of those that I have seen are covered with *grass* to their very tops; and have hundreds of cattle fattening on their sides, and the very tips.

I came, yesterday, along a country about ten English miles long, all the richest land that can possibly be. On the two sides of this road, and on those of its continuation for ten miles farther, there are about a hundred and fifty thousand acres of land; a bed of rich loam

from 6 to 8 feet deep, and without a single *water-furrow* being wanted in the whole of it; and yet, on the whole of this tract, which is worth more than all the land in the county of Surrey, there is not one field of turnips, mangel-wurzel, or cabbages. The land is not tilled a tenth part so well as it might be. If we had it, it would be all a garden; and it is not the fault of the farmers and working people; but, of the LAWS, which suffer the landlords to take away and send into other countries all the meat and the corn, and compel the miserable farmers and working people to live on potatoes. But, all this matter I shall make clear to you all, in a BOOK that I shall make when I get back to NORMANDY, or before.

In my last letter I told you about the poor souls on Lord MIDDLETON'S estate; and, I shall tell you, that his poor creatures are looked upon as being the *best treated* of any in the country. Well, then, MARSHALL, if that be the *best of it*, you may guess *what is the worst!* No; you cannot guess: and God forbid, that the Scotch or the English place-hunting and tax-eating miscreants should ever be able to persuade the Parliament to *attempt* to reduce the people of Surrey to such a state as to enable them to *guess* at horrors such as I have beheld since I last wrote to you.

I have been TO SEE the people on the estates of several great swaggering fellows, who are called "*noblemen*," and who live in England and spend there, or in France or in Italy, the money that the Irish corn and meat sell for. I have seen a few hundreds of Irish FARMERS, now, Marshall, and have taken down their names, and a correct account of all about them. Marshall, you call yourself a *poor man*; and, with 8 children, only one of whom can constantly earn his living, you cannot be otherwise; but, I solemnly declare to you, that I have seen no *Irish farmer*, who lives in a manner any

thing like equal to the manner in which you live. At the house of one (who pays as much rent as Farmer HORNE) there was a boy six years old (stabling about on the dirt-floor, in the urine of the pig) naked all but a rag round his middle, and we judged, some of us, that this rag might weigh 4 ounces, and, others, that it might weigh 6 ounces. This was a "*farmer's son*"! But, this farmer *pays no poor-rates* as Farmer HORNE does! And this farmer pays a working man only *6d.* a day, while Farmer HORNE is obliged to pay him *2s.* Ah! but the LANDLORD here takes away from the Irish farmer rent, poor-rates, wages, and all, and thus reduces the whole to beggary. And this, Marshall, is precisely what a FAMOUS SCOTCH VAGABOND, of whom I will tell you more another time, is endeavouring to cause to take place in England. Look sharp, then, and especially the FARMERS look sharp; be prepared to use, and, in good earnest, all the lawful means in your power, to uphold the laws of England, those just laws, which were obtained by the good sense and resolution and best blood of our virtuous and wise and just and resolute forefathers.

In one street in the outskirts of the city of Limerick, (which is made a *fine city* by the trade of sending away meat and butter and corn out of Ireland), I saw more misery than any man could have believed existed in the whole world. Men sleeping in the same wisp of dirty straw, or weeds, with their mothers, sisters, and aunts; and compelled to do this, or perish: two or three families in one room, that is to say, a miserable hole 10 feet by 8 or 9; and husbands, wives, sons, daughters, all huddled together, paying *6d.* or *8d.* or *10d.* a week for the room; and the rent paid to a "*nobleman*" in England! Here I saw one woman with a baby in her arms, both nearly naked. The poor mother's body was naked from the middle of her thighs downwards; and to hide *her bosom*, she caught up a dirty piece of old sack; she hung down her face (naturally very pretty); when she lifted it up, the tears were streaming down her cheeks. Her

husband, who had just got better after illness, was out at work. She had two other children quite naked, and covered up in some dirty hay, in one corner of the room! At a place in the country, I went to the dwelling of a widower, who is 60 years of age, and who has five children, all *very nearly stark naked*. The eldest girl, who is *fifteen years of age*, had on a sort of apron to hide the middle part of her body before; and that was all she had. She hid herself, as well as she could, behind, or at the end of, an old broken cupboard; and she held up her two arms and hands to hide her breasts! This man *pays 30s. rent* for an acre of the poorest land! And, am I to live to see the working people of GUILDFORD and GODALMING, and of my native town of FARNHAM, *brought to this state*? Yet, MARSHALL, mind what I say: to this state they will be brought, if they do not do every thing that the law allows them to do to prevent it. Mind, Marshall, I have *witnesses* to the truth of all the horrid facts that I state; and, I am ready to bring *proof* of these facts before a committee of the House of Commons. I have the names of scores of FARMERS, and an account of thousands, who *never taste* either *meat* or *bread*! Yet, they do not *pay poor-rates*!

Marshall, you know that there is a great swaggering fellow, in Sussex, that they call the EARL OF EGREMONT." I will give you an account of his "FARMERS" another time. Tell Farmer HORNE, that I say, he ought to read these letters to his congregation, and to read to them those parts of the BIBLE which relate to the duties of the rich towards the poor. Be sure to get some of them to PURNRIGHT, and to all the parishes round about. Let them all see what the Scotch and English tax-eating vagabonds wish to persuade the Parliament to bring them to; and let them all be ready to come to a county meeting when I get back. Mr. DEAN will read to you the account of the great kindness of the Irish people to me. "*God bless you and your countrymen!*" I have heard from hundreds of thousands of voices, since I came to Ireland;

and, if we do not do our best, in every legal way that we can act, to better the lot of this good and kind and most cruelly suffering people, we shall deserve to be reduced to their horrible state; our hard-heartedness, or cowardice, will merit sufferings even greater than those which they have to endure.

I begin to look towards NORMANDY again. I never see a "farm-house" here, without thinking how happy one of these "farmers" (who pay no *poor-rates*) would be, if he had a sleeping-place as good as that which you and TOM FARR made for our bull! You thought, that it would not be "*decent*" without *paving*! I declare to God that I have not seen a foot square of pavement in a farm-house in Ireland; and yet these farmers are not "*oppressed by poor-rates*"! I once thought of bringing SAM RIDDLE with me. I wish I had, and then sent him down to his own home, in Sussex, to tell the farmers there what he had seen. He would have been able to tell them the consequence of getting *relieved* from poor-rates; and to relate to them *how* it was, that poor-rates prevented the landlords from swallowing up poor-rates and wages along with the rents, and of reducing farmers as well as labourers to potatoes and salt.

Hoping that you all keep sober and very obedient to Mr. DEAN, and that you will have every thing in nice order against my return, I remain in excellent health, and with sincere wishes for the health of you all,

Your master and friend,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I shall, when I have ended my travels about Ireland, publish a *little book* with the following title:

IRELAND'S WOES;

WARNING TO ENGLISHMEN.

And I will take care that you shall all have it to read, or to be read to you.

BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE!

*Castle Comfort, Abington, Co. Limerick,
25. Oct., 1834.*

I BEGAN this subject, in a letter from Limerick, in my last *Register*. Want of time *cut me short*; and made me hastily put down only a few of the things done in the place now consumed by fire. I will, therefore, *re-insert* that broken-off article, and will continue it on to the present time, as well as I can, in the ABSENCE OF ALL BOOKS, which might serve to refresh my memory.

City of Limerick, 20. Oct. 1834.

Here am I, having been last evening received with acclamations of joy, by thirty thousand men, preceeding my carriage with not less than thirty banners, and with my ears still humming with their cheers, when, in comes the London post, this morning, bringing, in my insipid old friend and neighbour, the MORNING HERALD, an account of the BURNING of the Parliament House! As to the CAUSE, whether by fire and brimstone from Heaven, or by the less sublime agency of "SWING," my friend, the Herald, does not tell me; though this is a very *interesting* portion of the event.

At this distance, a good five hundred miles from the scene, all I can do, with regard to recording the facts, is to direct my printer (which I hereby do), not to insert my fifth and last letter to LORD RADNOR about the Poor-law Amendment Bill (which letter I sent him last night); but, to take from the London *daily papers*, all the different accounts, and all their *different sets of wise observations*, relating to this matter. This is all I can do at present in the historical way.

But my friend, the HERALD, has made one observation, upon which, distant as I am, and agitated as the reader will naturally suppose my mind to be, I cannot refrain from offering a remark or two. My insipid friend says, "that the

MOB" (meaning *the people of London*), "when they saw the progress of the flames, raised a SAVAGE shout of **"EXULTATION."** Did they indeed! The *Herald* exclaims, "O, UNREFLECTING people!" Now perhaps the "MOB" exulted because the "MOB" was really a reflecting "mob." When even a dog, or a horse, receives any treatment that it does not like, it always shuns the place where it got such treatment: shoot at and wound a hare from out of a hedge-row, she will always shun that spot: cut a stick out of a coppice, and beat a boy with it, and he will wish the coppice at the devil: send a man, for writing notorious truth, out of the King's Bench to a jail, and there put him half to death, and he will not cry his eyes out if he happen to hear that court is no more. In short, there is always a connexion in our minds, between sufferings that we undergo and the place in which they are inflicted, or in which they originate. And this "unreflecting mob" might in this case have reflected, that in the building which they then saw in flames, the following, amongst many other things, took place. They might have reflected, that it was in this House.

That the act was passed for turning the Catholic priests, who shared the tithes with the poor, out of the parishes, and putting Protestant parsons in their place, who gave the poor no share at all of the tithes.

That this was the VERY FIRST ACT that was passed after this building became the Parliament House!

That the all-devouring church of England was BORN in this very House.

That, soon after the people became compelled to beg or starve, in this same House an act was passed to put an iron collar on a beggar's neck, and to make him a slave for life.

That, it was in this House, that the aristocracy (who had got the abbey lands and great tithes), solemnly renounced the damnable

errors of the Catholic religion, in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

That, it was in this same House, that they solemnly recanted, and received pardon and absolution from the Pope, in the reign of Queen Mary, bargaining to keep the abbey lands and great tithes.

That, it was in this same House, that the same aristocracy chopped about again when ELIZABETH came, and again solemnly renounced the damnable idolatry of popery.

That, it was in this same House, that the act was passed for plundering the guilds and fraternities of their prescriptive property.

That, it was in this same House, that all the tyrannical and bloody penal laws were passed against those who faithfully adhered to the religion of our fathers.

That, it was in this same House, that the Riot Act and the Septennial Act were passed.

That, it was in this same House, that the sums were voted for carrying on a war to subjugate the Americans.

That, it was in this same House, that the new treason-laws, new game-laws, new trespass-laws, and new felony-laws were passed.

That it was in this same House that the million and half of money was voted to be given to the parsons of the church of England, over and above their tithes to enormous amount.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that the Act of William and Mary was passed, providing for the contingent accession of the House of Hanover; that, in that act, which was entitled an Act for Preserving the Religion and Liberties of England, it was provided; that, in case of the accession of the family, no one having a pension from the crown, or holding any place of trust or emolument under it, civil or military, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that

this part of that act was **REPEALED**; and that the House of Commons now contains great numbers of *pensioners*, and of persons living on public money, military as well as civil.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that **THIRTY-FOUR MILLIONS** of money were voted for *the army alone* in the year of the battle of Waterloo!

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that seven hundred thousand pounds were voted to Wellington.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that the **POWER-OF-IMPRISONMENT-BILL**, and the other bills of that sort, were brought in by Sidmouth and Castlereagh, and passed in 1817.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that **CANNING** was cheered, when he made a jest of the groans of the aged and innocent **Orden**, one of the victims of those bills.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that it was, in 1819, voted that the House would *not inquire* into the massacre at Manchester.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that Liverpool, in 1820, brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Queen of Geo. IV.

That it was, in this same **HOUSE**, that the members stood up, bare-headed, and with clapping of hands, received Castlereagh, when he returned from Paris after the *death of Marshal Ney*, and the breaking up of the *museums*.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, where **CASTLEREAGH** brought in, and the House passed, the **SIX ACTS**, in 1819.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that were passed the laws for enabling the landowners to **SELL** wild animals, called **GAME**, and to enable the justices to **TRANSPORT** poor men, who should, by night, be found in pursuit of those animals.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that the Bills establishing the **Bourbon**-the **POLICE**, were passed, and that like detected spy **POPAY** was suf-

fered to go unpunished and his employers **unreproved**.

That, it was in this **HOUSE**, that **bott**heration **BROUGHAM**, in 1820, *defended the employment of spies* by the government.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, where **CASTLEREAGH** was the *leader*, for many years, up to the 6. of August, 1822; and he **CUT HIS OWN THROAT**, at North Cray, in Kent, on the 12. of that month, a Kentish coroner's jury pronouncing that he was **INSANE**, and had been so for *some weeks*; he being also **Secretary of State** for Foreign Affairs, and acting as such for the Home and Colonial Departments *at the very time when he cut his throat*.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that *a million and a half of money* was, in the regency and reign of George IV., voted out of the taxes to be given to the clergy of the church of England, over and above their tithes and other enormous revenues.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that about *three millions* of the people's money were voted for **SECRET SERVICES**, in the two last reigns, and in the present reign.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, *more than a hundred millions of money* have been voted, in the two last reigns and in the present reign, to pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, allowance-people, and the like.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that the reasonable and just proposition, made by me, to cause the great landowners to pay as heavy stampduties as the *little ones*, and to cause the *land* to pay as heavy duties as *personal property*, was **rejected**.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that my motion for a repeal of the **MALT-TAX** was rejected by the reformed Parliament.

That, it was in this same **HOUSE**, that the **IRISH COERCION BILL** was passed, amidst cheers to **assist** Mr. O'Connell.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that a petition from the electors of SANDWICH, complaining that Sir Thomas TROUBADAR, one of their members, had obtained his commission in the navy by criminal means, was, *while the facts were not denied*, rejected by the "*reformed House of Commons*."

That, it was this same HOUSE, that my resolution against Sir ROBERT PEEL was "*EXPUNGED*" upon a motion, put by Lord ALTHORP WITHOUT NOTICE, and amended by the Speaker without the leave of the House.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that the sums were voted for the new palaces, and for the famous *gate-way*!

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that were passed the *Cash-Payment-Suspension Act* of 1797; *PEEL'S Act*, in 1819 the *Small-Note Bill* of 1822; the *Panic Act* of 1826, which, at last, leaves the taxes unredeemed, while the wheat is brought down to forty shillings a quarter.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that the BANK, the PAPER-MONEY, and the FUNDS were enacted.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that LOANS were voted, which, at last, have created a debt, the bare yearly interest of which amounts to *thirty millions of sovereigns in gold*!

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that a vote to take off a *part* of the tax on the people's daily drink was *rescinded*.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that Sturges Bourne's Bills were passed, giving *plurality of votes*, at vestries, to the RICH, and authorizing the employment of HIRED OVERSEERS.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, the Special Commissions of 1830 were approved of.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that the petitions on behalf of the poor DORSETSHIRE MEN were unattended to.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, that

the "*Poor-law Amendment Bill*," brought in by Lords ALTHORP and BROUGHAM, was passed, in 1834.

That, it was in this same HOUSE, now consumed by FIRE, that the vault (*now let down by fire*) resounded with PRAISES on "*the MAGNANIMOUS 'Alexander,'*" when he had *burnt to ashes* a city with three hundred thousand people in it; and, beyond all doubt, with not less than *a thousand women in child-birth*, to say nothing of the sick, the decrepit, the aged, and the infants!

Oh! God of mercy! Might not those, whom the insipid and time-serving wretch of the *Morning Herald* abuses; might not that people of London, whom the base crew of REPORTIERS, reeking with the heat of gin, and always eager to libel their own suffering country; might not the people of London, instead of being "*unreflecting*," have DULY REFLECTED on the hundreds of things, of which I have, from mere memory, mentioned only a *small part*? These things are always present to *my mind*. Why should they not be present to the minds of the people of London?

With regard to *what is to be done* in consequence of this fire; *how* the fire came to take place; *what* *Mother Jordan's offspring* thought of the ruins and of the ashes, when they "*inspected*" them; as the base *reporters* tell us they did: these, and particularly *the latter*, are matters to be more fully dwelt on, when I possess more authentic information. But, I must say, that those who talk of this matter as of a *mere fire*, do not, may it please their *reporterships*, reflect. It is A GREAT EVENT: come from what CAUSE it might, it is a *great event*. It astounds: it sets *thought to work* in the minds of millions: it awakens *recollections*: it rouses to *remarks*: it elicits a communication of *feelings*: it makes the tongue the loud herald of the heart: and it must in the nature of things It is a great event! say the base, stink-

ing *reporters* what they will, it IS a great event!

I do not care one straw where the Parliament may meet: it may meet in a barn for aught I care. To be sure, I can, if it and our constituents, and the all-ruling governor of the world choose, do as it hitherto has done; but it cannot do the same things in the SAME PLACE, at any rate. Mr. SPRING RICE may again *lay upon the table* a bill *for altering the stamp-laws*, and never mention the matter again; but he cannot lay it upon the SAME TABLE. Another bill of indemnity for stopping cash-payments may be brought in; but it cannot be brought into the SAME PLACE! Aye, aye; say the stinking *reporters* (poh!) what they like, it is a great event!

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S

ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF LIMERICK

On Sunday, the 19. of October (he having slept at Charleville on Saturday night), the author of the HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, proceeded, at ten o'clock, with his friend Mr. O'Higgins, in a post-chaise, towards LIMERICK, two gentlemen having come to Charleville just before his setting off, to bring him an address from the ancient city of KILMALLOCK, at which place (six miles on from Charleville) he was unable to stop, without breaking his engagement with the gentlemen of Limerick; but he promised to send from Limerick an answer to their address.

The assemblage was very great at Charleville, and Mr. Cobbett was heartily greeted on his departure. At BUTTS, where he changed horses, the landlord, Mr. FOGARTY, being apprized of his approach, had prepared four horses and a carriage, and two postilions, in very handsome dresses, with white hats and gold bands. Here the street was crowded with people, and cheering most cor-

dial: "*Welcome to Ireland! Welcome to Ireland!*" coming from thousands of voices, at which the object of this hearty welcome seemed, as was natural, very much pleased.

At BALLYBRICHAN, Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY and his son came out from his mansion, with wine and cakes, of which Mr. Cobbett partook, and he received from that kind and zealous and humane gentleman an account of the wretched state of the poor people on that rich and fertile spot; who were driven to the necessity of picking up (after the diggers) the scattered potatoes which even the crows had rejected.

About four miles from Limerick, he was met by Mr. BRIDGEMAN, the Rev. Mr. O'CONNOR, and other gentlemen, with an open carriage, with four horses, postilions in the best style, and a green flag fastened to the carriage, with the word REPEAL upon it. Proceeding on towards the city, the country people pouring down into the main road from every direction; by the time that he reached within two miles of the city, the assemblage became immense. Here he was met by the TRADES of the city, with not less than THIRTY SILK BANNERS emblematical of their different callings. Here he was met by Mr. DEWTE, in his carriage, and by several gentlemen in gigs and cars; and thus, with probably a hundred horsemen, and at least forty thousand men on foot, the author of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION entered the ancient and famed city of LIMERICK; hundreds of handkerchiefs waving from the windows and the tops of the houses, and amidst the heart-cheering sounds of "*Welcome to Ireland! welcome to Ireland!*" issuing from thousands upon thousands of lips. Every human being seemed pleased; delight seemed to be seated on every countenance; gratitude for his disinterested and generous exertions for Ireland appeared to be mixed with surprise at the health and strength and gayety visible in his person and countenance. It was impossible for him, himself, not to be pleased; and it is but fair to presume, that he put his best looks on for the occasion; for he did look as good-humoured.

and as gay and as delight d as he could possibly have been on the day of his wedding.

The procession entered the city from the CORK-ROAD, went down William-street, turned into George-street, there stopped, and there the president of the deputation from the trades read AN ADDRESS to Mr. COBBETT, he standing on one of the seats of the carriage a position which he had occupied during the whole of the procession. In answer to the address, he observed, "that under the then circumstances, he must beg the addressers to have the goodness to give him till the next day to answer a document containing sentiments on subjects so numerous, and each of them so important; but, that it required no time for reflection to enable him to say, that he set a higher value upon the praise of the *trades of Limerick*, than he should set upon that of all the LORDS and all the KINGS in the world; and that, though his business in Ireland was to be able to lay the condition of the working people of Ireland before the English people, and to call on the latter to stand by the former in all the lawful means of obtaining redress, he never could be made to believe, that, if there were in all Ireland only the men who now stood before him, the people of Ireland could long remain in a state such as that of the people on the rich and fertile lands over which he had passed that day; that he had come across a thousand square miles of land more fertile than any spot in the whole world of similar extent; and that he never could be made to believe, that that spot could, for any length of time, be made to contain, as it now does, the most destitute and wretched people upon the face of the earth."

By this time the people had taken the horses from the carriage, which they then drew down through Patrick-street, Rutland-street, Bank-place, Charlotte's-quay, Broad-street, John-street, the Square, Cornwallis-street, and to Quinlivan's-hotel, in William-street, whence Mr. Cobbett shortly ad-

ressed the people and returned them thanks for their generous conduct towards him.

(From the *Limerick Star*).

MR. COBBETT'S ARRIVAL IN LIMERICK.

At half-past two on Sunday the congregated trades with their colours and their usual dresses, according to appointment marched from Mr. Clancey's, John-street, to greet and welcome the hon. Member for Oldham; at the same time were seen driving out of town vehicles of every description and innumerable horsemen, notwithstanding the continued wetness of the day, some of whom went over five miles out of town to meet him. On the hon. Gentleman's arrival at the Blackboy turnpike the congregated trades and the thousands that accompanied them hailed him with the most enthusiastic cheers. The procession now marched down the Cork-road, William-street, into George-street, and halted opposite the Mail-coach Hotel to receive the address of the trades. Since the first Clare election, on the arrival of O'Connell in Limerick, we have not seen so vast an assemblage as were now congregated, amounting at least to from forty to fifty thousand souls.

ADDRESS OF THE CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF KILMALLOCK.

TO WM. COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

The unanimous voice of the ancient city of Kilmallock hails with joy and pleasure the honour of a visit from you. It is an honour and pride to find within its magnificent ruins and dismantled towers so sterling a patriot, and so san-

guine a friend to the welfare of this beautiful but neglected country.

We rejoice to have the benefit of your sound experience and practical knowledge, to bear testimony to the legislature of our wants and miseries, of the present heart-rending sufferings of our poor (who are aged and infirm), without employment for the able-bodied, while thousands of pounds are drained annually out of this parish. We can carry you to the hovels of the poor, where you will see their wretched beds of wet rushes. Revolting to the tender feelings of human nature must it be to see man slumber on such a wretched weed, after his diurnal trip for pitiful alms among the farmers, who are harassed with rack-rents, and to behold these poor people making weekly sales of the proceeds of such charity, to pay lodging money.

We invite you to view our magnificent abbeys and churches, emblematic of the purity and majesty of that religion your *History of the Reformation* so ably defended, and now in the hands of the richest church in the world, from whose superabundant wealth funds could be had sufficient for the support of the aged and the infirm, of hospitals and school-houses; but alas, for Ireland!

We humbly trust the legislature will at length come at the root of the evil; and we again rejoice to behold in you so powerful an auxiliary, to co-operate with Ireland's liberator for the regeneration of this fertile and beautiful country, that thereby capital may be introduced, employment to the working classes, maintenance to the poor, education (untainted with sectarian prejudice), cheap laws, and extensive poor man's magistracy obtained for this neglected country.

We put these forward as main grievances; not forgetting to beseech your co-operation in aiding the legislature to put down all other monopoly.

As we hail your arrival with joy, and as auspicious of better days, so do we sincerely wish you a safe return to your native land, full of hope such an impression will be made on the minds of

Englishmen by you as will be productive of substantial benefits to Ireland.

Michael Murnane, P.P.

Eugene O'Cavenagh,

Daniel O'Brien,

Thomas Walsh,

Timothy Buckley,

John Casey,

Edmond Barrett,

Michael Sheedy,

Timothy Sweeny,

Michael Roche,

Michael Wallace,

Laurence Roche,

Thomas Emmett,

Thomas McCarthy,

Timothy Pollard,

Thomas Pollard,

Jeremiah Melville,

David Quade,

John Mulqueen,

John Crawford,

Thomas Crawford,

Thomas Quinlan,

John Moylan,

John Prendergast.

Kilmallock, 19. October, 1834.

ANSWER.

TO THE PARISH PRIEST AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF KILMALLOCK.

Gentlemen—Not being able to stop at your city without breaking my engagement with the people of the city of Limerick, I could not avail myself of your kind invitation; and was obliged to confine myself to a mere passing view of those extensive remains of ancient grandeur, so consonant with the surprising fertility and inexhaustible riches of the surrounding country; so clear an evidence of the political wisdom, as well as of the piety of our ancestors, who, by foundations like these, kept constantly alive "honour to God in the Highest, and on earth peace and good-will to-wards men"; who, in this best of all possible ways, caused the produce of the earth to be enjoyed on the spot, and created a happy yeomanry, held by the ties of gratitude and veneration, in will-

ing and cheerful obedience to their landlords. With this passing glance, and with these melancholy reflections, I was obliged to content myself; those reflections being succeeded, however, by the bitterest execrations, coming from the bottom of my heart, on the memory of the ruthless spoilers, whose ferocious greediness has, at last, instead of that yeomanry by whom the monks were surrounded, placed a swarm of rack-renters, whose only food is an insipid and spiritless root, whose bed is the rejected produce of the hog, whose place of abode is inferior in point of comfort to that of the lowest and filthiest of animals in other countries. and who are liable to be, and frequently are, tossed out of, even of these, to perish with hunger and with cold. If you, gentlemen, and your fathers, had, like us Protestants, ever abused and vilified what are called "*monkish ignorance and superstition*," you might have been said to be the makers of your own miseries; but, having, with a constancy and self-sacrifice, wholly unparalleled in the history of the world, remained, even unto the death, faithful to the religion of your fathers, the magnificent ruins which press the recollection of those sacrifices and of that matchless fidelity, to the mind of the beholder, cannot fail to fill him with indignation against the spoilers, with anxious wishes for your deliverance from your present miseries, and with a resolution to neglect nothing within his power to effect that deliverance.

Gentlemen, your kind and highly valued address, for which I tender you my best thanks, introduces so many topics, and each of so much importance, that it would be impossible for me to treat of them here; without far too great an encroachment on your time; but, gentlemen, I must observe, that, if the unconstitutional doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance be taught in the schools to which you allude, I abhor those schools from the bottom of my heart. With regard to the matters, relative to which you do me the honour to request my aid in your behalf and in behalf of ill-treated Ireland, I beg you

to be assured, first, that I regard it as my bounden duty to render such aid to the utmost of my power; and second, that having now with my own eyes, had the fact of this ill-treatment, and of all its attendant miseries, confirmed; and my excellent constituents of Oldham, who feel most acutely for all your sufferings, having charged me with the performance of that duty, I should, if I were to neglect it, be amongst the basest and wickedest of all mankind.

WM. COBBETT.

Limerick, 19. October, 1834.

ADDRESS OF THE CONGREGATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

TO WM. COBBETT, ESQ., M.P., &c. &c.

Venerated Sir,—In your tour of benevolence and charity, you have received the grateful acknowledgments and ardent welcome of millions of our countrymen, expressed in all the honest sincerity and intensity of their feelings, but there is, there can be no place to which you are more endeared, more welcome, than to the city of the violated treaty; the living monument of the faithlessness and perfidy of those, who have misgoverned England as well as Ireland, and the proud record of your own exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty. *Welcome then, a hundred thousand times welcome*, within our ancient walls. Did we not with all the devotion of the heart thus welcome the ardent friend and supporter of "*liberty, literature, and religion*," we would be unworthy of our fathers and unworthy of our country. We have seen within our walls many of the titled aristocratic oppressors of the people, dukes and marquises, and viceregal governors, but we turned from them with contemptuous indifference, not recognising them as friends to liberty or mankind; but, sir, in your venerable and venerated person, the second *Tampden*, of half a century's service, with what pride and ecstasy do we see

sincere, undaunted, unpurchaseable, and uncompromising attachment to the people's cause evinced; the democratic principle vindicated, and recognised, and the aristocracy of genius, talent, patriotism, and perseverance, waving its triumphant banner, and wielding its glorious sceptre over the impediments and persecutions of titled millions, lordly slaves, and ministerial tyrants. You, sir, have stood forth, single-handed and alone, alternately as the apostle, the champion, and martyred victim of English liberty, when the dungeons of Sidmouth and Castlereagh were yawning for the immurement of every friend of constitutional liberty and reform. For these, sir, did you brave and endure the gloom of the dungeon: the deprivation of your property and temporary expatriation, and proud must be the reflection that the principles you *then* advocated, have at length in a great degree triumphed over *their* enemies and *ours*.

But in thus mainly contributing to achieve the liberty of England, you were not dead to the clanking of the chains of misgovernment and cruelly-treated Ireland. You held up to the justice of the English people the true condition and principles of the Irish people. By your irrefutable and invaluable History of the Reformation, you vindicated the religion; the insulted, calumniated, and long-persecuted religion of the Catholic people of Ireland, and by removing the mists of prejudice and bigotry, which designing and disinterested men had thrown over the eyes of England, you proved that the religion of their forefathers and of ours, was not incompatible with the enjoyment of liberty and social order, and of those privileges and benefits which are the inalienable birth-right of every British subject; and thus, sir, did you prepare the mind of England for the unloosing of those chains which had been riveted by the violation of the treaty of Limerick, and made straight the way for granting the long-withheld and ungraciously given boon of Catholic emancipation.

But, while your labours and services have been so great in the advancement of liberty, religion, and morality, (for

who has not read your sermons, and your then almost incredible exposure of the atrocious monster, Jocelyn), you, by your French and English Grammars, and other treatises, have opened a new ~~era~~ era in the literature of our country. You have raised the English language to a degree of precision, purity, and perfection, in style and composition, which it never knew before. You have taught statesmen the precise terms by which to conduct and regulate their diplomacy, and avoid ambiguity, and literary men the purest mode for the expression of their thoughts and conveyance of instruction. But what avail all these advantages to a people starving in the midst of plenty? and exporting, to gratify the all-grasping rapacity of absentee-landlords, those provisions, the exportation of which, combined with the want of manufactures, causes famine to be a matter of ordinary and periodical recurrence. There is no country in the world more favoured by Providence, and more blighted by man. To an absentee aristocracy, who drain away the resources of the country, to the unjust, noxious, and blood-stained impost of tithes, exacted at the point of the bayonet, from a people who receive no value for the exaction, to a total want of manufactures, of which we have been deprived since the fatal period of the Union, to the want of the fostering and paternal care of a domestic legislature, and to rack-rents recklessly assumed from the competition for land, and rigorously exacted, do we attribute all the evils by which this country is and has been afflicted, and all these have had their origin in the misgovernment of England. To prove such assertion, *before the Union* there were in Limerick but *two pawn-offices and forty-three tan-yards*, and *now*, by an inverse ratio, there are at present, but *two tan-yards and forty-three pawn-offices*. We had several other manufactories, which it would be tedious to detail, and all of which have long since vanished. Not a resident nobleman in our city, *and thousands starving on the property of the absentee lord of the soil, who draws an income of 30,000l. per an-*

num from his rack-rent estates. Before the Union, from 1782, the period when Ireland's independence was acknowledged, till the rebellion of 1798, fostered and connived at for the carrying of that baneful, blighting, and desolating measure, never did any country make such rapid strides in private and public prosperity and happiness, notwithstanding six centuries of the most unparalleled and unchristian degradation, oppression, and persecution. We are, therefore, of opinion, that the repeal of that unhallowed measure would shortly restore to us independence, prosperity, happiness, and peace. Had we that measure repealed, and good government administered, then the aged, the sickly, and the infirm alone, would require the aid of a poor-law. Manufactures would again spring up, and Ireland would then, as in 1782, be the strength and not the weakness of England. There is no country in which a legal provision for the poor is more necessary at present than in Ireland, but we much fear the English system of poor-laws would not suit this country from its poverty, rack-rents, and taxation. The only poor-rate that would suit this country would be the appropriation of the surplus revenues and property of the church, a tax levied on absentees and great landed proprietors, and on funded sinecure properties and pensions. You will be told, sir, that since the Union, our city has prospered; true, its business has increased, its export trade has enlarged, and wealth has been amassed by private individuals, but our bankrupt calendars and insolvencies will show you how fallacious is this apparent prosperity, and that while individuals are growing opulent, the people are starving. By condescending to visit the cells and garrets in the old town, of this assertion you can have the most convincing, and appalling proof and ocular demonstration; you will see that our poor are not discontented without cause, and that their patience is almost superhuman under such misery and privations. That you may be long spared to the people and the country until you see this con-

summation, the people of the British empire independent, free, and happy, Ireland bound to England in federal and not novercal connexion by the golden link of the crown, and reciprocity of interest and good feeling, is our anxious prayer, and when summoned from this earthly scene, may you enjoy from Him, in whose hands are the destinies of nations as of individuals, the reward of your patriotic and benevolent actions and intentions.

ANSWER.

TO THE CONGREGATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Gentlemen,—This kind and hearty welcome from men who live by the sweat of their brow, or by their skill in the useful arts and sciences, is, in my eyes, of a million times the value of any praise that could be bestowed on me by an unanimous vote of the congregated nobles (as they call themselves, and as slaves call them) of the whole earth. That which we possess, gentlemen, is the fair fruit of our own labour; that which they possess is, in many cases, the fruit of that which they have received out of taxes imposed on the fruits of our labour. And as to their minds, what do we want more to enable us to judge of them, than this notorious fact, that having, for ages, had at their disposal all the persons and all the immense resources of this kingdom, they have at last involved themselves in debts irredeemable, and in a system of paper-money which, whilst it enables miscreant monopolizers to devour the substance of the people, may, at any moment, leave us in a state of barter and confusion, and which places even their own estates on the cast of a die? What can we want more than this one fact to enable us to judge of their minds?

Gentlemen, amongst the many things which you have been pleased to commend in me, amongst all the things I am proud of, I am most proud of the hatred, the deadly hostility and hatred,

of this aristocracy and of their base coadjutors, the makers of paper-money; and in the words of our best and most virtuous poet I say with delight,

"Yes, I am proud; I must be proud, to see,
"Men, not afraid of God, afraid of me."

Afraid of one, who not only literally came from the plough, but whose boast it always has been that he so came; and who, in defiance of power boundless and unsparing, and of a press the most corrupt, at the command of that power, has carried on a contest against both, and is now placed in the highest and most honourable station that man can be placed in, in this kingdom; and I pray you, gentlemen, and particularly the young men amongst you, to be assured, that I owe this most glorious triumph to sobriety and abstinence and early rising more than to any other thing, and to all other things put together.

Gentlemen, of your many and great grievances, of the indescribable sufferings and degradations of your poorer brethren; of the causes of these, and of the remedies which justice and mercy call for, I cannot, in a paper necessarily confined as to limits as this must be, treat in a manner suitable to their vast importance, and commensurate with the respect which I bear towards you. But, you have my solemn assurance, that, having now seen your sufferings with my own eyes, I shall return to England with a resolution to neglect no occasion, to spare no effort, in that capacity especially which my public-spirited constituents have endued me with, to make known the nature and extent of your mighty wrongs and your frightful sufferings, and to cause the latter to cease by a redress of the former.

But, gentlemen, there is one *remedy*, that I must notice; namely, EMIGRATION. This has been resorted to, in order to get rid of the people. Without stopping to inquire into THE LEGAL RIGHT, which any landowner can have to send his Majesty's subjects out of the realm, and thus to free them from their allegiance, on pain of death from

hunger or cold; without stopping to inquire into the legality of such an act; and without stopping to remark on the monstrousness of the idea, that there are *too many people* in a fertile country which is not cultivated a fourth part as well as it might be, and, which, nevertheless, sends out of it meat and bread and butter sufficient for the sustenance of a population equal to its own; without stopping thus to inquire and to remark, let me beseech you, to use all your lawful influence to prevent people from emigrating to any country, except the UNITED STATES. I have been amongst the rocks and swamps of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada. Going to those countries is going to misery, equal to that which the poor creatures leave behind them, with the addition, every year, of seven months of snow, covering the ground many feet deep; and, I pray you, hear this fact, that, last year, the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY in Canada passed a law, imposing A TAX UPON ALL EMIGRANTS, for the double purpose of *checking emigration* and of raising money to *keep the Irish emigrants from perishing with hunger and cold!* Bearing this undeniable fact in mind, you will perceive, that it is your duty to state it to the poor deceived people, and to urge them to go to no other country than the *United States*, and in no ship but an *American ship*. Emigration, in any other way, and to any other part, is dooming themselves to death, after even greater sufferings than those which they endure here, many hundreds of them having, according to accounts published in New York, perished, in those countries, from being frost-bitten; or suffered amputation of either hands or feet.

Gentlemen, I should not do my duty towards you, if I did not tell you that I hope, and, indeed, believe, that the King's present Ministers, beginning to penetrate through the thick disguise, which has so long (by means of falsehoods at the use of which Satan himself would blush) been practised by your greedy and merciless foes, are sincerely disposed to use their exertions in suppressing the unconstitutional doings by which

the main part of your sufferings have been occasioned. With regard to the church they have, at least, *begun* to inquire and to act; and, with regard to the corporations, they have, at any rate, *proposed* to make a change for the better. The old Norman maxim, "il vaut mieux qu'une cité perisse qu'un GUEUX" "PARVENU la gouverne;" that "it is better that a city perish than that it be governed by an UNPRINCIPLED BEGGAR ARRIVED at WEALTH"; this maxim seems to have been adopted by them; they appear to have duly estimated the unbearable grievance of this petty and capricious despotism, so cruel a scourge to the people and so injurious to the permanence of the just power of their master and of our Sovereign; they appear to have seen, at last, the magnitude of this crying evil, and to have resolved to redress it, in any part of the kingdom, where the tantalizing and insulting curse may be found to exist.

Gentlemen, "who," says the poet, "can wallow naked in December snow by barely thinking of the summer's heat?" And how am I, filled with beef, and my body covered with linen and woollen, to inculcate *patience* to those who are fed on an insipid and spiritless root, and who are half-naked: Yet, gentlemen, I do hope, that, as the Ministers profess to better the lot of Ireland, and as I am sure, that a *majority* of the House of Commons most anxiously desire to cause the sufferings of the Irish people to cease, you will seek by the lawful mode of petition, by a careful and resolute exercise of your elective franchise, and by culling on your fellow-subjects, the just and compassionate people of England, for their lawful co-operation; that you will by these means, seek for that change in the system of governing Ireland, which is so loudly demanded by justice and humanity, and which is so necessary to the safety of the nation and to the durability of his Majesty's throne.

WM. CORBETT.

City of Limerick, 19. October, 1834.

DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT BY FIRE.

(From the Times of Friday, Oct. 17).

Shortly before 7 o'clock last night Thursday, October 16, the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the districts on the opposite bank of the river, were thrown into the utmost confusion and alarm by the sudden breaking out of one of the most terrific conflagrations that has been witnessed for many years past. Those in the immediate vicinity of the scene of this calamity were quickly convinced of the truth of the cry, that the Houses of Lords and Commons and the adjacent buildings were on fire; the ill news spread rapidly through the town, and the flames increasing, and mounting higher and higher with fearful rapidity, attracted the attention not only of the passengers in the streets, but if we may judge from the thousands of persons who in a few minutes were seen hurrying to Westminster, of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the metropolis. We scarcely ever recollect to have seen the large thoroughfare of the town so thronged before. Within less than half an hour after the fire broke out, it became impossible to approach nearer to the scene of disaster than the foot of Westminster-bridge on the Surrey side of the river, or the end of Parliament-street on the other, except by means of a boat, or with the assistance of a guide, who, well acquainted with the localities, was enabled to avoid the crowd and reach Abingdon-street by the streets at the back of the Abbey. This locality, however, was in a very short space of time as densely thronged with spectators as any other. There was, however, nothing surprising in the multitude that flocked to the spot; in the crowded boats that floated on the river immediately in the front of the blazing pile, or in the countless numbers that swarmed upon the bridges, the wharfs, and even upon the housetops; for the spectacle was one of surpassing though terrific splendour, and the stately appearance of the Abbey, whose architectural beauties were never seen to greater advan-

tage than when lighted by the flames of this unfortunate fire, would of themselves have attracted as many thousands to the spot. But, extensive as the mischief we have to deplore really was, rumour had magnified it most fearfully. It was currently reported through the town that Westminster-hall, and even the Abbey itself, was in flames.

How and where the fire originated are still matters of doubt. The general belief, however, appears to be that it broke out in some part of the buildings attached to the House of Lords, from whence it spread to the House itself with such vast celerity, that before 8 o'clock the whole range of structure, from the portico by which the peers enter, to the corner where it communicates with the committee-rooms of the House of Commons, was in flames.

As rapidly did the devouring element extend its ravages to the ancient chapel of St. Stephen's, where the work of destruction was sooner over than in the other House of Parliament. The greater quantity of timber which the fabric of the House of Commons contained will readily account for this; and it is further to be observed, that from the situation of the building, and the unlucky circumstance of the tide being unusually low, a very scanty supply of water, and the application of only one or two engines, not very advantageously placed, were all that the most strenuous and the most zealous exertions could bring to bear in the vain attempt to save that interesting edifice from absolute destruction.

The conflagration, viewed from the river, was peculiarly grand and impressive. On the first view of it from the water, it appeared as if nothing could save Westminster-hall from the fury of the flames. There was an immense pillar of bright clear fire springing up behind it, and a cloud of white, yet dazzling smoke, careering above it, through which, as it was parted by the wind, you could occasionally perceive the lantern and pinacles, by which the building is ornamented. At the same time a shower of fiery particles appeared to be falling upon it with such unceasing ra-

pidity as to render it miraculous that the roof did not burst out into one general blaze. Till you passed through Westminster-bridge, you could not catch a glimpse of the fire in detail: you had only before you the certainty that the fire was of greater magnitude than usual, but of its mischievous shape and its real extent you could form no conception. Westminster-bridge, covered as it was with individuals standing on its balustrades, was a curious spectacle, as the dark masses of individuals formed a striking contrast with the clean white stone of which it is built, and which stood out well and boldly in the clear moonlight. As you approached the bridge you caught a sight through its arches of a motley multitude assembled on the strand below the Speaker's garden, and gazing with intense eagerness on the progress of the flames. Above them were seen the dark caps of the Fusilier Guards, who were stationed in the garden itself to prevent the approach of unwelcome intruders. Advancing still nearer, every branch and fibre of the trees which are in front of the House of Commons became clearly defined in the overpowering brilliance of the conflagration. As soon as you shot through the bridge, the whole of this melancholy spectacle stood before you. From the new pile of buildings, in which are the Parliament offices, down to the end of the Speaker's house, the flames were shooting out fast and furious through every window. The roof of Mr. Ley's house, of the House of Commons, and of the Speaker's house, had already fallen in, and as far as they were concerned, it was quite evident that the conflagration had done its worst. The tower, between these buildings and the Jerusalem Chamber, was a-light on every floor. The roof had partly fallen in, but it had not yet broken clean through the floors. The rafters, however, were all blazing, and from the volume of flame which they vomited forth through the broken casements, great fears were entertained for the safety of the other tenements in Cotton-garden. The fire, crackling and rustling with prodigious noise as it went along, soon devoured all the interior of

this tower, which contained, we believe, the library of the House of Commons. By eleven o'clock it was reduced to a mere shell, illuminated, however, from its base to its summit in the most bright and glowing tints of flame. The two oriel windows, which fronted the river, appeared to have their frame-works fringed with innumerable sparkles of lighted gas, and, as those frame-works yielded before the violence of the fire, seemed to open a clear passage right through the edifice for the destructive element. Above the upper window was a strong beam of wood burning fiercely from end to end. It was evidently the main support of the upper part of the building, and as the beam was certain to be reduced in a short time to ashes, apprehensions were entertained of the speedy fall of the whole edifice. At this time the voices of the firemen were distinctly heard preaching caution, and their shapes were indistinctly seen in the lurid light sitting about in the most dangerous situations. Simultaneously were heard in other parts of the frontage to the river, the smashing of windows, the battering down of wooden partitions, and the heavy clatter of falling bricks, all evidently displaced for the purpose of stopping the advance of the flames. The engines ceased to play on the premises whose destruction was inevitable, and poured their discharges upon the neighbouring houses which were yet unscathed. A little after twelve o'clock the library tower fell inwards with a dreadful crash, and shortly afterwards the flame, as if it had received fresh aliment, darted up in one startling blaze, which was almost immediately quenched in a dense column of the blackest smoke. As soon as this smoke cleared away, the destructive ravages of the fire became more evident. Through a vista of flaming walls you beheld the Abbey frowning in melancholy pride over its defaced and shattered neighbours. As far as you could judge from the river, the work of ruin was accomplished but too effectually in the Parliamentary buildings which skirt its shores.

The appearance of the fire from the corner of Abingdon-street was also ex-

ceedingly striking. For a length of time the exertions of the firemen appeared to be principally directed to save that part of the House of Lords which consisted of the tower that rose above the portico. All the rest of the line of building was enveloped in flames, which had extended themselves along the whole (except the wing) of that part of the adjacent building to the left that fronts Abingdon-street, and the upper stories of which were committee-rooms, while at the basement were the stone steps leading to the House of Commons. The wing of this building, however, which rose high above the rest, the upper part being a portion of Bellamy's, and the lower being used as a receptacle of the great-coats, &c., of members of the House of Commons, was for some time, like the tower above the portico at the entrance to the House of Lords, but slightly injured by the flames, and these two objects seeming to bound the ravages of the fire and to offer successful resistance to its further progress, while all between them was in one uninterrupted blaze, attracted universal attention. The flames did not in fact extend beyond these two points, but seemed to exhaust themselves in the destruction of them. They took fire nearly at the same moment, and burning furiously for nearly half an hour, the whole structure, from the entrance of the House of Commons to the entrance of the House of Lords, presented one bright sheet of flame. At length the roofs and ceilings gave way, and when the smoke and sparks that followed the crash of the heavy burning mass that fell had cleared away, nothing met the eye but an unsightly ruin, tinted with the dark red glare reflected from the smouldering embers at its feet.

Half-past two o'clock.

Westminster-hall is, we think, quite safe. The fire still burns furiously among the ruins which it has made, but its power to do further mischief appears to have ceased; it is confined within the limits of the walls of the two houses already destroyed. The ener-

gies, however, of the firemen and soldiers are not at all relaxed. Fresh engines and fresh supplies of men are coming to the scene of devastation, and a continued volley of water is showered upon the ruins. More vigorous exertion and more active zeal we never witnessed; but it must be confessed that our ordinary engines are totally incapable of contending with such a conflagration as that of last night, and that our fire-engine system wants the great element of efficiency, a general superintendent. Each fire-office acts according to its own view; there is no obedience to one chief, and consequently where the completest co-operation is necessary all is confusion or contradiction. We impute no blame to the fire-offices or to their men; the conduct of individuals was above all praise, but the want of a general leader and director must have been in the course of the evening as evident to them as it was to the discerning portion of the spectators. Up to the last we observed no disturbance; and, indeed, before three o'clock there was scarcely a person to be seen except the soldiers and firemen. The myriads who had for hours peopled the streets had all quietly dispersed; and the only sound heard was the crackling of timbers, or the heaving of the fire-pumps.

EXTENT OF THE DAMAGE DONE.

The Painted Chamber and the whole of the House of Lords and Commons, including the Library, and Mr. Ley's house, are entirely destroyed; and the south wall of the Library has fallen in: part of the Speaker's house is also destroyed. The Parliament offices, at the west end of the House of Lords, which are entered from Abingdon-street, by the gateway at the Star and Garter public-house, are saved, together with all the books and papers they contained, and all the books from the library. The books and furniture of these two buildings were removed early by the police, and placed in the yard adjoining, and in the terraced garden, covered over with carpets and tarpaulins.

A marble mantel-piece in the Speaker's house, valued at £200l., was taken down and removed to a place of safety, with other property, in the rooms that were consumed.

The King's entrance from Abingdon-street and the Grand Staircase are also preserved, the communication with the rest of the building having been cut off.

Westminster-hall, for which the greatest anxiety was evinced by every one, is safe. Engines were conducted into the body of the hall, and their supply directed through the large window at the south-west end over the entrance to the late Houses of Lords and Commons: all beyond that entrance and window appeared to be a complete ruin. The glass of the window is of course broken, but the mullions remain entire.

The courts of law remain uninjured, or it is believed, have only sustained some very trifling damage.

There were several reports as to the origin of the fire, but none sufficiently precise to be relied upon. The most probable cause seems to be that it originated in the flues, which have been lately repaired, and in which some experiments have been making for the purpose of more efficiently warming the House of Lords. Other rumours of an injurious tendency were circulated, but no shadow of proof was offered.

Lords Melbourne and Duncannon were early on the spot, anxiously watching the progress of the flames. The latter lord ascended the roof of the House of Commons, to watch and superintend the play of the engines, and owing to the rapid spread of the fire was in considerable danger, especially as he gallantly refused to leave the roof till all the firemen and soldiers who were with him had first descended.

On our return home by water we met a steam-vessel towing up to Westminster the floating engine. It might have been of great service had it arrived earlier; but the state of the tide and the shallowness of the water, prevented the steamer from coming sooner up the river. We have since heard that nearly an hour

was lost before it could be brought into play, but when it did commence, the effect which it did produce on the burning embers was said to be positively prodigious.

(From the Times of 18. October).

With the first dawn of light yesterday morning the public anxiety for the fate of the burning buildings in Palace-yard again became visible; spectators were once more attracted to the blazing ruins, but not in the same compact and numerous bodies which were assembled around them on the preceding evening. At five o'clock in the morning the military and police, who had been on duty from the commencement of the conflagration, were relieved, and the firemen, who had exerted themselves most indefatigably during the night, were enabled, as the fire was gradually subsiding, to cease from their arduous and exhausting labours. As the day advanced the ravages committed by the flames became more and more distinct, and tremendous as they really were, appeared less than rumour, with its hundred tongues, had stated them to be. The degree to which they extended was correctly described in our journal of yesterday, and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat that description, especially as a still more minute statement of the appalling effects of the fire will be given below. There was, however, nothing striking, nothing picturesque, in the appearance of the ruins. The devastation was too general and complete to present to the eye of the spectator any of those extraordinary combinations of shattered walls and tottering roofs which sometimes reconcile us by their terrible beauty to the very destruction which has created them. For some time before the majority of the inhabitants of London were again stirring in the streets the fire was entirely subdued, and though the engines continued to pour streams of water on the smouldering embers for some hours afterwards, it was more as a matter of precaution than of positive necessity. To prevent the molestation of inconvenient numbers, the approaches to New Palace-

yard continued to be carefully guarded on every side by strong bodies of military and police; and before mid-day barriers were erected, beyond which there was no passage except for those who were officially engaged in guarding the ruined buildings. At the same time preparations were made to surround them by a strong and extensive barrier, with a view of diminishing the danger to be apprehended from the tottering condition of many detached portions of the walls abutting on the street. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, who, as Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, considered it to be his duty to superintend the different operations for checking the progress of the flames and for ensuring the safety of the public, was about the ruins the greater part of the day, and gave various directions to the firemen and workmen for the preservation of the various descriptions of property which during the morning was indiscriminately placed in St. Margaret's churchyard and in the Speaker's garden. In both these places an armed force was kept parading up and down for several hours; nor was it withdrawn until the property was removed to other places better adapted for safe custody. Books and furniture and other articles of value remained for many hours piled upon each other in strange confusion under a covering of carpets and tarpaulins, but they were at last all carefully carried away, under the inspection of the police, with as little damage as could be reasonably expected. It will gratify our readers to hear that the pictures and books of the Speaker, who arrived in town from Brighton at twelve o'clock, were not much damaged, and that the jewels and wardrobe of his lady escaped uninjured. The greater part of his plate is said to have been at his banker's, but even that part of it which was in the house at the commencement of the fire has been saved from its relentless ravages. The libraries of the two Houses of Parliament are also stated to have suffered very considerable damage.

It is not to be supposed that, while all this was going on under the eyes of the public, the public was silent as to the

causes which had led to this terrible disaster. It was stated more than once that it was the work of an incendiary, and persons even mentioned the names of public functionaries who had discovered in the Speaker's garden, while the conflagration was at its height, half of the very bundle of matches by which this mass of national property had been ignited. Our own conviction is, that no such discovery was made, and that it is a mere idle rumour, undeserving of the slightest attention. We know at least that the Speaker, who made some inquiry into the manner in which the fire originated, expressed his conviction that the cause was accidental. But even when it is assumed that the fire was occasioned by accident, and not by design, a degree of mystery involves the consideration of the next question, namely, what that accident was? Some persons contended, on the authority of certain firemen, that it was the bursting of a gas-pipe in the House of Lords, where the fire was first discovered; but others maintained as stoutly, and as appeared to us with better reason, that it was occasioned by the overheating of some of the flues, which had set fire to the dry wood surrounding them. This opinion acquires considerable weight from the admitted fact that for some days past certain subordinate officers in the Exchequer have been engaged, by order of their superiors, in burning in the buildings adjacent to the House of Lords a collection of old documents and tallies, which under the alterations recently introduced into that department of the Treasury have become a vast mass of useless lumber. For the two or three last days, Mrs. Wright, the housekeeper of the House of Lords, is said to have complained of the immense heat which pervaded the whole of that building, and which, as she fancied, was accompanied by an indistinct smell of fire. Now, if this be correct, the fire must have been smouldering for some time in the dry timbers of the edifice: and if we admit that supposition, we obtain a reason why the flames might burst out simultaneously, as they are said to have done, in different places, and why

they afterwards proceeded with such frightful rapidity in their career of devastation. Another party of speculators insisted that the mischief was occasioned by the incaution of some plumbers who were engaged in repairing the flues of the Bishops' Lobby, which communicates with the House of Lords, and who left their work without extinguishing their fire. We cannot find that there is any authority for this statement. Mr. Cottle, who is said to have discovered the fire first, found it blazing with tremendous activity in the House of Lords, near the throne, but it is quite clear from the statements attributed to that gentleman in the evening papers, that it must have broken out elsewhere, and must have been spreading itself in different directions long before the stifling smell of fire induced him to leave the committee-room in which he was writing.

To the alarm given by that gentleman several persons owe their lives, particularly Mrs. Wright, the housekeeper, and her servant, whose apartment was almost enveloped in flame before she was able to leave it. With the scanty information before us, we cannot pretend to speak positively as to the origin of this lamentable catastrophe; but it is not likely to remain long unknown, as the whole progress of the conflagration is to be made the subject of a strict and rigorous investigation.

Another question, which was also frequently discussed during the course of the day, was, where the two Houses would hold their sittings till a new edifice should be erected for their accommodation. It was suggested by some that Westminster-hall, which has served the House of Lords during several impeachments as a place of meeting, might be easily fitted up as a temporary senate-house. It was suggested by others, that as the Convention Parliament was held in Guildhall, and as the House of Commons had frequently assembled in the city during the civil war, so unjustly denominated the great Rebellion, there would be no difficulty in providing a place in which the Legislature could hold its deliberations in some of the

public edifices belonging to the corporation of London. A third party hinted that the old Palace of St. James's, though it did not contain many private apartments in which an English gentleman of rank could live comfortably, did contain public apartments of state quite large enough to contain either the hereditary or the collective wisdom of the nation. A fourth party maintained that the new palace at Buckingham-house, with all its extent of offices and out-houses, would of all others be the place for the meeting of a Parliament; but this proposal was immediately rejected, on the ground that the abandonment of this palace to the public would be a sacrifice too great for his Majesty to make, and for his subjects to require. Little did those who used such language know the devotion which his Majesty feels for the interests of his subjects; for scarcely had their words died away from the ear before it was generally known that his Majesty had placed that very palace at the disposal of the nation, in order to prevent the public service from suffering any detriment.

The attention of the ever-changing crowd of spectators, which continued all the day long in the neighbourhood of Palace-yard, was not however always directed to such high matters of state as those to which we have just been alluding. Two or three times during the day it was directed to the working of the fire-engines, which began to play afresh whenever the denseness of the smoke indicated that there was some danger lest the smouldering embers should again burst forth into flame. In two instances, which came within our knowledge, this apprehension was verified. The first occurred about noon, and the last about six o'clock in the evening, when the firemen, who had retired to the public-houses in the neighbourhood to take some refreshment, were summoned from their unfinished meal to extinguish some flames which re-appeared for a few minutes in the north-west corner of the House of Lords. At nine o'clock, when we again visited the scene of devastation, no further danger appeared to be apprehended. Several

of the engines had departed, but lest any accident should unexpectedly recur, a fatigue company of the Guards was posted by the engines which remained on the ground, and was to continue so posted during the night. At that time the crowd in attendance was inconsiderable, and the authorities were availing themselves of it to build two additional barriers across the street, one nearly opposite to Mr. Canning's statue, and the other at the end of Abingdon-street. The horde of which we have already spoken was at that hour nearly finished.

It is almost unnecessary to state that the spectators of the fire yesterday were not so numerous as they were on the preceding evening. But what was wanted in the quantity, was made up yesterday in the quality of the visitors. It was said that some members of the Royal Family came to view the ruins, but of our own knowledge we can say nothing upon that head. Lord Melbourne, Lord Althorp, Lord Holland, the Marquis of Worcester, the Earl of Munster, and several other individuals of rank, were there. So, too, was the Duchess of St. Alban's. The demeanour of the people, great as well as small, was also as proper and as peaceable as it was during the progress of the fire. They betrayed nothing like a feeling of exultation at the frightful havoc which was going on around them, quite the reverse. They made jokes in their way on the passing occurrences of the moment: for they were ebullient with beer rather than with blarney, and could not, like old Niobe of our acquaintance, "annihilate both time and place," and distil away in tears, in the fond imagination that Chathan spoke and died in a House of Lords which was not built till a quarter of a century after his decease. Surely our poorer countrymen are not to be prevented from cutting a joke upon the Poor-law Act, or if they do, are not to have their joke construed too severely *au pied de la lettre*? What great harm was there in remarking, "There's a bonfire for the Poor-law Bill," when there is not even an allegation that the parties who made this remark created that or any other bonfire?

If our phraseology is to be construed so literally, what shall we say to the phraseology of Lord Althorp himself? That nobleman distinguished himself on the night of the fire by his efforts to check its progress, and yet at one particular moment, hurried away by his zeal to preserve Westminster-hall, burst into the following animated exclamation: "D—n the House of Commons, let it blaze away; but save, oh save the Hall!" The exclamation was natural, and even praiseworthy; but some sticklers for privilege may deem it one of those unpardonable breaches of it for which nothing can win a pardon but a retirement from office. What harm was there, we would ask, in all the pleasantness of the ragged sweep upon the wretched bill which has destroyed his occupation? If he had cried out "filthy flues" it might perhaps have been considered, that in such a cry there was not a little of a "minching Milcho," but why is the innocent mirth of poor Snowball to thus cruelly crushed upon the wheel? We recollect hearing it once said or sung, that if Guy Faux had succeeded in blowing up the Parliament House of his day, and a reporter of ours had lived to describe it, the catastrophe would have been thus figuratively given—"At — o'clock the House rose amidst great uproar and loud cries of Oh! oh!" The joke might be a bad one, but why did it pass uncensured as a thing profane when we hear learned Thebans twaddling about the "expiating humour," which may excuse them for repeating the levity of a bystander, who said, "Mr. Hume's motion for a new House is carried without a division"! We beg pardon, if we are to swear to the truth of a song, there was a division on that point, and that was a strange division of continuity indeed.

In the course of the day we heard of individuals who had had narrow escapes from perishing in the flames. Among others were mentioned the Earl of Munster, and his brother, Lord Frederick Fitzclarence. We give the anecdotes as we heard them, without vouching for their truth. As the Earl of Munster was entering the library of the

House of Commons to encourage the workmen to persist in their efforts to save it, a part of the rafters of the ceiling fell in. His lordship was unaware of his danger until a labourer of the name of McCallam seized him by the collar and dragged him out of the apartment as the entire ceiling fell in. His lordship escaped uninjured, but McCallam had his shoulder dislocated by a rafter, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital. Lord F. Fitzclarence, and several soldiers and policemen, were in the uppermost room of the turret in the western corner when it was in flames. Their situation was one of great danger, although at first they were not aware of it. Presently their perilous condition was observed, and a fire-ladder was reared against the side of the turret. The parties descended by means of it, but the last to descend was the noble Lord in question. Immediately afterwards the whole turret was in a blaze. Similar gallantry was exhibited by Lord Duncannon, who did not descend from the roof of the House of Commons until all his party had descended before him. In two minutes after he had stepped from the ladder, the roof had descended to the floor.

There were some individuals, however, who were not so fortunate, and among other documents which have been transmitted to us, we have received the following list of the names of the sufferers, who have been taken into, and still remain in, Westminster Hospital:

George Simmonds, a mechanic, 10, Crown-street, Westminster, run over by a fire-engine broken thigh, and otherwise bruised. Michael Penning, 1, Great Peter-street, Westminster; a fractured arm by falling of timber. John Hamilton, 43, Union-street, Borough, fireman; compound fractured leg (not expected to survive). Charles Boylan, labourer, 22, Coburg-street, Gray's-inn-road; fractured skull. Rosannah McCale, 4, Providence-row, Palmer's-Village, Westminster; broken leg, from being run over. Ralph Raphael, 1, Stonecutter-street, Upper St. Martin's-lane; a fractured head. Thomas Rowarth, 30, James-street, New-

cut, fireman ; fractured skull. John Slater, 9, Oxford-buildings, Oxford-street ; a dislocated shoulder, and severely hurt by hot lead. John Hay, Horseferry-road ; dislocated shoulder.

A great number of persons received minor injuries, whose wounds were dressed, and they left the hospital.

EXTENT OF THE DAMAGE.

The extent of the devastation occasioned by the fire was at first much exaggerated and variously appreciated ; but grievous as the loss of any portion of the national edifices was considered, the regard for the ancient and venerable hall so far exceeded the estimation in which the adjacent buildings were held, that universal anxiety was expressed for its safety, and the sacrifice of the rest was deemed an evil comparatively light, and joyfully accepted on the assurance that the Hall was saved.

On visiting the ruins, the estimate of the damage sustained, as stated in our paper of yesterday, was fully confirmed. The King's entrance to the grand staircase and the greater part of the grand corridor have been preserved. The Painted Chamber and the end of the grand corridor approaching it are entirely destroyed, and also the robing-room and the apartments on the left of the extremity of the grand corridor. The remains of the Painted Chamber and the library present such a mass of ruin, that it is difficult to trace the site on which they stood. The front towards Abingdon-street, with the exception of the King's entrance, and one tower on the opposite side, is a confused heap of ruins. The cloisters are no longer seen, and the greater part of the front wall having fallen in, exposes the wall which once formed the southern side of the House of Lords. A stack of chimneys at its northern extremity stood alone, apparently in a tottering and dangerous position. The walls of the buildings formerly occupied by Bellamy's Coffee-house, one or two of the committee-rooms, the gallery, and, on the

basement story, the entrance to the House of Commons, and the waiting-room, are all that remain of that portion of the building. The north wall of this last building appears to have formed the boundary of the fire in that direction, the Rolls' Court, which adjoins, being untouched, and the other courts uninjured to any considerable extent. On the south side, towards the river, the appearance is similar to that stated in our paper of yesterday. The Parliament offices are uninjured beyond such damage as the hurried removal of the furniture, books, and papers must have occasioned. The front of the painted chamber, the library of the House of Lords, Mr. Ley's house, and the House of Commons, are completely destroyed and gutted of every particle of the timber, a smouldering mass of the bottom presenting the only remains except the bare walls. Three or four of the rooms of the Speaker's house are also consumed, as well as the state dining-room, which is of course demolished, as it was under the House of Commons. The fire was fortunately checked in that direction, or the destruction of Westminster-hall would have been inevitable. The Speaker, attended by Mr. Palmer and several of the officers of both Houses, was occupied for a considerable time yesterday morning in examining the ruins and ascertaining the extent of the damage ; at the same time a number of clerks from the different departments were anxiously engaged in superintending the return of the books and papers to the Parliamentary offices. The origin of the fire is still ascribed to different causes, but from the best information we have received, we believe that it was occasioned by the flues employed for warming the House of Lords having been overheated. It is stated that a considerable number of the old tallies by which the accounts were formerly kept in the Exchequer have been burnt within the last few days for the purpose of heating these flues. The reductions that have taken place in the attendants in the House of Lords have deprived the establishment of some of the individuals who had the care of the

flues. The quick heat produced by the destruction of the old tallies, and some unknown defect or foulness in the flues, are supposed to have been the means of igniting some of the surrounding timbers.

A gentleman who was engaged in one of the new committee-rooms (No. 21) over the library of the House of Commons, on descending the staircase about six o'clock on Thursday afternoon, first perceived the flames in that direction and with difficulty effected his retreat. The alarm was instantly given, and the preservation of the books and papers from the apartments adjoining evinced the zeal and exertions which were used by all parties.

Mr. Butt, the Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, has fortunately saved his mace, after the room in which it was deposited was on fire. He placed a ladder to the window, and two firemen gallantly mounted, and having broken open the window with their axes, in a similar manner opened the cupboard in which it was deposited, and handed it out to Mr. Butt. The mace is valued at 400*l*.

We subjoin an official report of the damage occasioned by the fire :

"The following is the official report upon the damage done to the buildings, furniture, &c., of the two Houses of Parliament, the Speaker's official residence, the official residence of the Clerk of the House of Commons, and to the courts of law at Westminster-hall, occasioned by the fire on the 16. day of October, 1834, as far as can at present be ascertained :

" HOUSE OF PEERS.

"The House, robing-rooms, committee-rooms in the west front, and the rooms of the resident officers as far as the Octagon Tower at the south end of the building ; totally destroyed.

"The Painted Chamber ; totally destroyed.

"The north-end of the Royal Gallery, abutting on the Painted Chamber, destroyed from the door leading into the Painted Chamber, as far as the first compartment of columns.

"The library and the adjoining

rooms, which are now undergoing alterations, as well as the Parliament offices and the offices of the Lord Great Chamberlain, together with the committee-rooms, housekeeper's apartments, &c., in this part of the building, are saved.

" HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"The House, libraries, committee-rooms, housekeeper's apartments, &c., are totally destroyed (excepting the committee-rooms Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14, which are capable of being repaired).

"The official residence of Mr. L^y (Clerk of the House); this building is totally destroyed.

"The official residence of the Speaker; the state dining-room under the House of Commons is much damaged, but capable of restoration.

"All the rooms from the oriel window on the south side of the House of Commons are destroyed,

"The levee-rooms and other parts of the building, together with the public galleries, and part of the cloisters, very much damaged.

" THE COURTS OF LAW.

"These buildings will require some restoration.

"The furniture generally has sustained considerable damage.

" WESTMINSTER-HALL.

"No damage has been done to this building.

" FURNITURE.

"The furniture, fixtures, and fittings of both the Houses of Lords and Commons, with the committee-rooms belonging thereto, are with two exceptions destroyed. The public furniture at the Speaker's is in great part destroyed.

"The strictest inquiry is in progress as to the cause of this calamity, but there is not the slightest reason to suppose

that it has arisen from any other than accidental causes.

"Office of Woods, Oct. 17."

SAYINGS PICKED UP AMONG THE CROWD.

(Communicated by various Correspondents.)

A ragged-looking man, who was observing persons busily engaged in removing books and papers from the library of the House of Commons, eagerly asked of every body that passed him, "Whether the Poor-law Bill was burnt." At length some one good humouredly took compassion upon him, and no doubt thinking it useless to attempt to explain to the inquirer the error under which he evidently laboured, answered "That the Poor-law Bill had been saved from the flames." "Worse luck then to them that saved it," rejoined the man, "and I wish them as made it and them as saved it was burnt themselves."

On the Lambeth side of the river a number of persons were collected together in front of a boat-house immediately opposite the House of Commons. Among these was a chimney-sweeper, who was gazing very earnestly at the fire. A lad, who looked like a "waterman's apprentice," clapped the sweep upon the shoulder, saying, "Well, Snowball, ar'n't you glad?" "Glad of what?" asked the sweep. "Why of the fire, to be sure, Sooty; if both Houses are burnt, musn't your gagging act be burnt along with it, and can't you now cry 'Sweep' and 'Soot oh' in spite of the Parliament?" "No," said the sweep, "for master's got a copy on it at home." "But," rejoined the other, "you don't mean to say he'll be such a fool as to let the Parliament chaps know that?"

A gentleman who went down to Westminster in a cab asked the driver if he had heard anything about the cause of the fire? "Why yes, sir," was the reply; "some says as it's done by the

builders to make a job for themselves, and I did hear too as how it was Mr. Hume as set 'em on, 'cause you see, sir, the members wouldn't build a new house, though Mr. Hume has ax'd 'em ever so many times to do it, and told 'em how wery uncomfortable he was in the old un."

A coalheaver, who appeared to be rather the worse for liquor, attempted to pass the soldiers stationed at the end of Abingdon-street, in order to get into Old Palace-yard. He was stopped, of course, and after a good deal of disputing said, "Vell, then, my fine lobster, so you really means for to say as you won't by no manner of means let me go and see my own property a-burning?" "Your own property?" said the soldier, with a laugh. "Yes, Mr. Impurrence, my own property," replied the coalheaver; "and if you know'd anything vatsumdever about the liberty o' the subject, there'd be no call for me to tell you as how they'll lay a tax upon me for to help to build it up again. But you're nothing but a soldier, and don't pay no taxes." With this the indignant black diamond merchant walked off in dudgeon.

A new comer, after contemplating the fire for a few minutes, exclaimed, "Well, I'm blessed if I ever saw such a flare-up as this before." "Nor I," said a waggish artisan standing by his side; "I never thought the two Houses would go so near to set the Thames on fire."

FURTHER PARTICULARS.

There are a variety of statements afloat relative to the origin of the fire. According to some, it is stated to have commenced in the roof of Howard's coffee-room, and to have been occasioned by some experiments which were being tried on some new stoves that had been just fixed. Others state that it broke out in a passage leading to the bar of the House of Lords. Others again state, among whom is Mr. Bellamy, jun., that

it was first discovered in the very centre of the House of Lords; but all persons concur that when the alarm was first given, which was about twenty-five minutes before seven o'clock, a considerable portion of the House of Lords was in flames. The first engine that arrived was one belonging to the parish of St. John, Westminster, which was instantly followed by the County and a hand engine from Bedfordbury, belonging to the London fire-engine establishment. These were placed near the entrance to the House of Lords, and immediately got into play, and as the other engines arrived, they were placed around the burning buildings. About seven o'clock, considerable alarm was felt for the safety of Westminster-hall, in consequence of the great body of flames and flicker of fire which were carried over it. By that time the House of Lords was one body of flame, and the fire was burning most furiously against the splendid window at the south end of the hall, and also on the eastern and western side. Several gentlemen (among whom we particularly noticed Captain Thornton, of Palace-yard), being particularly anxious for the preservation of that ancient and splendid edifice, exerted themselves most strenuously to effect that object. After having a plug drawn in front of the hall in New Palace-yard, one of the establishment engines was brought there, and the hose stretched into the hall; but the extent of that building being greater than the length of their hose, it was found necessary to have another engine brought into the centre of the hall and supplied by the one outside, which was immediately done, and the branch carried up a ladder, and through the window, on to some leads, where the fireman had great command of the fire. In a few minutes afterwards the hose of the County engine was brought through the passage leading from the Commons entrance into the hall, and carried to the same place. This, for about an hour, in some measure allayed the fear entertained of the fire communicating to the magnificent roof, but when the conflagration had extended to the House of Commons on the right, and the build-

ings in the Speaker's yard on the left, where two engines belonging to the fire establishment, and one to the Exchequer Court, were in full operation, it was found necessary to have another engine brought into the hall, which was immediately done. By this time Earl Munster, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, the Marquis of Worcester, Captain Gordon, and a number of other noblemen and gentlemen were in the hall, and, after conferring together, it was determined to open the door under the great window, and see what progress the fire had made in that part. On trying the door it was found to be fastened, and one of the solid poles was used as a battering ram, which soon broke it in. Inside of the passage into which it opened were found a large quantity of acts of Parliament, reports of committees, &c., which were instantly removed by all hands to the northern end of the hall for safety. The fire had by this time made most fearful progress, the flames rising many yards above the burning buildings, and myriads of sparks flying into the air; it was proposed to have the scaffolding, which had been erected for the repairs of the inside of the hall, removed, for fear of the fire communicating to it from the outside. This was opposed by several gentlemen, on the ground of its being useful to the firemen in directing their operations, but it was ordered to remain, and by means of it, the hose from two more engines were carried up on each side of the hall to the outside of the roof, to which there is no doubt, is to be attributed the preservation of the building. A door at the south-western end of the hall was then forced open, and Earl Munster, &c., went through the passage into the Commons lobby. Here the fire was fast descending from the upper part, to prevent which the branch from the British engine was brought up the staircase, but notwithstanding the greatest exertions of the men, under the direction of White, the engineer, were devoted to effect that object, it was found impossible to stop it, and they were compelled to retreat. Between 9 and 10 o'clock a large engine, from the Horse Barracks

at Knightsbridge, was brought by a party of the Blues, which, with a powerful engine from Elliott's brewery, at Pimlico (which was early on the spot), was brought to bear on the flames, then raging furiously over the members' entrance to the House of Commons. About half-past 10, part of the outer wall of the House of Lords fell with a tremendous crash, and we are sorry to say that a fireman, named John Hambleton, No. 16 D, stationed in the Southwark-bridge-road, had both his thighs broken by a piece of timber. He was immediately taken on a shutter to Westminster Hospital, where he still remains. At 11 o'clock an express was sent by Captain Elliot, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, to Sir John M'Donald, the commanding officer at Deptford dockyard, for the engines belonging to the Victualling Department, which were immediately forwarded. Two of them arrived about half-past one o'clock a.m., one brought by 17 marines, and the other by 16, and in a few minutes afterwards four more engines arrived, each drawn by a pair of horses and accompanied by a party of the dock police, under Inspector Osborne, the whole commanded by Captain Brown, R. N., who ordered them instantly to be put to work. About 12 o'clock a great sensation was created by its becoming known that a quantity of matches had been found under a tree in a corner of the Speaker's garden, by Mr. Jones, a medical gentleman, residing in Carlisle-street, Solio-square. He immediately communicated the circumstance to police-constable Farrell, No. 48 L, and to a sentry belonging to the second battalion of the Grenadier Guards, who instantly acquainted his superior officer of the discovery. At this time the greatest fears were again entertained for the safety of Westminster-hall, the fire having caught No. 12 committee-room, which abuts upon the Court of Chancery. A party of the Guards, aided by several firemen, under the orders of Mr. Braidwood, the superintendent of the first establishment, and Rooke, the foreman of the County Fire-office, were immediately set to unroof that building, and cut

the floorings away, and thereby stop the communication, which after great exertion they happily effected, after which the fire did not extend any farther in that direction. At 1 o'clock the scene from Westminster-bridge and the river was awfully grand. The Commons' library, the Painted Chamber, the Gothic Hall, Mr. Ley's residence, and the two Houses of Parliament, being one body of fire, in a short time, communicated to the northern wing of the Speaker's house. The only engines at this part of the fire were two in the Speaker's court (both of which belonged to that department), two belonging to St. Margaret's parish, and St. Martin's engine. The three latter were in the garden. At 20 minutes past 1, the bow front of the library fell into the garden with a loud crash, and it was reported that a fireman and a soldier were buried in the ruins; but we were unable to ascertain the truth of this report. At half-past 1 the roof of the southern wing of the Speaker's house was taken off by a party of men belonging to the Board of Works, by direction of Lord Hill; and the hose of the engine carried through. At this juncture the floating engine arrived, having been towed up from Rotherhithe by a steamer. After some time it was got to work, and about three o'clock the fire in the Speaker's house was so far subdued as to allay any fears for the safety of the southern wing. Throughout the night the ruins continued to burn with great fury, but the engines being kept constantly at work, a stream, exclusive of the float, which throws a tun a minute, of about 2,000 gallons per minute was thrown upon them. About eight o'clock yesterday morning the fire at the end of the hall again assumed an alarming aspect, but the engines in the hall were immediately at work and subdued it. A great quantity of records were removed to St. Margaret's Church, under the direction of Schofield, one of the Marlborough-street officers, and a quantity of papers and documents of various kinds were taken to the neighbouring houses for safety. The principal part of the Commons' library, we are happy to say, was

saved. Throughout the whole of yesterday an immense number of persons from all parts of town and the suburb went to see the ruins, but a cordon of police was drawn across the end of Abingdon-street and Palace-yard, beyond which they were not admitted. The Chancellor's mace, which is the one that was carried before the ill-fated Charles when he went to execution, we are happy to say, was saved, and safely deposited at the house of Mr. Butts, Sergeant-at-Mace. Besides the names above mentioned, we noticed the following noblemen, &c., as being particularly active in rendering assistance: Lords Auckland, Melbourne, Duncannon; Colonels Lygon, Hill, &c.; Messrs. Hume, White and Gregorie (the magistrates of Queen's-square), Mayne, the commissioner of police, the secretaries of most of the fire-offices; and Messrs. Lott, Merryweather, and Bristow, the engine-masters, were in attendance, and rendered great assistance.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

This book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 8s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my

abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at New Orleans. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delights I have recorded the triumphs of his man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CARTER, T., Cateaton-street, cloth-factor.

FLAXMAN, R., Fetter-lane, carpenter.

LEWIS, T. R., Tonbridge-place, wine-merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

CATTARAL, W., and W. Hinde, Liverpool, drysalts.

FRANKLAND, C., sen., Scotton, Lincolnsh., maltster.

BANKRUPTS.

ADE, M., and F. Berger, Lime-street, merchants.

BUTTENSCHAW, S., High Holborn, tea-dealer.

EMSON, C., Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, horse-dealer.

GOODE, S., King's Lynn, Norfolk, money-scrivener.

GRAY, M., Walsall, Staffordshire, grocer.

HOWLETT, E., and J. J. Brimmer, Frith-street, Soho-square, printers.

HUGHES, T., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, auctioneer.

LEWIS, R., and J. Dutton, Wottonunder-Edge, Gloucestershire, clothiers.

LLOYD, E., Harley-street, Cavendish-square, bookseller.

LORD, T., Newton-heath, and Manchester, silk-manufacturer.

PRICE, R., Stockwell-street, Greenwich, grocer.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28.

INSOLVENTS.

BURNARD, M. E., Bideford, Devonshire, dealer in merchandise.

COOK, J., Dartford, Kent, miller.

JONES, H., Poultry, chiuaman,

BANKRUPTS.

BAILEY, R., Wottonunder-Edge, Gloucestershire, bookbinder.

CRANE, F. C., Upper Bedford-place, Russell-square, surgeon.

DE PINNA, J. S., Bucklersbury, feather and leghorn hat-broker.

GATENBY, R., High-street, Shadwell, grocer.

HARRIS, D., Strand, hosier.

JONES, T. M., Birmingham, retail-brewer.

PEAK, J. B., Market-Drayton, Shropshire, tanner.

PRIESTLEY, T., Halifax, Yorkshire, wool-stapler.

PROSSER, T., Warwickshire, draper.

SHAW, J., Great Driffield, Yorkshire, corn-factor and maltster.

SKINNER, R., Exmouth, Devonshire, baker.

SMITH, J. W., North Shields, ship-owner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Oct. 27.—The weather having enabled the farmers to pursue their field labours, has caused the arrivals to fall off, and this morning we were very moderately supplied with land carriage samples from the home counties. Millers also being enabled generally to work, purchased more freely the better samples of Wheat, particularly red qualities, which sustained in consequence an advance of 1s. per quarter on the rates of this day se'nnight; fine white also participated in the improvement. Secondary and inferior sorts were likewise more saleable, the distillers having purchased the latter descriptions at from 38s. to 42s. In bonded corn nothing transpiring.

Barley was in limited supply, and fine qualities being in demand on the part of the maltsters, Chevalier samples, and the better description of Malting, were fully 1s. per qr. dearer, Chevalier having realized 40s., and extra even higher. In middling descriptions, as well as distilling and gruding sorts, no alteration, and the latter kinds very dull.

Malt found more inquiry, and both new and old were a shade dearer.

Though the supply of Oats fresh up to this morning's market was moderate, yet the supplies left over from last week caused a good show of samples. The article met a free sale. Old fresh Corn being scarce and realizing with the better qualities of new the rates of last Monday, but the inferior new Irish were fully 6d. per quarter cheaper; and the black Oats coming to hand *for* and out of condition, were nearly unsaleable. The prices of Oats rising in Ireland, from the shortness of the receipts from the farmers, and the free-on-board sales hitherto not having turned out very profitably, has checked for the present speculative purchases on delivery.

Beans attracted more attention, and free foreign and English must be noted 1s. dearer.

White boiling Peas, owing to the weather having become colder, were in request, and the finest parcels were 1s. to 2s. higher. Grey also were held at 1s. per quarter more money.

The Flour trade ruled steady, and the supplies continuing short, ship marks obtained their former rates. In bonded qualities some purchases have been effected for export, sour obtaining 18s., and sweet 24s. per barrel.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 46s.
— White	50s. to 53s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 45s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 52s.
— West Country red	40s. to 45s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 52s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	36s. to 45s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 47s.
— Moray, Angus, and Rotshire red	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 38s.
— Chevalier	32s. to 40s.
— Distilling	28s. to 30s.
— Grinding	24s. to 28s.
Malt, new	42s. to 52s.
— Norfolk, pale	50s. to 58s.
— Ware	58s. to 61s.

Peas, Hog and Gray	36s. to 38s.
— Maple	38s. to 40s.
— White Boilers	38s. to 43s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 42s.
— Harrow	33s. to 39s.
— Tick	32s. to 37s.
Oats, English Feed	19s. to 22s.
— Short, small	21s. to 23s.
— Poland	20s. to 24s.
— Scotch, common	20s. to 25s.
Potato	23s. to 28s.
Berwick	22s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	17s. to 19s.
— — Potato	19s. to 24s.
— — Black	17s. to 21s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, October 27.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather great; the supply of each kind of small stock moderately good. Trade was, with the prime small Beef, Mutton, and Veal, somewhat brisk, at fully, with the middling and inferior kind, as also with Lamb and Pork, dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

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EXTRACT FROM NORTHCROFT'S PARLIAMENTARY CHRONICLE.

Mr. Morison, the Hygeist, and the British Public.

WE think it a duty which we owe to the Public, to express our strongest disapprobation of the unmerited prejudice which has been attempted against this reformer of medical abuses. For a considerable period the fame of Mr. Morison has been commensurate with the utility of his medicine; and not only Europe, but America, has paid a just tribute to his skill and integrity. It had long been known that the medical profession was deficient either in skill or honesty to afford relief, and the apothecaries of England were almost becoming as mal-odorous as the physicians of France under the pen of Molière. At length Mr. Morison gave to the world a practical proof, that a Universal Medicine, composed of Vegetable ingredients, could effect cures when the most talented professors of the healing art had failed of success. Of course, he was assailed, like every other reformer in science, politics, or religion. A Galileo or a Hervey, a Russell or a Luther, could not have been attacked with more impetuosity and rancour. But Mr. Morison has outlived the abuse, and proved how forcibly are facts and good intentions against wedded prejudices and vested interests.

The foregoing remarks are called forth by the proceedings in the *King v. Webb*, which have been trumpeted forth to the public with an intention to prejudice the Hygeists.

In the case alluded to, a young man, who was ill of a malignant small-pox, took some of Mr. Morison's Pills. His friends' prejudices became excited. They applied to a medical man, who adopted a mode of treatment altogether different. The result was—the death of the patient. An inquest is taken, the stomach is found inflamed, and a medical man gives his opinion that death was caused by inflammation, and that the Pills of Mr. Morison are composed of a deleterious drug—to wit, Gamboge, and the vendor of the Pills, Mr. Webb, is convicted of manslaughter.

It is not our province to attack Jurors, Judges, or apothecaries; but we cannot help observing, that a more strange verdict was never heard of. What inference could be drawn unfavourable to Mr. Morison's Pills, when it is evident that the patient had taken other medicines, at variance with his former treatment? We forbear going into further particulars, lest we should be accused of lending ourselves to support one individual at the expense of another. Our remarks apply to the principle of the decision and its unfair deduction.

It is also the severity of the sentence. No ingenuity could fix exclusive blame on one person, when two had been co-operative; where uncertainty prevailed, surely the doubt was entitled to a lenient considera-

tion. "But, then, Mr. Morison's medicine is deleterious," says the country surgeon, "because it is composed of gamboge." This is monstrously absurd. Gamboge is known to be one of the best aperient medicines in use, and is to be found in some of the most valuable prescriptions. Besides it is not the ingredient itself, but its proportions and admixture with other medicines, that establish its value. "Four or five ingredients may be applied effectually to cure all diseases," said an eminent physician; but the question is, how are they to be concocted?

A pamphlet has been put forth, containing the proceedings of a trial in the Court of Common Pleas, in July last (*Purcell v. Stephens and Moat*) for a libel; and much has been attempted to the injury of the cause of Mr. Morison by it. Surely nothing can be more absurd than such an attempt: for the facts, if they apply at all, show the efficacy of Mr. Morison's medicine. The case was this.—A boy, having been held over some offensive matter, became ill in consequence. A respectable country practitioner was called in: but before a final cure was made, a lady of the name of Tomkins recommended Morison's Pills. These were administered, and the patient recovered. Now, this we call a good answer to the case of the *King v. Webb*; but a statement, not strictly accurate, appeared in the *Christian Advocate* newspaper, regarding the latter case, and a verdict of 500*l.* was, in consequence, obtained, under an action for a libel brought by the country apothecary against Messrs. Morison and Moat. Certain it was, however, that the boy had taken the Pills of Mr. Morison, and was ultimately cured by them, as Miss Tomkins believed.

Now, the Americans have shown a much better regard to justice, notwithstanding all the prejudices imputed to them. In the report of a trial in the interior state of New York, wherein James Morison and Thomas Moat were plaintiffs, and Moses Jacques and Jonathan B. Marsh, were defendants, how did that Court dispose of the case? The charge was for counterfeiting and selling a spurious preparation, purporting to be the genuine Hygeian Vegetable Universal Medicine of the British College of Health, London. The jury, after several hours' deliberation, returned a verdict for Messrs. Morison and Moat—damages, 400 dollars.

The Americans have fewer prejudices against novelty than the English. With them it is not necessary for any thing to have existed for a length of time to be appreciated. It is sufficient if it have been tried, in many instances; and with them, one failure, even if it had stood solely on its own basis and without other interference, would not have been considered detrimental, when a thousand instances of cure had been effected.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 86.—No. 6.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8TH, 1834.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



No. VII.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tilth, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

Dublin, 4. November, 1834.

MARSHALL,

I DARE say that my letters have made you stare; but, staring is not all that they ought to make you do: they ought to make you think about how you would like to have a naked wife and children how you would like to have no shoes or stockings, or shirt, and the mud spewing up between your toes when you come down the road to your work of a morning. They ought to make you think about what you shall *do*, *all of you*, to prevent this state of starvation, nakedness, and filth, from coming upon you. Do not think that it is IMPOSSIBLE that it ever should come upon you. Do not think this; for there is no reason for your thinking it. The countries are very close to one another. The county of CORK is but a very little way from God, commands, from one end of it to Somersetshire. I am not so far from you now as I should be if I were at MORTON in the county of Northumberland. The same Ministers and the same Parliament who keep this people in this state, after having got them into it, are the same Ministers and the same Parliament who have the power of sending and of employing soldiers and in England. This misery has been brought to this state by little and little, and for want of beginning in time

to do the things which they ought to have done in their own defence; to make use of the faculties which God has given them; that is to say, in legally and constitutionally, and according to the good custom of our wise and brave forefathers, petitioning the King and the Parliament, and otherwise legally doing that, which the laws of our country bid us do, sanctioned as those laws are by the laws of God.

MARSHALL, I told you that you had as much *right*, as clear a legal right to parish relief; that you had as much right to relief out of the produce of my farm, in case of necessity; in case of illness in your family; in case of inability in yourself to work; or in case of your being unable to get work. I told you that, in either of these cases, you had as clear a legal right to relief out of the produce of my farm, as I had to the rest of the produce; or as Mr. WOODRUFF had to his rent. To *prove* this to you, and to all of you, will require one long letter; and I have not time to write that now; but I will mention a few things just to prepare the way for giving you such proof.

You will observe, MARSHALL, that I shall attempt to say nothing about the matter which I cannot prove to be according to the *laws of England*; those laws which we owe to our wise and resolute forefathers. I could tell you (and Farmer HORNE ought to tell his congregation), that the Holy Bible, which you know, MARSHALL, is the word of God, commands, from one end of it to the other, that the working man shall receive his full hire; that provision shall always be made for those who are too poor to help themselves; that the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger, shall be taken care of, and that all manner of crimes shall fall upon the rich, and not be laid out of them. But I have not time to take care to read to you the long passages of the Holy Testament, in which our Saviour and his apostles warned the rich against

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's court.]

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curses that shall alight upon them, if they despise or neglect the poor. He ought to read to them the fifth chapter of St. JAMES, which begins thus : "Go, you rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you : the rust of your gold and silver shall eat your flesh as it were fire. You have by fraud kept back the hire of your labourers who have reaped down your fields ; and their cries have entered into the ears of the Lord." He should read to them the passage in the 15. chapter of DEUTERONOMY, which tells the farmer, that, when the labourer has served him faithfully for a length of time, and when he sends him away, not wanting him any more, he is not to send him away empty, either as to belly, back, or hands : he should read to them this : "When thou sendest him away thou shalt not let him go empty : thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, out of thy floor and out of thy wine-press. Of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him."

Now, MARSHALL, this is the word of God ; and it is the business of the parsons and of Farmer HORNE to read these things to you and to me, that we may know our duty. It is my duty to give a good and faithful servant plenty of meat from my flock of sheep, or my drove of hogs ; to give them plenty of flour or bread, coming from the wheat that shall be thrashed upon my floor. In the country where God promulgated his law, grapes grow naturally in the fields, and the climate is too hot for the keeping of beer. Therefore, they drank wine, as we drink beer ; and as it was their duty to supply the labourer out of the wine-press, so it is our duty to supply him out of the mash-tub. Not a hint is here given about infamous potatoes and salt. The law of God forbids to muzzle the ox while he is treading out the corn. In those hot countries they make use of cattle to tread out the corn, the corn is so dry. It was, and is, the custom in those countries, to employ oxen, or horses, to tread the corn out, and in order that the farmers should be merciful and just, even to the animals

that they employed, God commands, in the 25. chapter of DEUTERONOMY, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn" ; that is to say, thou shalt not pinch him, thou shalt not take from him a share of that which he has caused to come. And what can be more just than this ? For what would my farm be good for, and how would Mr. WOODRUFFE get any rent out of it, if it were not for the labour that you and the rest of you bestow upon it ; and how are you to perform that labour, unless you have out of it a sufficiency to eat and to drink and to wear ?

Such, then, is a specimen of the laws of God. The laws of England say, that nothing can be law of man, which is contrary to the laws of God. It is the very first principle of the laws of England ; and this principle is laid down by all our great lawyers in all ages, that any rule, regulation, or call it what you will, which is contrary to the laws of God, cannot be law in England. Begging you to bear this in mind ; begging those who can read it, to read it to those who cannot read, I shall conclude for the present, promising you that, in another letter, I will show you, that the laws which were left us by our forefathers, and which are the birth-right of us all, are in perfect agreement with these laws of the King of kings and of the Ruler of the rulers of the earth.

Hoping that you are all well, and that you will not let me see a weed on the farm by the time that I get back ; and in full confidence that no half-drunk and half-mad vagabond will be able to induce anybody to do any thing that shall take away your shirts and your shoes and your stockings, make you live upon tumpers, and sleep upon hog dung, covered over with dirty straw : thus trusting, and trusting also to your own sense and own spirit, to make that lawful use of your rights, which will prevent so great a disgrace falling upon England,

I remain

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO
LORD ALTHORP.

Dublin, 3. November, 1834.

MY LORD,

I THINK the storm is gathering about you now: from every point of the compass the threatening clouds seem to be coming. It was impossible that I should not have been so from the natural operation of the funding and paper-money system, aided and abetted and rendered tenfold more mischievous by the effect of that monstrous bill of 1819, my proposition to censure the principal author of which, you were resolved to prevent from remaining ~~on~~ ^{on} moment on the records of the House, even at the expense of the inviolability of the orders of that House.

But, my lord, completely dismissing from my mind every feeling of displeasure on account of that transaction, and expressing towards you that degree of respect which is due to your high station, and what I sincerely believe to be your good intentions, I cannot say that I see without pleasure the accumulation of embarrassments that now surround you; because I am convinced that there must be some tremendously powerful cause, some terrific peril, in order to produce that great change in the management of our national affairs which is necessary, and absolutely necessary, to the restoration of the happiness of the people, as well as the unequivocal power of the kingdom and the safety of His Majesty's throne; and if any efforts of mine have a manifest tendency to add to your embarrassments, let them; I beseech you, be ascribed, not to want of intention on my part to make such addition, but to a deliberate design to do it from a conviction that nothing but the last necessity will cause you to adopt those measures which experience has taught me are necessary for the deliverance of our country.

I happen to know that your father has always taken and read my *Register*, and carefully preserved it from its very first publication. You must have read it too; and that being the case I need not tell you, that, so early as the year 1803, I not only predicted, but gave

good reasons for my prediction, that, sooner or later, the system of borrowing and of paper-money must bring the nation into the state in which it now is; that is to say, into a state in which (the constitution of England having been by degrees undermined) it should become a question whether the whole of the ancient laws, liberties, and institutions, should be swept away, and all the rights of property along with them; or whether, by one great effort, the Government (including the Parliament and the King of course, and having at their back the really patriotic and forgiving people) should snap in sunder all the trammels of every description invented for the purpose of upholding the system of funding and paper-money, and bring us back to something like the state in which our forefathers left us. If you have read the *Register*, you know that, in this series of one-and-thirty years, I have been constantly warning the Government of the danger of bringing us to this point; and that I have all along been stating unanswerable arguments to show that to this point we must come. And this being the fact, is it being very presumptuous for me to entertain the hope and the expectation that you will be pleased to listen to me now?

Amongst your embarrassments there are some which you and a reformed Parliament could not have wholly avoided. You could not have avoided the monstrous weight of the debt. You found it created. It was difficult for you to know how to mitigate the evil. You found enormous, unnatural, anti-English, and most intolerably burdensome establishments; but their existence was inseparable from that of the debt. You found one half of the community living in idleness upon the labour and the penury and the half-starvation of the other half. You found the labourers of England become, in the course of fifty years, rack-renters of their cottages, instead of the owners of them. You found them stripped of the clocks, the leather beds, the Sunday clothes, the silver buckles, which were their common possession fifty years before. You

found them just in proportion to the degree of their poverty, reckless, disobedient, listless, immoral, dissolute in their manners, disrespectful in their deportment, unskilful in their business, and every way deteriorated. You found the lands of England all worse cultivated than formerly; some of them not half cultivated; others not a third part; and some thrown up to lie fallow; and, which ought to have made you think that tranquillity and such a state of things were utterly incompatible, you found that this want of cultivation arose from the want of labour upon the land, while there was such a surplus of *labourers in the country* as to induce you yourself to bring into Parliament a bill (which was finally passed) to authorize the heads of parishes to raise money by compulsion upon the parishes for the purpose of defraying the expenses of sending able-bodied labourers out of England!

It is recorded of the first Lord MANSFIELD, that, hearing threatening howlings round the court-house, when he was giving his charge to a jury, stopped and said, "We must not mind this, gentlemen, as drunken men are stunned into sobriety, let us with resignation wait for the blow." So say I in this case. If that which I have just mentioned, and the truth of which is well known to your lordship, be not a proof that we want something to stun us into sobriety; into sober thought on the perils that surround us, and into a resolution to do something to extricate ourselves from such peril, I know not what can afford such proof.

The difficulties which I have mentioned, and several others, were, at the time when you took possession of power, unavoidable. They might have been overcome, they may now be overcome; but you could not have prevented their existence. Not so with regard to others. You could not, indeed, have prevented the monstrous abuses in the established church in England as well as in Ireland; you could not have prevented that monstrous abuse which leaves between three and four thousand of the incumbents of the church of England

each with an income far less than that of a journeyman tailor in London, while the revenue of the parishes of which they are incumbents would afford them on an average five hundred pounds a year each, or thereabouts; these revenues being swallowed up by the superior clergy, being in general relations or dependents of the aristocracy. You could not have prevented the *existence* of this most crying abuse; but here was an abuse that you might have corrected in the very first session of the reformed Parliament; and now, owing to your not having done that, this great abuse remains one of your difficulties.

But there are other difficulties created by yourselves, of which I shall mention at present only two, both of which you owe entirely and solely to your having had the weakness to take BROUGHAM for one of your colleagues. It has been the lot of that man to *swamp* whomsoever and whatsoever he was suffered to join with or to touch. Long before your Ministry was formed, or the reformed Parliament made, I said, that if ever he obtained any considerable degree of power in the state, he would swamp first the Ministry to which he should belong; and next, any system which it should not be his object to uphold. Not, I allow, from any bad, or selfish, or mere grubbing design; but from his possession of great powers of talk; from his wild and innovating and perverse opinions; and from that restless ambition which I long ago saw was never to be gratified by anything short of his becoming the new modeller of the world.

The crack-skulled county of York, which WILBERFORCE used to call "a little kingdom," and which is not, as a piece of dominion, worth nearly so much as the county of COAX, which has only six members to represent it, while the crack-skulls have thirty-seven; this crack-skulled county lifted him up, made him a personage before whom you and Lord GAZZ trembled, when you might, with all the safety in the world, have set him at defiance. Having clothed him with the highest honour you had to bestow; having made him a partner,

and a head partner, in power; having given him the means of surrounding himself with greedy and gratified expectants; having, in short, placed yourselves at his mercy, you were compelled to become the foster-fathers of his schemes, or to brave his hostility, together with that of his indefatigable swarm of scribes and their whisperers.

Here we have the source of the NEGRO SCHEME and of the POOR-LAW SCHEME. Can your lordship fail to perceive the terrible difficulties into which these have plunged you; and can you fail to remember the warnings given by me as to both these matters? With regard to the former, I told my constituents that, it being their desire, I would vote for the freeing of the negroes, out and out, at once; but not for the giving of one single farthing of the public money for the purpose of accomplishing that freeing; and your lordship knows that I kept my word most scrupulously. You also know that I warned you and the House of Commons, that the negroes would not work without compulsion; and that any attempt to make them work, without the means heretofore made use of, must be productive of confusion and bloodshed. I am of opinion that England derives no strength and no benefit from the raising of sugar and of coffee in any part of the world; I am of opinion that the benefit of possessing the West India colonies, merely as a military station, is very equivocal; an expansion of dominion tends to the weakness, rather than to the strength, of a kingdom. But, while these might be matters of dispute, it was little short of downright madness to entertain a hope of carrying on the colonies by a system of free labour, at whatever expense such a system might be attempted to be pursued.

It is possible that, after the twenty millions, after expending other millions, with a view of preserving something like order in those colonies, they may be held as dominions of his Majesty, and that bloodshed may in time become less frequent; but that those colonies can be held in future with any advantage to this kingdom, and

without great cost and injury to her, is an opinion that can be entertained in no mind not insane by nature, or not rendered such by the application of laudanum and brandy.

The question of *humanity* is now pretty well settled; more misery has been caused, more blood has been shed already, than would have been shed in all human probability in twenty years without the aid of this mad measure. But, did you not, my lord, in eulogizing that measure, only a few months ago; did you not perceive the effect which it must have in the United States of America, where there are about four slaves for every one that there was in our West India islands, and where slavery must be upheld unmitigated, or where the power and independence of the country must be abandoned? I remarked on that passage in his Majesty's speech to us, in which you had advised him to express a hope that "*other nations*" would follow our example. Most unwise was it to give that advice to his Majesty. It was sure to attract the quick sight of the Americans, who knew well that there was no other nation than their own to whom the remark could apply; who knew well that there exists nothing worthy of the name of slavery in the colonies of Spain, Portugal, or any other country; who knew well, in short, that they themselves were meant; and who would naturally conclude that that measure, which you wished to represent as one emanating from pure humanity, was, in fact, a measure of covert hostility against themselves. Accordingly, they are proceeding with the usual good sense and resolution of that people, to counteract the effects of our measure. It has not required a word from the Government to produce this counteraction; facts, impressing themselves upon sound heads, have told the people what to do; and they have at once, and of their own accord, put to silence even the expression of opinions in favour of an imitation of our scheme. I think, at least I hope, that they overcharge the matter in accusing you and your colleagues of an intention to cause rebellion amongst the negroes in their country;

but it will be very difficult to make any one of them participate in my opinion, or in my hopes, upon this subject; and we may be well assured, that this act, of which we boast as a wonderful act of humanity and generosity, will be treasured up in their minds as an additional proof of that implacable hatred of their institutions, their freedom, and their happiness, of which implacable hatred they had so many indubitable proofs in the reign of George the Fourth, which I have clearly shown in my history of that regency and reign. It is in the character of our Government to be resolved never to see or to hear anything that is disagreeable to it. Your lordship, doubtless, participates in this unfortunate taste; or I would send you an American publication, in which the question is gravely discussed, whether it be not as laudable to raise money in the United States for the purpose of *freeing white persons in an European island* that shall be nameless, as it was to raise money to free *black persons* in the islands of America! Ah, my lord, these wild schemes send us back to *first principles*; set men to thinking, compel them to think, and make them *prepare to act*, in relation to principles which never before occupied a space in their minds.

Beyond, therefore, the mere flinging away of twenty millions of money; far beyond this, and far beyond the loss of the colonies, too, this measure may, and inevitably will, add to the hostile feelings in the United States against this kingdom; and, my lord, do you think that the *burning of the Parliament house*, when the news of that shall arrive in the United States, will not call forth the exclamation of "Ah! that was the house in which George the Fourth bragged of, and in which the members applauded to the echoing of the roof, the *burning of the Congress-house at Washington*?" The shouts of the people of London, the laugh that was heard from Westminster-bridge to the thing called WATERLOO-BRIDGE; the shout after shout that were heard during the progress of the flames; even those shouts were less

stunning than will be the shouts in the great cities of America. "It is nothing," may it please your Majesty, but the "shouting of the foolish soldiers, on Hounslow-heath, for the acquittal of the bishops," said the courtiers to JAMES the Second. "And, do you call that *nothing*?" said the King. He felt that it was *something*; and, if he had *instantly* profited from it, his descendants would now have been upon the throne. It was something, and so was the shout of the people, "that another *POOR-LAW BILL* would never be *passed there*."

This is the other measure which you owe entirely and solely to BROUGHAM. The history of this bill, beginning with the declaration by BROUGHAM, of his readiness to maintain the principles of MALTHUS to their full extent, a declaration made in 1819; the appointment of the commissioners; the character of those commissioners; the appointment of their runners; the character of those runners; the non-official book laid on the table of the House of Commons, a year before the bill itself appeared; the character of that book; the pushing on of the bill to a second reading, before the reports and the evidence were laid upon the table; the pushing of the bill through the House and sending it to the other House before one half of the papers had been laid upon the table; and before it was possible for any one member of the House to have read one tenth part of the papers; the desertion of all its defenders except yourself, who were left at the last discussion with ten speeches against you; not one for you, and you avowing that he must be a bold Minister who would bring in the same bill again; the bare history of this bill would swamp any Ministry that ever existed. It might reel along; but reeling along is not existing; and in that reeling state it has now placed even your lordship, in spite of your character for good sense and integrity.

Your colleague has the quality of being indefatigable in an exemplary degree. As the mountain would not come to MAHOMET, Mahomet went to the mountain; so your colleague, as SALIS-

BURY, with its 11,672 inhabitants, would not come to him, he would go to SALISBURY: as the little town of FAREHAM in Hampshire, with its 1,500 inhabitants, and its "*Mechanics' Institute*," would not come to him, he would go to the "*Mechanics' Institute*" at FAREHAM and almost faint away under the praise of *three-and-forty* young fellows, who were biting their lips to smother a laugh while the Lord Chancellor of England was "*tipping*" them a speech on the blessings of *useful knowledge*. Ah my lord! but it is SALISBURY that presents the melancholy spectacle. He had got upon the back of poor Lord RADNOR, and he stuck to him like a weazel that has its body on the back, and its muzzle in the poll, of a hare. In vain did he flee from London to LONGFORD castle. The poor hare runs with all her might, but at last down she comes. And there is Lord RADNOR; so good, so kind, so considerate, in his nature; so beloved, and so justly beloved, by all around him; brought down to be one amongst a contemptible group of huzzaers, while his pursuer was haranguing them from the window of a *public-house*; and there he is now to exist under the reflections, accompanying the recollection of having been a party in this gotten-up and most ridiculous and contemptible drama, the reporters of the account of which have been hired to suppress the fact, that there were, even at SALISBURY, men with spirit enough to cry, "*We do not want coarser food; put on one of your workhouse dresses*;" and the like. The mayor of SALISBURY acted a very becoming part in refusing the use of the council-chamber to this operator, and it must have been pleasant to my Lord RADNOR to reflect, and to have it known to the whole nation, that he was refused, that such was the objection to his companion that he was refused admission into the council-house, built at the expense of his own father, and given by him to the city, being at the same time his own home, and the place of his birth! Thus it is to endeavour to palm upon the people a man like BROUGHAM. Wealth, ancient family great benevolence in a neighbour-

hood, deservedly high character; these can do much; but even these are not sufficient to bear you up under the swamping weight of such a man as this.

No, my lord, not even you; even you must go down; or get rid of this colleague. He is the weazel, he is the nightmare, he is the indigestion, he is the deadly malady of the Ministry. He swamped Lord GREY, he swamped Lord RADNOR even, which is a great deal more; and he will swamp you, if you do not swamp him.

To conclude, when he was at SALISBURY he ranted away about many things; said how much good he had done, and how much more good he intended to do; did not say anything about *coarser food*, and workhouse dresses, and about separating wives from husbands, and both from children; but said a great deal about *useful knowledge*, and about the numerous good things that he had done; but the main drift of his speech was to make the people believe that he was *remarkable for his CONSISTENCY*. I wonder that my Lord RADNOR was not ashamed to stand and hear this in silence! His neighbours of SALISBURY, he knew well, were incapable of detecting the falsehood; but he himself knew it was a falsehood, and the most glaring and impudent falsehood ever uttered by mortal man. He knew that there were scores of instances of the grossest inconsistency of this very man; and your lordship's memory must be very short if you do not know it, too. If you have forgotten every instance of it, it is necessary that you should have me laid before you at full length, in what I am about to address to the people of SALISBURY, to whom I shall clearly show the consistency, at any rate, of the man whom Lord RADNOR thought proper to bring down amongst them as one worthy of their praise.

I am,

Your lordship's most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW BILL.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF SALISBURY.

How can I sufficiently applaud the conduct of the spirited and humane vestry of the great parish of MARYBONNE I have before me an account of the proceedings of that vestry, or parochial committee, of Monday, the 24. of October. And I have an account of the proceedings of a meeting in that parish of the 13. of October. I beg Mr. WILSON and Mr. LANGHAM to accept of my best thanks for their excellent speeches and statements at those meetings; and for the call that they are making upon the country; not only to petition for a repeal of this bill; but for us, who are not of the aristocracy, to unite together, bind ourselves to one another, and resolve to exercise every right which the law has left us, in order to prevent our earnings from being totally swallowed up. The people of MARYBONNE have set on foot, and are publishing, a paper called the "VESTRYMAN, AND BOROUGH OF MARYBONNE AND FINSBURY GAZETTE," which is published weekly, and sold for twopence. I have desired a friend in MARYBONNE to keep me regularly furnished with this paper, by post. Every parish in England ought to have it. I hope that this *Gazette* will republish all my letters to MARSHALL. I hear with great pleasure, that about a hundred and fifty thousand copies of them are published in London, that is to say, of every number. This must produce great effect in England and Scotland. I have no time to add any thing more than to desire all England, and particularly the people of SALISBURY, to observe, that a COLONEL, whose name is A'COURT, and who is a relation of LORD RADNOR, has been appointed an underling *poor-law commissioner* with a salary of *eight hundred a year!!* A greater sum than the amount of the poor-rates in a couple of considerable agricultural parishes.

MY FRIENDS, *Dublin, 3. Nov., 1834.*

LORD RADNOR has thought proper to bring down amongst you a man of the name of BROUGHAM, who, if we are to believe his own assertion, was born in Scotland, but whose father lived at a little place in Westmoreland, called the "BIRD'S NEST," and which this man calls "BROUGHAM HALL"; a place altogether being not half so big as Lord RADNOR's stable and walled-in garden at LONGFORD Castle. This man was a brawling lawyer for several years, and has now, for the Lord only knows what reason, been made a lord, and Lord High Chancellor. You must have been surprised to see this man brought down to SALISBURY by Lord RADNOR, and to see a Lord High Chancellor with his head out of a public-house window, making a speech to a parcel of men and women and idle boys and girls in the street, and calling them "gentlemen," and Lord RADNOR standing amongst them and huzzaing amongst the rest, especially after you found that the mayor would not let Lord RADNOR and his friend into the council-house, which his father built, and in which he himself is the RECORDER. All this must have surprised you moon-rakers! But it was this fellow's talking to you about his consistency which was the most impudent part of the farce. This man was the real author of the POOR-LAW BILL; in defending that bill, he said that *all poor-laws were bad*; that the poor had *no right to relief*; and you know he had Lord RADNOR's support in the passing of that bill. I will tell you more about this another time; but what I have to do with at present is that consistency of which he bragged, and of which I am going to give you a specimen.

This BROUGHAM, in order to get elected for WESTMINSTER, in the year 1814, gave it under his hand, that he was an advocate for *annual Parliaments*, and for giving a vote to *every man who paid taxes*; that is to say, *every man*, because every man who drinks beer pays

taxes. In 1817 (three years afterwards this same man, when the people were petitioning for annual Parliaments, and this sort of suffrage, he abused them for it, called it madness, ridiculed annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. And he denied that he had ever been in favour of annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. Upon this denial Lord COCHRANE brought into the House of Commons a paper written by his own hand; and then this BROUGHAM shuffled in the shameful manner that I am now about to show you, by inserting an account of the whole transaction, as recorded in my *Register* of Feb. 22. 1817.

I request you to read it all through with attention, and then to remember these three things:

1. That these two men have been fellow-labourers in the Poor-law Bill.
2. That Lord RADNOR was in the House of Commons, and heard pass all that I am about to relate to you.
3. That Lord RADNOR stood amongst the silly rabble, and cheered this fellow when he bragged of his consistency.

I am,
Your faithful friend,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CONSISTENCY OF BROUGHAM.

THE publications, here alluded to, that is to say, publications put forth by Mr. PERRY, purporting to be speeches recently delivered by Mr. BROUGHAM, and levelled immediately at Lord COCHRANE, have contained more bitter attacks on the Reformers than have come from any other quarter. This gentleman has been made to represent annual Parliaments and universal suffrage as the wildest of nonsense, as "*little nostrums and big blunders*"; as mischievous in themselves, and as mischievously intended: as put forth by bad men, and sucked in by foolish men.

After this, and after many direct personal attacks on Lord Cochrane, in the

way above-mentioned, what has been the surprise in London, and what will it be all over the country, at hearing, that Mr. BROUGHAM himself, under his own hand-writing, did most decidedly pledge himself to these very "*little nostrums and big blunders*"! But, let me clearly state the circumstances, under which this decided pledge was given.

About five or six years ago, Mr. BROUGHAM, in a paper which was printed, declared himself hostile to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. But in the month of June, 1814, just at the time when Lord Cochrane was expected to be expelled from the House of Commons, and of course, when a vacancy for Westminster was expected to take place, there were certain individuals, who had formed the design of introducing Mr. BROUGHAM to fill his lordship's place. But there were other persons, who were resolved to oppose the attempt, unless Mr. BROUGHAM would explicitly declare for annual Parliaments and for suffrage co-extensive with taxation; and one gentleman in particular. Mr. PLACE, of Charing Cross, wrote to the friends of Mr. Brougham this determination. Immediately upon this, there was a meeting of the livery of London, to which Mr. BROUGHAM was invited. At that meeting he made a speech, which speech he, two days afterwards, wrote out in his own hand, which so written out in his own hand, was kept by some persons of the Westminster committee, as the pledge of his principles, and which speech, which I have seen in Mr. Brougham's own hand-writing, was in the following words; to wit: "Mr. Brougham returned thanks, and said, that the last time he had met the livery, two years ago, he had declined making professions or promises, because he saw them so often broken; but had desired the livery, if it were worth their attention, to mark his conduct, and if it betrayed his declaration, to punish him next time, they met by drinking to the memory of his departed principles; that time was now come, and he met them without any consciousness of having forfeited their

"favour. These two years had been
 "pregnant with important events; and
 "infinitely various as these were, they
 "all agreed in this, that they had
 "mightily redounded to the honour of
 "the cause, and the confirmation of *our*
 "*principles*. The fundamental maxim
 "of liberty had been solemnly recog-
 "nised in the face of the world, that *all*
 "*power is from the people*; and that
 "they have *a right to choose their go-*
 "*vernment, and dismiss their rulers.*
 "*for misconduct*. They had done so in
 "France, and it was a lesson that could
 "not be forgotten to the rest of Europe.
 "The saying that 'laws are silent in
 "the midst of arms,' had failed for
 "once; and this fundamental principle
 "had triumphed over the triumphs of
 "the allied armies. So much for the
 "honour of the cause. But the princi-
 "ples of reform had been assisted also
 "in their progress. Where is now the
 "*gag*, with which our mouths had for
 "five-and-twenty years been stopped,
 "as often as we have required that Par-
 "liaments should be *chosen yearly*, and
 "that the *elective franchise should be*
 "*extended to all who pay taxes*? We
 "have been desired to wait, for the
 "enemy was at the gate, and ready to
 "avail himself of the discords attend-
 "ing our political contests, in order to
 "undermine our national independence.
 "This argument is gone, and our ad-
 "versaries must now look for another.
 "He had mentioned the two radical
 "doctrines of *yearly election*, and the
 "franchise enjoyed by *all paying taxes*;
 "but it would be superfluous to reason
 "in favour of them here, where *all were*
 "*agreed upon the subject*. However as
 "elsewhere they may speedily be dis-
 "cussed, he should take leave to sug-
 "gest a fact, for the use of such as
 "might have occasion to defend their
 "principles. It was one for the truth
 "of which he might appeal to his ho-
 "nourable friend, the member for Mid-
 "dlesex (Mr. BYNG), who knew as
 "well as he did, that there was a great
 "improvement always observable in the
 "conduct of the House of Commons,
 "towards the *last year of a Parliament*;
 "insomuch, that he had heard it ob-

"served, that *more good was done in*
 "*that year*, than in all the other *five or*
 "*six*. The reason of all this he should
 "not presume to state; but some per-
 "sons were of so suspicious a nature,
 "as to insinuate, that it might be the
 "knowledge of the members, that at
 "the end of that session they must
 "meet their constituents, such of them
 "as had any, and give an account of
 "their trust. He avowed that this fact
 "had been one of the chief grounds of
 "his conviction of the expediency *at*
 "*yearly elections*; and if any one
 "thought this *unsafe*, he should answer,
 "that such frequent recurrence and
 "such extension of the franchise as
 "should accompany it, is the *best check*
 "*upon profligate expense*. If any other
 "check was wanting, it might be pro-
 "vided also. He had talked of such
 "members as had constituents, being
 "reminded of it by the manner in which
 "the toast had been given out by a mis-
 "take, he hoped not an ominous one.
 "It had been said, 'a full, fair, and
 "free representation in Parliament,'
 "leaving out 'the people.' Now this
 "is just what is done *elsewhere*. There
 "is 'a full, fair, and free representation
 "in Parliament,' we need not drink to
 "that. There is a full representation
 "of the *aristocracy*; a fair representa-
 "tion of the *landed interest*; a free
 "representation; a free ingress of the
 "court; but not much representation of
 "the people; *they are left out*, as they
 "were to-day. It *must*, however, be
 "otherwise soon. While they bear the
 "burdens of the state, they *must*, as of
 "*right*, share in its government; and
 "to effect this *reform*, all *good men*
 "*must*, now unite. He lamented the
 "absence of his friends now detained
 "elsewhere; but he knew they would
 "come, the moment their duty per-
 "mitted. Messrs. Whitbread, Brand,
 "Creevey, Bennet, Grattan, Lord Os-
 "sulston, Lord A. Hamilton, he knew,
 "were most anxious to join the meeting.
 "What they were now about he could
 "not precisely say; but he guessed
 "they were not supporting the court at
 "that particular moment.
 "Strange, is it not? And is it not a

pity, that this gentleman should have been exhibited to the world by his friend, Mr. PERRY, as calling annual Parliaments and universal suffrage "little nostrums and big blunders"?

But, I have not yet finished the history of the Westminster seat scheme. That scheme was put aside, in 1814, by that sense of justice and that high sentiment, which led the people of Westminster, to re-elect Lord Cochrane, though he had been expelled by the House of Commons, and the good effects of that re-election they and the whole country now feel. But though frustrated for this time, the connexion was carefully kept up with some persons in Westminster; and, at a meeting in Palace-yard, about a year ago, upon the subject of the property tax, a regular plan was laid, in concert with himself, for introducing Mr. Brougham to the people of that city. He was so introduced: but, it falling to the lot of Mr. HUNT to speak *before* the part of Mr. Brougham came to be performed, the former gentleman so prepared the way for the latter, that he thought it prudent to *withdraw*, and magnanimously to forego the sort of applause which awaited his debut. Mr. Brougham, upon being afterwards reminded of this sudden retreat by Lord Castlereagh, said that he did *not intend to speak* at the meeting, he not being an inhabitant of Westminster. I have it not *under his own hand*, indeed, that he *did intend to speak* at the meeting; but a gentleman, on whose word I can rely, assures me, that Mr. Brougham, (though not an inhabitant of Westminster), did attend at a previous select meeting where the resolutions were prepared, and that it was at that meeting settled that he should speak upon one of the resolutions.

Frightened away from his game here, the gentleman does not seem, however, to have wholly abandoned the chase; for, at a dinner, on the 23. of May last, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, at which dinner I was, the name of Mr. Brougham was inserted in the *list of toasts* immediately after the names of the two members for the city. I, seeing

this name so placed, and finding *Major Cartwright's* name at nearly the bottom of the list, intimated to the stewards, that, unless Major Cartwright's name was placed *before* that of Mr. Brougham, I would *oppose the toast*; and that this alteration *was made accordingly*. Nor did I stop here, for I read to the company at dinner a paper, the purport of which was, that if a vacancy in Westminster should happen, *Major Cartwright, and no other man*, ought to be the person to fill it, and *one of the objects of which paper was well known to be, to guard the city against the schemes and intrigues which had long been going on in favour of Mr. Brougham*. At this dinner, and coming with views similar to my own, was Mr. HUNT; and, one of the committee told that gentleman and me, that though Mr. Brougham had *by letter*, said that he would be at the dinner, he had left word, that if Mr. HUNT came, information should be sent to him of it. We were also told, that such information had been sent to Mr. Brougham; and, in about half an hour afterwards, came an *apology* from Mr. Brougham, saying that he could not attend *on account of his duty in the House of Commons*, a motion of Sir Samuel Romilly's being just about to come on.

I will leave to be judged in what degree these transactions may have given rise to those bitter reproaches, which have been cast on the "*little nostrum and big blunders*" of the "*designing and evil-minded*" leaders of the "*poor, deluded, duped creatures of Reformers*"; and also, in what degree these transactions may have tended to draw forth the imputations cast on the "*prompters and abettors*" of Lord Cochrane. But, I must beg my readers to note the fact; that, *in May last*, Mr. Brougham's hopes as to Westminster were *completely destroyed*; and, I will leave you to judge if you can, as to the *precise time* when the mind of this gentleman returned to its *old state* of dislike to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage.

The above-inserted manuscript speech of Mr. Brougham, was read in

the House of Commons by Lord Cochrane on Monday last; and his lordship did this as he does every thing, in an open and manly manner, and also with great ability and effect. The answer of Mr. Brougham has been published by Mr. PERRY, in these words: 'It had often been observed, and indeed with great justice, that there was not perhaps, *a more painful and irksome situation*, than that where a man was obliged to *speak of himself*. In proportion to that painful situation, and in compassion to it, the indulgence of the House had always been extended, and he hoped it would be so on the present occasion, (Hear, hear, from all sides of the House). He trusted that it would not, however, be thought that he was courting anxiously an opportunity of going into detail, or that on the contrary he wished to avoid such details, for he felt it his duty to say, that he expressed his warmest thanks to the noble Lord for the frank and open manner in which he had afforded him the opportunity of going into the subject. A more groundless aspersion had, he believed, never been brought forward against any individual. He did not accuse the noble Lord, however, or those out of doors, who had put the *brief* into his hands, of uttering any *falsehood* in the statement of which had just been submitted to the House, but he decidedly accused them of *rashness* and *imprudence*, and of not waiting for only a few days longer, when they would have had a full and fair opportunity of hearing his opinions on this most momentous and important subject, and then they would have found whether he was or was not inconsistent. (Hear, hear, hear). Had those out of doors, whose *tool the noble Lord was*, but waited those few days, they would then have known what his real sentiments on the question were, having, as the House well knew, reserved to himself the right of then speaking what he felt on the subject. (Hear, hear). How then could the noble Lord, how could they in whose hands he is, presume to show what

were the opinions he (Mr. B.) had formed on this most interesting question? How do they know that he would not have stated his opinion then in the very terms which had just been read? That they should have ascertained his sentiments was a moral impossibility. (Hear, hear). But the noble Lord had given a misstatement of what took place, and he should now endeavour to give the House the particulars of the case. A dinner was given at the London Tavern to the friends of parliamentary reform, at which he (Mr. B.) attended, with his friend the member for Middlesex, with the late truly respected and much-lamented member for the town of Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), with the member for Hertfordshire (Mr. Brand), and the member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Bennet). In the course of what passed there, some observations fell from him similar to what had been read by the noble Lord. The chief motive he had in correcting what he had there stated, was to prevent the possibility of his words on this dangerous and yet important question being misrepresented. He then said, *or at least meant to be understood as saying*, what he still maintained, that it was consonant to the genius and spirit of the constitution, and expedient in every sense of the word, that the *power of election should be limited to those who pay direct taxes*. He corrected what he had said on the subject, as he was aware of the mistake of reporters. He again repeated, and wished it to be understood, that what he then said the same he now maintained, viz. *that the payment of direct taxes* ought to be the limit of the elective franchise. He did not wish to compete with the noble Lord, but this was his meaning when he so spoke. He should wish to say one word upon what had been said respecting his advocating the cause of a moderate and gradual reform. Six years ago, it would be remembered, he had repeatedly said, both within and without the House, that it would be proper for those who wished for an-

“*nual Parliaments to unite with those*”
 “*who were more moderate, and thus*”
 “*secure a footing. There was no rea-*”
 “*son for their stopping short, and he*”
 “*did not hold it to be inconsistent in*”
 “*the friends of annual Parliaments, to*”
 “*unite with the more moderate Reform-*”
 “*ers, and to obtain, in the first instance,*”
 “*a beginning. This was the opinion he*”
 “*then held, and he had never deviated*”
 “*from it. The noble Lord was much*”
 “*mistaken when he supposed that the*”
 “*mere production of a speech deli-*”
 “*vered by him (Mr. B.) at a tavern*”
 “*would make him swerve from the line*”
 “*of duty merely from the foolish and*”
 “*childish desire of keeping up an ap-*”
 “*pearance of consistency. If he sup-*”
 “*posed him (Mr. B.) to do so, he was*”
 “*much mistaken. The House had*”
 “*heard him declare his intention to re-*”
 “*serve his right of being heard, when*”
 “*the question was brought fully under*”
 “*the consideration of the House, and*”
 “*he could only add, that he would still*”
 “*reserve to himself that right, unin-*”
 “*fluenced by any thing the noble Lord*”
 “*had said. He again repeated, that*”
 “*when he spoke of the extension of*”
 “*suffrage, it should be to those who*”
 “*paid direct taxes only, for he never*”
 “*dreamt of it going further. As to the*”
 “*miserable motives alleged to have ac-*”
 “*tuated him as if he could prostitute*”
 “*himself at one time to deliver opinions*”
 “*which were not the sentiments of his*”
 “*heart, for the purpose of being carried*”
 “*into the House on the shoulders of a*”
 “*rabble (Hear, hear), and at another*”
 “*time to bend to prejudices he might*”
 “*have to contend with in the House,*”
 “*all he should say was, that he treated*”
 “*such charges with the contempt they*”
 “*deserved. The only pain he felt, was*”
 “*when he contemplated the folly and*”
 “*the madness of some wild theorists*”
 “*and the base expedients and false*”
 “*practices they made use of to divide*”
 “*the people from the constitution merely*”
 “*to gratify party purposes, and to com-*”
 “*pass objects in which the good of the*”
 “*country was neglected, while the in-*”
 “*terest of one or two individuals was*”
 “*the all in all. (Hear, hear). This gave*”

him more pain than all the noble
 Lord had said or could say. (Hear)."

There needs little comment. The calling of Lord Cochrane "*a tool*" in the hands of others; the calling the paper a "*groundless aspersion*"; the "*warmest thanks*" to his lordship for bringing forward such aspersions; the "*contempt*" expressed at the imputation of the "*miserable motive*" for making the pledge; the "*disdain*" expressed at the idea of a desire to be carried to the House on the shoulders of a RABBLE"; the assertion about the folly and madness of some wild theorists, who were making use of base expedients and false practices to divide the people from the constitution for he mere private interests of one or two individuals. All these shall pass for what they are worth; and, I fancy, the full value of them will be found in the pity of a nation, naturally good-natured, and never prone to triumph over a fallen adversary.

LORD DURHAM.

TO THOMAS DOUBLEDAY, ESQ.,
 NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

DEAR SIR, Dublin, 3. Nov. 1834.

THOUGH in this country of intense interest, and so well calculated to absorb all the attention and all the reflection that I am master of, I have my eye upon the workings of Northumberland and Scotland, with regard to my Lord DURHAM. I bear in mind what you said in your letter to Mr. RIPPON. I agreed with you in opinion, that Lord DURHAM deserved no confidence at all, and could not possibly have it from any man of sense, until he made some specific declaration; that general professions were not worth a straw; that in himself he had, and he has, no weight at all; that the groups of the old inveterate nobility were all quite beyond all influence possessed by himself; that he was nothing without the people; and that to have the people move even one inch with him, the people must know

for what; I myself wanted to know *for what*, and I could not discover that *for what* in anything that he had said, and surely not in anything that he had *ever done*.

Now, do not cry out, "Nothing contents this COBBETT!" Do not join in that cuckoo-cry. I shall tell you presently that I am now pretty well content with Lord DURHAM; but, for God Almighty's sake, do recollect OLD GLORY; and do, oh! do not forge the citizen King, LOUIS PHILIPPE! Do pray remember what a bawling there was against me, in France, as well as in England, when I denounced that pretty fellow, within one week of his installation. Do recollect that I was pretty nearly a whole year before the main body of this nation, in foretelling what would be the result of his elevation. Recollect that it was not a fortnight before I unveiled the whole matter; showed that his elevation arose from a secret compact with CHARLES the Tenth, and proved that the leaders amongst the Peers and the Deputies were parties to the villanous compact; and predicted that the thing must end in a worse government than that which existed before.

Come, come; let us not be humbugged: let us hope that this Lord DURHAM may be supported for our good; but let us have a *foundation* for that hope, and not hope away, helter-skelter, without consideration, and without asking ourselves *why* we entertain the hope? Nothing has been more common than for bands of tyrants, or public robbers, or political factions; nothing has been more common, than for these, and particularly the latter, when they see that THEY can carry on their work no longer; nothing has been more common than for them to cast out one of the band, make him a patriot, to cajole the people and gather them round him, and by his means, bring them back again and grind them as fiercely as before. Now, do not begin your exclamations about "*never contented*," "*over-suspicious*," and "*liking nobody*," and "*quarrelling with a shadow*"; but, like a sensible man, have patience and bear me out.

What does experience tell us then? To say nothing of NICHOLAS being Emperor, instead of CONSTANTINE; to say nothing of LOUIS-PHILIPPE, now well known to be keeping the nest warm for the other *Bourbon*; let us look a little at home, and see how invariably this game has been played here.

We saw ADDINGTON step into the place of PITT, and carry on the system with new vigour; we saw PITT support him; when he was worn out, we saw PITT come again, and we saw ADDINGTON support PITT. Death came and took PITT away; but even death made no breach in the system; the GRENVILLES had been cast out before by PITT, or had drawn themselves away: the Whigs came in now; but came in with the patriotic GRENVILLES, who had been amongst the creators of the system. Next came the Duke of PORTLAND, with PERCEVAL: the Duke, an old Whig, and an enemy of PITT. Thus it drawled along half Whig, half Tory, till the time of the Duke of WELLINGTON, who was a stranger, as it were, to politics; and now how stands it? Even the reform has made no change in this respect. PALMERSTON had been cast out by WELLINGTON; and there he is in the new set. And my Lord ALTHORP himself, what, I should like to know, of a politician is he, other than an old Pittite? His father came off as a detached branch of the Whig faction to the support of the Tory faction, when the whole system was in danger: Lord ALTHORP himself, as a member of the House of Commons, supported the Pitt system: he is now supporting it in another character, that is all: to use the expression of the old hack, BURKE, "he varies his means to preserve the unity of his end"; aye, my friend, and that end is, keeping the people in subjection, and taking from them their earnings so as to leave them only just enough for them to live and work upon.

Even royalty itself furnishes us with these detached patriots; and this is well worthy of your attention at this time. Remember that, in the time of George the Second, his son and heir (father of George the third) was always a patriotic

opponent of the court. It is well known to ourselves, that Big George the Fourth was the patriot *par excellence*, was always making complaints of his father, and his father of him. When he came to the regency and the throne, he had no son to be a patriot; but he had brother SUSSEX to be opposed to his Ministry all his life; and there is brother SUSSEX now opposed to the Tories, though no one knows that the court is not in their favour.

Come, come, then; let the rest of the nation; let the whole world be humbugged; but make an exception, O God! in the town of NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

But, now, do I then believe that Lord DURHAM is insincere in his declared wishes for triennial Parliaments, householder suffrage, and voting by ballot? Do I believe that he is a hypocrite to the extent of declaring what he declared at GLASGOW? Now, my answer is this: I do not, and cannot, know enough of Lord DURHAM to say positively what I believe upon the subject. I very well remember that he, when in the House of Commons, proposed householder suffrage, and triennial Parliaments; but this it is that puzzles me, that he, while he applauds Lord GREY, from whom he knows the people tore by violence even a ten-pound suffrage, that he should make this profession of wishes, and at the same time, bid us applaud Lord GREY. I do not say, and it would be unjust in me to say it, that the *whole band*, seeing, at last, that they cannot longer push on the system; learning, and especially from the indications at the blaze at Westminster, that they have completely lost the hearts and the confidence of the people; that the people have entirely escaped from their powers of deception; I do not say, that the whole band, perceiving that the people have left them, *have detached him out to lure them back*; and that he is now playing the part of an instrument appointed for this purpose; though this has been done before in so many cases, still I do not say this of Lord DURHAM, or say that I think it of him. I would feign hope that it is not

so; and I think it judicious in the people of GLASGOW to do what they have done: all that I ask is, of them and of you of NEWCASTLE, that you will move no further than the people of GLASGOW have already moved, until DEEDS shall come to make good these professions.

There is another view to take of this matter. The bringing forward of Lord DURHAM, and supporting him in the manner so efficaciously begun at GLASGOW, is a mode of attacking and pulling down ANOTHER MAN, who is now pretty generally disliked as well as condemned, and who is supposed to be working his way into the support of the Tories. Now, as to this matter, I put his question to myself: "*Is it for the good of the country that we pull down that other man?*" When the round-robin of the members of Parliament had been signed to keep Lord ALTHORP in his place, I asked a member what could have induced him to sign it, I knowing that this was one of the members who had voted for a repeal of the malt-tax, and who was opposed to the Poor-law Bill. His answer was, that ALTHORP, at any rate, was an *honest man*, and a man of *excellent character*. "That," said I, "is the very reason why I wish him out: it is that accursed *good character* which makes us pay malt-tax, and makes people vote for this Poor-law Bill. It is the *system* that I want to see changed, and, for that reason, I want to see it in such hands as to cause it to be abandoned by good men." Now, sir, the man whom you are seeking to pull down with so much eagerness, is the man of all men to pull down the system itself; and from the bottom of my soul I believe, that if he were to become the Prime Minister, we should have every thing that we want in a short space of time; that, like HERCULES, he would lay about him, and finish his labours at last in somewhat the same way, in which that famous destroyer of monsters took his leave of the world. It is well enough to talk and to write about an amelioration of the system; but, when we speak frankly to one another, we all say that there must be an uprooting, before we can

come back to any thing like the ancient government of England; before the national power can be restored and the safety and honour of his Majesty's throne secured. I want to see all the innovations completely swamped; and my opinion is that this is the man to swamp them. Push him, however, by all means; drive him about to SALISBURY and FAREHAM, and to mechanics' institutes at MANCHESTER, or anywhere; push him hard; make him begin to feel, or fancy his seat insecure. In proportion as he thinks that, he will become desperately patriotic; he will pour out reforms upon us, I'll warrant you; he will *out-bid* my Lord DURHAM; and as at an auction, there is no respect of persons, I am for the highest bidder; and as I am satisfied that the owner of the *bird's nest* could have more got out of him than the owner of the coal-mines, I, as at present advised, do declare, that I am for the former, thanking the latter, very sincerely, for the aid that he has given us in keeping up the biddings.

These, dear sir, are my sentiments upon the subject; and I have communicated them to you in this manner as a mark of my personal respect, and of my admiration of your public spirit and very great talents. With the best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the excellent people of GATESHEAD and NEWCASTLE,

I remain
Your faithful and
Most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

GARDEN AND FIELD SEEDS.

I COULD sell some now; but I am so circumstanced as to render it very inconvenient to me to do it before the 1. of January, which is quite soon enough. One great object in my having a farm was, to have the means of raising genuine seeds; and to have them in such quantities as never to be tempted to sell any seed that I was not sure would grow, and not disappoint the purchaser. To raise perfectly good seed; to have ex-

traordinary produce from plants of all sorts, has been the great delight of my life, and it sticks to me to the last. Never was schoolboy more eager to get from school to play, than I am to get from the Parliament House to the fields of my own corn, cabbages, turnips, mangel wurzel, and beds of all sorts of seeds. This is no harm, but good, even to the politics. The contrast is so great that to move from one to the other seems like a complete new creation of faculty: at any rate, I drive both the concerns on at some rate or another. The maxim that, "if the devil find a man idle, he is sure to set him to work," has no terrors for me; being always at one or the other, and coming *fresh* at each; so that, in spite of age, the vigour always remains.

To speak as a seedsman, I shall have, on the 1. of January and thereafter, until the next June, Swedish turnip seed, red and white mangel-wurzel seed, cabbage seed, carrot and parsnip seed, and all other garden seeds, which I shall sell at Bolt-court, in bags of two sizes, the large ones for a pound, the small ones for ten shillings. Those who dislike the seeds on account of the politics, must go elsewhere and take their LUCK; those who are not quite fools enough for that will, if they choose, buy my seeds, and if they do not choose, they will let it alone. I reckon *cabbage seed* amongst field seeds. I have, perhaps, about two hundred weight, saved this year. I will sell none of it under eight shillings a pound. One pound is enough for any farm in England; and if two hundred sensible farmers could see my cabbage-fields, and see the troops of cattle and of hogs that are kept upon them, they would, if I were so unreasonable as to demand it, freely give five pounds for every pound of the cabbage seed. It is now more than seven years since I began to bestow the infinite pains which I have bestowed in the raising of these seeds. In coming to Ireland I stopped two nights at BIRMINGHAM, and went to see the farm of Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, at KING'S NORTON; and there I saw seven acres of ground, which I saw a sort of swampy meadow three years

before; but which has since been trenched on my plan, as directed in my gardening book, and my book called the "WOODLANDS"; a larger crop of vegetables than I think I ever saw on any one seven acres in my life. A part of this crop consisted of cattle-cabbages which were planted at four feet apart each way; and the main part of which I am satisfied, weighed *twenty pounds each*. Upon a statute acre there would be two thousand seven hundred and twenty cabbages, which, at twenty pounds each, would weigh twenty-three tons and about seventeen hundred weight. I am against these large cabbages. They were sowed in August, 1833; they were planted out in February or March, 1834. They are fit to use now. I planted out comparatively small garden cabbages in the middle of March; I began feeding with the white loaves on the 1. of June. In some part of the ground I pulled up the stumps, and in other parts of it I cut off the heads and left the stumps standing; and I kept feeding with the loaves until about the 24. of August. Now, mind, my rows were four feet one inch and a half apart, in order to bring four of them within a rod; so that, the cabbages being at fifteen inches apart in the row, here were fifty-three cabbages upon a rod, instead of *seventeen* cabbages upon a rod. The average weight of my cabbages was five pounds. There were many that weighed ten; but also many which did not weigh five. I do, however, understate the weight, when I say an average of five pounds. Here, then, were 8,480 cabbages upon the acre, which, at five pounds a cabbage, make 42,400 pounds weight; or *nineteen* tons, all but sixteen pounds.

Now observe, while cabbages are in the seed-bed they take up no room and cost nothing; when planted out they occupy ground. Mine went out at the time that Mr. MARTIN's did; but mine were ripe and consumed before his could be touched; and what followed upon this same ground? My plough was constantly going as fast as weeds appeared between my cabbages. When the first rows were cleared off the plough went

again and re-formed the ridges, and other plants came and supplied their place; and before I left home, which was on the 9. of September, this new plantation was loaved, white fine cabbages, ready to be begun upon, from plants which were actually sowed on the 24. of May. Being short of plants I did not follow up throughout the piece, but left the stumps, as I said before. Those stumps have now, I hear, plenty of white loaved cabbages upon them, some of them three or four upon a stump. The young plantation is following regularly on; and this second crop upon the same ground in the same summer will be, I believe, full as large as the first. This crop will be followed by plants which will have loaves *by the latter end of April*; so that the next year there will be four crops of cabbages upon the same piece of ground, or upon any other piece of ground that I choose to select for the purpose; and, at the very lowest estimate, the acre of ground will produce sixty tons of cabbages, without a weed or a bit of grass ever being seen in the ground.

I ordered two rows, the stumps of which to be saved, of this second crop of cabbages. Each row contained about five hundred plants. I had seen them twice every day for a month or six weeks; but after I was ready to come away, I went a quarter of a mile to take one more look at them, and I could not discover one single plant which, whether in stump, height, form, hardness of loaf, or any other point, differed from any other one in the whole thousand plants, though the plants had been taken promiscuously out of the bed in which they were sowed. I was very proud indeed of this. I had saved the seed at KENSINGTON with pains, and with a degree of care and anxiety such as no one could conceive; but it is worth all he pains and all the care. And it is an encouragement for any other man to do he same. When I get upon these subjects I am what the French call a *bavard*; but these are matters that we ought to talk of; and at any rate the talking of them can do my readers no harm.

The cattle-cabbage, besides its yielding but one crop in the year, on the same land, comes only in November and the winter; and it is in the summer that you want cabbages much more than in the winter, when you have Swedish turnips and mangel wurzel. The cabbages come in *summer*, as well as spring and fall, and keep your cattle out of the meadows: and, besides all this, there is the *superior quality* of the small cabbages; which, I believe, is very nearly two to one, though the half-drunken laudanum-drenched, and quarter-partinsane Scotch may, perhaps, messing up politics with agriculture, think that reducing the cattle even to a *coarser sort of food* will tend "to save the estates of the landlords!"

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

THIS work is now completed and published in two volumes, in the most perfect manner possible, with chronological table and index. *YOUNG MEN, read it!* and then you will not be humbugged! Then you will see all about the hero of WATERLOO; and all about the million and a half of taxes which that fine victory has saddled us with, *annually*, for ever; then you will see how this nation has been hoodwinked and deceived. Then you will see the cause of all the troubles, amongst which the THING is now reeling about.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book of mine has been republished at NEW YORK, and has been driving the rag-rooks to madness. The booksellers of PHILADELPHIA; all hung upon the hooks of NICHOLAS BIDDLE; every man of them an accommodated insolvent; have *held a meeting*, and have "*voted unanimously*," that none of them will sell the book! Whom God means to destroy, he first makes mad. Here, too we see the rum and the laudanum and the insanity at work; for is it possible that these supreme jackasses can fail to perceive, that not only will the book sell

the more, and ten times the more, taking the country all through; but that it will be sold the more even in the city of PHILADELPHIA itself, and under the nose of NICHOLAS BIDDLE himself, and of his London associates, Oh! what a glory to me, that I am able to drop the hot lime upon the backs of these devouring slugs, even from such a distance: that, sitting quietly at my farm, amused with the chirping of the birds in the day, and lulled to sleep by the carolling of the nightingale, I am able to drive to distraction the bands of fraudulent scoundrels, who are plundering my kind and hospitable friends, the farmers of America!

THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE.

TO MR. STAUNTON, OF THE MORNING REGISTR.

Dublin, 29. October, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I have read in that corrupt and all-corrupting paper, the London Times of the 27. of this month of October, one of the most, if not the most, infamous of the publications that I ever read even in that paper, which I have known for thirty years to be engaged, with very little exception, in the support of every species of corrupt government, and in advocating every measure of oppression and tyranny, always relying for its reward on the base, money-loving, monopolizing plunderers of the people in and about London. The article to which I allude relates to that which is now, with great propriety, called "*THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE*." Under other circumstances, I might have been excused for contenting myself with a bare expression of my abhorrence of this instance of the villany of this paper. But the circumstance in which I am now placed having given me a perfect knowledge of all the facts relating to this matter, it would be a shameful abandonment of my duty not to endeavour to remove from the minds of the people of England the impressions which the audacious falsehoods of the above-named paper are calculated to produce in those minds. This I shall

now do; and the object of this letter to you is to request that you will be pleased to circulate my address to my countrymen through your paper, I having no other means of doing it in so speedy a manner.

I am, sir, your obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE SENSIBLE AND JUST PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

MY FRIENDS,—I have this day read an article in that paper which I have long called the "bloody old *Times*," relative to what is called "THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE," that is to say, a yearly contribution or subscription, which the people of Ireland voluntarily make, to be paid to Mr. O'Connell, as compensation for his devoting his whole time, not only to serve them in Parliament, but to serve them with his pen, and by his personal interference on all occasions in their behalf, and by the unpaid-for application of his legal knowledge for their interests and their protection. This tribute amounts to about 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* a year. You should be informed that Mr. O'Connell is, without dispute, the greatest lawyer of his country; that he has four sons, three of whom are members of Parliament; that he has daughters; that, in short, he has a large family; and that probably the estate which he inherited might not exceed the reasonable wants of such a family in the most retired life. Circumstances placed him at the head of the cause of Ireland; his superior talents, joined to his zeal, his activity, his great sobriety, his astonishing industry, and, above all, his public virtue, and hatred of the oppressors of his country, made him be in a situation either to abandon the cause of his country, or to abandon his profession, with all the immense advantages which must have accrued from his pursuing that profession, not only to himself, but to every branch of his family. A long while he endeavoured to pursue his profession, and be the pleader of the cause of his country at the same time.

To adhere to both was at last found to be impossible; he chose to adhere to the cause of his country; the people well knew that he could not do that with efficiency even for them, unless they gave him something like a compensation; they knew that he must be utterly unable to uphold an expenditure absolutely necessary to their interests, as well as to his own support, unless they came to his aid with pecuniary means.

The people of Ireland considered, too, not what he actually lost by adhering to their cause, but *that which he might have gained by ceasing to devote himself to it*; and I beg you, my friends, to pay attention to this part of the subject. Not to suppose it possible; I say supposing it to have been *impossible*, that any earthly consideration could have induced him to have betrayed the interests of his country, to have done that which so many others have done, and who ~~are~~ called honourable, and noble too; to suppose that he could have abandoned the cause of Ireland, joined with her foes, become one of her grinding oppressors, one of the councillors for cruelty to be inflicted on her, and to have received, as his reward, an earldom perhaps, if nothing more, together with many thousands a year; to be, in short, one of those one hundred and thirteen privy councillors whom Sir James Graham showed to receive 650,000*l.* amongst them; to have had his sons rolling in wealth, if not ennobled too, as well as himself; and to have been drawing altogether out of your industry, as well as the industry of the people of Ireland and Scotland, probably 100,000*l.*

year for himself and the branches of his family. Without supposing it possible for his nature to have permitted him to be capable of perfidy so atrociously ferocious as this, though precedents were so abundant before his eyes; without supposing this *possible*, still, far short of this, he might be quietly and by degrees sinking away from his exertions for the people, have jogged along, like a horse in a mill, and have placed all his sons in posts of emolument, with cool professions of love of

Ireland still on his lips, and without him or any one of those sons doing any one thing on which a charge of perfidy or inconsistency could have been founded and brought home to them. He had, in short, the three things before him : perfidy to the people of Ireland, and rewards without measure ; drawing off from their cause, honours of his profession, and riches greater than any family could need ; casting aside every thing for the sake of Ireland, and relying on the justice of his countrymen for support. He, to his eternal honour, chose the latter ; and the people of Ireland, to their great honour, and to the burning mortification of their foes, are doing him that justice which he expected at their hands.

Now, my friends, this is the case. Be pleased to pay attention to this statement of the case, and to bear it always in mind during the observations which I am now about to address to you. The sum collected is much about that which I have stated above ; and I am assured, and I believe, that it is no more than sufficient, without any profusion on the part of any of his family—who, you will perceive, are all *proscribed*, through every department in life, where the influence of this powerful Government prevails—without any profusion on the part of himself, or any of his family, I am assured, and I believe, that this sum is no more than sufficient to defray the cost to him of his never-ceasing labours for his country.

You will easily suppose that it must be a prime object with the sons and daughters of corruption, with those who wish Ireland to be kept in the state which I have described to you in my letters to my labourer, Marshall ; who wish that the great landowners of Ireland may continue to draw away all the fruits of this fine country, while those who till the land are driven to live upon food worse than that of the hogs which they rear to be sent away ; who wish that even the farmers of Ireland to be a great swarm of beggars, not tasting meat nor bread from year's end to year's end, and the greater part of them clothed worse than

the common beggars in England ; who wish that the landowners of Ireland may still possess the power of driving the people off the land of their birth, and compelling them to perish with hunger, and with cold on the bare ground, or to go to foreign lands there to perish, or perish on board a crowded and filthy ship ; who wish that the people of Ireland may still be compelled to render tithes to a church to which they do not belong, and which they hold in abhorrence. To all these, my friends, you must be satisfied that this tribute to Mr. O'Connell is something that sears their very eye-balls, something that mortifies them to the very soul, a thing for which they would murder all the good and sound people of Ireland if they could, seeing, as they clearly must see, that it is an indication of the resolution of the people of Ireland to act upon the principles inculcated by the man to whom they pay the tribute. Not being able to poison or cut the throats of these people, and knowing that they are beyond the reach of their atrocious calumnies, they, acting on the system of "centralization," collect all the malignity into one phial, and pour it out upon the head of Mr. O'Connell himself ; not perceiving (for God has been pleased to put folly into the same animal where malignity has found its seat) ; not perceiving that this pouring out upon Mr. O'Connell is the surest possible way of convincing the people of Ireland that they are acting wisely as well as justly. "*Love your enemies*," coupled with the conditions clearly implied, is a precept that ought always to be obeyed ; but "*love those whom your enemies hate*," is a precept full as wise and as just. It is an unerring guide, and one that we should always take care to have before us. If there be men who do not disguise their wishes to make you slaves and to plunder you, and if these men call upon you to suspect and to deride some other man, common sense tells you, without any circumstance to assist it, that you ought to cling closely and firmly to that man. The fable tells us, that the wolves were engaged a long time in endeavours to DEVOUR THE

SHEEP, one or two of whom they now and then got at and tore to pieces. But the dogs so bravely defended the flock that the wolves were compelled to desist from further hostility and further devourings. The latter, therefore, getting into a parley with the sheep, persuaded them that it was the dogs who had been the cause of all that had taken place before, and that if they would but get rid of the agitating dogs, the wolfish and sheepish nations might live in quiet for ever after. The silly sheep, agreeing to the proposal, bade the dogs go away, and these latter had hardly got out of sight, when all the noble family of wolves rushed down from the woods, tore the sheep to pieces, ewes, lambs, and all. My friends, we were taught when we were boys, to believe the Irish to be *wild*. *Wild* as they may be, they are not so silly and so ungrateful as the sheep were. The bloody old *Times* newspaper calls upon them to get rid of their dog; this base and boisterous herald of the merciless sons and daughters of corruption, this barker to that band of devouring wolves is howling to the people of Ireland to abandon, or to cripple, to muzzle, to knock the teeth out of the faithful guardian of this flock of oppressed people; but I can assure you that it howls in vain; that its howlings have no other effect here than that of making the people cling more closely to Mr. O'Connell; that these howlings can do him harm only in your estimation; and it is my business to prevent them from doing even that, by the statement which I have already made, and by the remarks which I am about to subjoin, on the infamous article of which I have spoken.

In this article it said that Mr. O'Connell is looked up to only by the wretched mob of Ireland; that the Irish people have no affection for him; that "*they give their mite from the fear of mortal violence from his hired ruffians*," and "*from the dread of excommunication from their own priest-hood*"; that "*it should be remembered that the miserable, houseless, ragged, hungry, perishing creatures, without potatoes to eat, or assets*

"wherewith to buy a coffin, are forced contributors, and that in numberless cases, they are not only importuned for the tax with barbarous eagerness, but it is wrung from them with outrageous and brutal violence, even by the cudgel, while their babes are gasping for food; and that this man's heartless rapacity is as disgusting as his inhuman treachery."

I will stop here to observe, that miscreant as this writer is, despised as he will be by you, without any inquiry at all into the facts, execrated as he will be by every Irishman who is not a villainous plunderer, it does not follow that, while there is law, or something called law, to punish those who indiscreetly defend Mr. O'Connell when aspersed; it does not follow that Mr. O'Connell is not for once in his life to appeal to an English jury, to say whether infamies like these are to be poured out with impunity. I will engage to bring a thousand witnesses from Ireland, that I myself have spoken to, who will swear to the falsehood of every fact that is here alleged. The libeller adds to the last words that I have quoted, these words: "*Towards Harding Tracey, who for him was sacrificed and his family starved*"; so that there is a direct and tangible charge of having sacrificed a man and his family by inhuman treachery. That the charge is most infamously false, I need tell nobody that knows Mr. O'Connell; and I need tell no Englishman of common sense of justice, that the making of this charge is a crime, to be punished by the law, while there is any thing like law left in the land. Leaving this matter, as indeed I must leave it, to the decision of Mr. O'Connell himself, I now proceed to make a few remarks on the passages that I have quoted.

And, first let me ask, what sort of readers those must be whom this man thinks likely to believe that money can be forced, even by the cudgel, from those who have not potatoes to eat? Those who can be made to believe that will set at naught the old maxim, "*that money is not to be gotten out of a flint stone.*"

With regard to the rest of the assertions in this article, though not so *necessarily false as this*, they are really false. The money is contributed without the smallest degree of constraint of any sort; it is contributed by persons of some property, generally; a large part of it by persons who may be properly enough called gentlemen; and, so far from its being given from the dread of displeasure of the *priesthood*, and of the consequences of that displeasure, the priesthood have had nothing to do with the matter, any more than any other persons in their rank of life. The Catholic chapels are the places for collection, as being the most convenient and less expensive. In some very few instances the priesthood deem this an improper use to make of the chapel; but they were induced to give way by the universal expression of the sentiments of their flocks. And it is a great mistake to suppose that the Catholics are the only contributors. A considerable portion of the sum is contributed by Protestants. There are instances in which Protestants are, by invitation, the collectors at the Catholic chapels. I myself was walking with a Catholic parish priest the day before the collection, that is to say, on the 25. of October, when he received a letter from a Protestant gentleman, which he opened, in my presence, containing two pounds towards the "tribute," the letter stating that the writer thought it the duty of every Irishman, who had the means, to do his part in making the contribution as large as possible.

So that the whole of this statement, made to you by this infamous newspaper, is atrociously false from the beginning to the end. This writer says, that the people of Ireland have "no affection for him." When we speak of affection, as applied to persons with whom we never come in immediate contact, we mean to say, very great regard, anxious wishes for the party's health and happiness; when a people entertain these feelings towards any man, we properly enough say they have an *affection* for him; and, taking this to be the true interpretation of the meaning of the word, if

ever there were a people who had an affection for a man, this people have an affection for Mr. O'Connell. In Dublin, after my entrance into it, I had 30 or 40,000 men standing before me. They applauded me; but they did not separate without making the street ring with their cheers for O'Connell. I was conducted into Cork by not less than 80,000 persons. They frequently cheered me; but as frequently gave "Cheers for O'Connell"; and the last act, when they separated in the great street in Cork, was "three cheers for O'Connell." Just the same took place at Limerick, and at Kilkenny, at Waterford, at Clonmell, and even in all the smaller towns and in the villages wherever I have seen 20 persons assembled together, and have been an object of their attention myself, I have invariably heard their cheers for O'Connell. But it strikes me to mention that even out of Ireland there have been and constantly are marks of this affection. In London, a very considerable sum was subscribed to present him with a piece of plate. It cannot be said that he had any "hired ruffians" there with "cudgels" in their hands, to compel the Irish to subscribe. His cudgel-bearing ruffians will hardly be believed to be at New York; yet two hundred pounds were sent from that city to Mr. Barrett, because he suffered imprisonment for an alleged libel attributed to Mr. O'Connell.

Now, my friends, if these be not proofs of *affection* towards Mr. O'Connell, there are no such proofs to be found, and there is no such thing as national affection. Nor is this affection the effect of delusion, or the effect of what this beastly writer calls *infatuation*: it is founded in sense and in virtue; it is founded in a deep sense of the gratitude due to past services, and in a conviction that if the lot of Ireland be to be made better, Mr. O'Connell is the man to effect that object, which, while it must be desired most anxiously by every humane person on the face of the earth, comes home so closely to the bosom of every Irishman, from the highest to the lowest. In short, and to conclude, if the Irish people were not to do the very

thing which this prostituted English newspaper so calumniously condemns, they would deserve, not that which they now suffer; for no human beings can deserve that; but they would deserve to linger along without hope of amendment. This they do not deserve, and this I am sure they will not deserve; and I have very great pleasure in assuring you that the calumnies heaped upon their champion will, so far as they have any effect at all, tend to augment the amount of the "tribute," rather than to diminish it.

I have not seen Mr. O'Connell, nor any one of his family, since I came to Ireland, except his son-in-law, Mr. Fitzsimon; but, never forgetting the support that I myself have received from him, were there no other consideration, I should have acted a very base part if I had not, the moment this vile libel reached my eyes, addressed you upon the subject in the manner that I have here done.

WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. STAUNTON, OF THE MORNING REGISTER,

SIR, *Dublin, 31. October, 1834.*

I thank you for having inserted in your excellent paper of yesterday my address to my countrymen on the subject of the abominable slanders against Mr. O'CONNELL and the Irish public, contained in the London *Times* newspaper of the 27. of October. It would have been very pleasing to me to have stopped here; to have confined myself merely to my thanks for this act of kindness on your part. But, sir, you published at the same time a short commentary; but short as it is you have done positive injustice to *my countrymen*, and not very clear justice to *myself*. This is what I think; and it has never been a practice with me to smother my thoughts in a case where I dared utter them. I do dare to utter them now; and, first quoting the commentary itself, I will make a few short observations upon it, which I trust you will have the goodness to lay before the

public. The commentary is in the following words:

"MR. COBBETT—THE O'CONNELL TRIBUTE.—The people of Ireland will feel themselves bound to Mr. COBBETT in new ties of gratitude for the chastisement of ENGLISH FALSEHOOD and INSOLENCE contained in the present number of the *Morning Register*. Often has that SINGULAR writer excited our admiration by the vigour and readiness of his pen, but never, certainly, on any occasion more remarkably than the present."

Now, sir, I have very seldom known any Englishman, especially when in another country, so base as to hear England attacked without an endeavour to defend her; and to me this accusation never could be applied; under all circumstances, whether at home or abroad; whether under the iron persecution of the Government or not; though exposed to all the evils of poverty; though tempted by all the allurements of certain prosperity; I have never failed to adhere, not only to my legal allegiance to my country, but have always made her character, her good or ill name inseparable from my own. I have always resented, as an attack upon myself, every species of attack made upon my countrymen in general; every attack upon the English name, as an attack upon the name of WILLIAM COBBETT; and, sir, in this I have found imitators, or co-operators more properly, in all my countrymen; and the poorer they have been, the more true I have found them to their country, though far away from her and doomed never to see her again. You, sir, have attacked the English character, and here am I to resent that attack, and to prove that my resentment is just.

You say, sir, that the vile article in the *Times* newspaper, the chastisement of which by me, "binds the Irish people in new ties of gratitude" to me; you say that this mass of calumny on Mr. O'CONNELL is "ENGLISH falsehood and insolence." Now, sir, it is IRISH falsehood and insolence, and not one particle of it English. The vile article itself, besides being manifestly

the production of an Irish pen, nothing more than an amplification of a letter from an *Irish correspondent dated in Dublin*, published in that very same number of the vile *Times* newspaper. I pray you, sir, look at that letter from Dublin. I pray you to observe that the whole is of Irish origin, and not the work of any of my countrymen; and then, I will not doubt that you will publicly retract your unjust accusation against them.

It is truly curious, that, in this very identical number of your paper, containing this charge relative to English falsehood and insolence, you should publish from under the pen of Mr. O'CONNELL himself, that complete refutation of the infamous falsehoods relative to Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON, and to his pretended crouching to the Attorney-General. I am truly curious that you should have published this in this very same paper, and have sent through the world, from under the pen of Mr. O'CONNELL himself, the statement of the fact, that the mean and treacherous miscreant, who has hatched and promulgated the worst of lies against him, through the *Observer* newspaper, is a *renagado Irishman*! And this you send forth to the world in the very paper, in which you call the calumnies of Mr. O'CONNELL proceeding from *another Irish pen, English falsehood and insolence*.

It is a sorrowful truth, sir, but it is a truth; and if the promulgation of it, by the means of my pen, be disagreeable to you, I beg to observe, that you will have yourself to thank for it. It is a sorrowful truth that the worst enemies of Ireland have been and are Irishmen; and this remark applies particularly to the writers for the press. Not only the wretches who are writing in the *Observer*, and who are supplying the *Times* newspaper with the calumnies afore-mentioned, are Irish renegades; but the editor of the *Standard*, of the *London Morning Post*, of the *London Morning Advertiser*, commonly called the *tap-tub*, of that contemptible heap of filth called the *Globe*, all of them continually abusing Mr. O'CONNELL, and representing the Irish as a

mad mob, whom it is necessary to coerce; every one of these men are Irishmen; the *John Bull* is under the sole direction of an Irishman: that same Irishman is the director and principal writer of the political part of the *Quarterly Review*. Now, here is the great body of literary stuff that is constantly at work against the character, the freedom, the rights, and the happiness of Ireland; and it is all Irish born and bred. On the other hand, there is the *Morning Herald*, there is myself, who, though little, tell for something at any rate, there is the *Morning Chronicle*, there is the *Weekly Dispatch*, (circulating more than all the Dublin papers put together), there is the *True Sun*, there are several weekly papers of immense circulation, there is the *Examiner*, a paper of long standing, and always of great talent; there are not less than two hundred provincial papers. Now, sir, of all these papers, not one out of twenty ever contains an article of foul attack upon Mr. O'CONNELL, or of inhuman assault upon the Irish people, except by chance such article may have been copied from the pens of the Irish hacks in London. The truth is, these papers are owned for the greater part by Englishmen, some few by Scotchmen; and none of them are so foolish and so base, as to have in their employ renegadoes from Ireland. Besides which, as far as relates to the provincial papers, (some of which, such as the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Salisbury Journal*, and the *Sherborne Mercury*, have ten times the effect of any London paper), these papers are, in point of locality, unfitted for the debauched and hired renegadoes before-mentioned. This, then, is the *English press*; and not that part of it of which the *Times* and *Observer* are specimens, and which exist by corruption, and find, as their fittest tools, the renegadoes from Ireland.

Sir, I have always lamented these attacks, made upon my countrymen by Irish writers; and I have frequently felt deep resentment on account of them. A little time to think has convinced me of the injustice of visiting upon already ill-

treated Ireland the effects of resentment excited by these *indiscreet* (to use the mildest terms) defenders of their country. Let us look a little at facts, and see how they make out this charge of English *falsehood* and *insolence* and want of feeling for Ireland.

I am always ready to allow, and have been always eager to proclaim, the great gratitude due from Ireland to Mr. O'CONNELL for his exertions with regard to the emancipation bill. It suited the policy of the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEEL to ascribe that measure *solely* to those exertions. It was much better for them to do that than to ascribe the measure to the resolute attitude and the petitions of the people of England; but, if the people of England had come and placed themselves at the back of the opponents of the measure, that measure never would have been carried. It was Newcastle, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, and London, that carried that measure, co-operating with the astonishing exertions of Mr. O'CONNELL. And, sir, were there English *falsehood* and *insolence* at work, in the case of the Coercion Bill? Even the Irish renegadoes in the *Times* newspaper were *compelled* by the public voice of England to cry out against that measure. I carried into the House, from Newcastle, from Shields, from Sutherland, from Stockton, from Bradford, from Oldham, and from other great towns, petitions signed by more than 150,000 persons, at least such is my best recollection of the number; but which is of still greater importance as to this matter. I carried in petitions against that bill, the most sensible, the most modest, and, at the same time, the most resolute, from a *great number of country parishes*, in the southern counties of England, particularly from Kent and Sussex; and, let it be recollected, that the very first petition that was received by any member of the House against that bill came from the little parish of Wingham, in East Kent, and the second from the little town of Battle, in Sussex; and yet you lump all Englishmen together; impute to them inherent and implacable hostility to Ireland, and brand

them with a charge of falsehood and insolence. Leaving you and your readers, sir, to judge whether this be the likely way to obtain the cordial co-operation of your fellow-subjects in England, in obtaining a redress of these unspeakable grievances, which I, with mine own eyes, have now seen to exist. I will, in conclusion of this too long letter, respectfully offer you my opinion of the matter.

In the answer, which I gave to the kind and cordial address with which the citizens of Dublin were pleased to honour me, I took the liberty to observe to them that I believed that their grievances never would be redressed, *unless by the aid of their fellow-subjects in England*; and I am now, after personal examination into the state of the country, and after attentive observation of men and things, fully confirmed in that opinion. In a *peaceable* manner, those grievances never will be redressed without such co-operation; and, though it is within the compass of *possibility*, that a change for the better might be effected by different means, the risk is too great for any lover of his country to attempt it, unless, at any rate, the whole race of those perfidious wretches, who are now renegadoes from their country, could be first exterminated, and swept from the face of the earth.

So much, sir, for what I deem your injustice to my countrymen. With regard to your injustice to myself: in the first place, I disclaim all praise coupled with an attack on England, or Englishmen; and, in the next place, I beg of you to have the goodness, if you should ever think it worth your while to mention me again, with an epithet prefixed to my name or character, not to make use of the epithet "*singular*," but to cast aside, if you please, the phraseology of Lord Brougham, the *Quarterly Reviewers*, and the like, and to make use of some word that shall be *definite*, as to the character which it describes; or, instance, to call me good, bad, wise, foolish, or something that shall not be *equivocal*. This is, after the English manner, to be sure; but, if you will condescend to observe it, in speaking of

me in future, you will very much oblige,
Sir,

Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SOUTHERN REPORTER.

Derrinane Abbey, 23. Oct., 1834.

SIR,—I really thought you a more clever fellow than I find you. You have not the “*nous*” I attributed to you, and which your general shrewdness evidences. If you had you would see at once that the “*living lie*” of the renegade in the *Observer* is nothing more than a “*silly lie*,” what the Chief Justice of the King’s Bench calls “*the foolish lie I ever heard*.”

The liar in the *Observer* had to account for my hatred, as he calls it, of Sir William Gosset, by declaring that he had detected me in an attempt, &c. &c. And what is his story of his detection? Take it in its parts :

1. That I went to Gosset and offered to place in the hands of the Government such information as would enable them to bring to justice the leader of the Terry Alts.

2. That I called on Gosset not to lose a moment in arresting O’Gorman Mahon as such person.

3. That Gosset asked me to make an affidavit of my knowledge or belief of the statement.

4. That I refused to do so, but strenuously urged the arrest of the individual.

Why, if this were true, Gosset ought instantly to be cashiered, and I ought to be sent to a lunatic asylum.

Gosset ought to be cashiered. Why? Because, if I offered to place in the hands of Government such information as would enable them to bring to justice the leader of the Terry Alts, and if I had in my power such information, it would have been my duty to give it to the Government, no matter who such leader may be. But the duty of Gosset upon such an offer would have been

plain; he should have referred me to the law officers of the crown, or appointed some confidential justice of the peace to take in legal form the information. This is the course he should have taken. This, I suppose, is the course he would have taken; and if he neglected, under such circumstances, to take that course, I certainly would have detected him in gross neglect, or rather violation of duty. The liar in the *Observer* it is who suggests the breach by Gosset of his duty; certainly not I.

I ought to be sent to Bedlam as an insane man. Why? Because, having had as much experience in the criminal law as any man living, I surely must know that neither Gosset nor the Lord Lieutenant, nor any body else, could arrest Mr. O’Gorman Mahon, except upon a warrant, which could not issue without an information, or deposition, upon oath sworn before a magistrate. You will easily believe I knew so much law; and yet this vagabond liar makes me urge an immediate arrest, nay he makes Gosset ask me to swear to my belief of the fact! just as if my belief would authorize any legal proceeding, especially the arrest, on so serious a charge of a man who was a candidate to represent a county! and the liar goes on to say that I refused to swear to my belief of my own statement, and yet strenuously urged the arrest!

This he calls detection of me. That I should condescend to answer such trash! Why should I hate Gosset? Why, says the liar, because he would not arrest a man whose guilt I refused to attest even on my belief!

Too much of this. I need not add that the story of Gosset is totally false. I am not quite sure that I ever saw Gosset. I have, however, a strong impression that I saw him once upon some matter connected with Colonel White’s election for the county of Dublin. I believe I would not know his person if I saw him now. If he was the person I saw at the county of Dublin election business, certainly not a word was said of Mr. O’Gorman Mahon in that interview.

I was much amused with the com-

plaisance with which the *Observer* lia took credit for bringing out my notice of his falsehood. It was you who induced me to do so. I knew the result would be some silly, some impossible lie, more ludicrous, but not perhaps so atrocious as the first; and my anticipation has been realized, and there I leave the matter.

But, as I am upon my legs, as we say, or rather used to say in "the House," let me ask you whether my notice of this one falsehood does not give a kind of authority to the other slanderers of the London press, when leave their calumnies unanswered. protest against any such conclusion. never could command time, even if I had the inclination, to notice the various shapes in which malignant and stupid falsehood disports itself in the London papers respecting me. The recklessness with which these papers repeat falsehoods of me, one thousand times refuted even by public documents, is to me not a little amusing. I smile at the tone of triumph which accompanies the venom of the calumniator, and I have reason to know that some of the habitual framers of mere falsehoods have expressed surprise that they were so powerless in effect. They forget that all Ireland knows me.

Why there is a man of the name of Stuart who at present writes "rascality" for the *Courier*, as its chief editor. This fellow is the shabbiest in his moral frame of all the flock of unprincipled liars, and most unprincipled he is in that faculty, as far as I am concerned. He has on foot perpetually one thing or other respecting me. Yet if any of the Irish papers reply to him he expects politeness forsooth, and courtesy, in refuting his conscious falsehoods, putting you in mind of Mad Tom in Shakespeare, who insists that

"The Prince of Darkness is a gentleman;"

and so Stuart, belonging to the lying department at the head of which stands that sable gentleman, insists upon courteous and genteel comments on his falsehoods. He will answer none others, not he!

Take an instance of his "alacrity of lying," and perseverance in a lie. The other day he asserted, for the twentieth time, that the Attorney-General, Blackburne, "convicted me of rank sedition." Yes, his words are, "convicted him" of rank sedition: "once in propria persona," and again in the "instance of Mr. Barrett."

I leave the case of Mr. Barrett with the libel law which the present Chancellor calls atrocious. I come to what relates to myself personally. I notice it now to dispense with ever regarding it again.

Stuart should have known that there never was a greater falsehood published than that I had been personally convicted of sedition. He ought to know it, because the facts were placed beyond a doubt by Lord Eldon. The Ministry, it is true, boasted that they had convicted me of the worst species of delinquency. "You have compromised with him, then," said Lord Eldon. This was utterly denied by Ministers. "Why do you not punish him, then?" was the humane reply of the hoary persecutor, who knew his trade. "Because we cannot," was his answer. "That," said he, "is impossible; if you had convicted him you might instantly have sentenced him." He then moved for copies of all the proceedings against me. They were obtained, and printed by order of the House.

They were of course abstracted into the newspapers. Lord Eldon did then once see that they could not punish me. Their boast was that of a soldier, who, in the dark, exclaimed to his officer, "I have taken a prisoner." "Bring him with you." "He will not come." "Then come yourself." "He will not let me." Such was the triumph of Blackburne and of the Ministry over me.

The printed papers demonstrated my victory. The prisoner was really mine, the indictment being printed showing no less than eighteen counts; even of these counts, it is quite true, charged me, in various shapes, with sedition; rank sedition if you please; with editious harangues, and speeches, and

with seditious conspiracies; but, mark upon every one of these counts I obtained judgment; the Attorney-General having upon record abandoned them.

I obtained this judgment after I had pleaded "not guilty" to all these counts. After a jury was struck to try me, and how struck? Why there were no less than three Catholics set aside capriciously by the crown, the only Catholics on the jury list, men of great wealth and undoubted respectability. There were also challenged by the crown two Protestants of liberal principles! The one Mr. Guinness, the Governor of the Bank of Ireland; the other, Alderman M'Kenny, who has since been created a baronet by the Whig ministry. He was good enough to be made a baronet by those who would not allow him to serve as a juror. I do believe he appreciates the latter as a greater compliment than the former.

Even after the jury was struck by his officer, to the heart's content of the Attorney-General, I got judgment upon every count in which there was any allegation of sedition or conspiracy, or even, mark this also, of evil intent, or any moral disparagement whatsoever, and there are the papers printed by the House of Lords proving every word I utter.

On what was the Government boast then founded? On this, and on nothing else; besides these eleven counts, on which I had judgment, there were eight more of a different class, such as were never before framed, and never can again. They did not allege one particle of evil intention. They did not charge any thing in its nature criminal. What did they contain? These allegations and no other. First, That I was one of several who met for political purposes. Secondly, That the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, directing the meeting to disperse. Thirdly, That the meeting obeyed the proclamation and dispersed. And lastly, That we met again in some days after for the same political purposes.

Such were the entire allegations of these counts. They were founded on this strange and preposterous notion,

that disobedience to a proclamation is an offence.

I deny, and always denied, and, still emphatically deny, that it is an offence at common law to disobey a proclamation. I scorn to argue with any lawyer who would venture to allege that it was at common-law an offence to disobey a proclamation!

Was it, then, made an offence by the statute which authorized the proclamation? It was not, unless under particular circumstances, that is, the statute provided that if, after such proclamation, the persons proclaimed held any meeting, and remained together for five minutes after notification given in a prescribed form, then that severe penalties would be incurred. But no such thing was alleged in the indictment; and in fact it could not be alleged, because it did not occur.

It was merely an indictment for not obeying a proclamation, and nothing more.

It is not necessary to be a lawyer to understand why I treated this indictment with utter contempt. I demurred to these eight counts.

Under these circumstances, it was proposed to me, and I acceded to the arrangement: 1. That I should have judgment immediate upon all the counts containing any disparaging matter, that is, the eleven counts I have specified. 2. That I should withdraw my plea to the eight other counts, and allow the Attorney-General to mark judgment by default on these eight other counts, on his express terms that no sentence should be pronounced until the validity of these counts should be decided upon by the ultimate tribunal of appeal, the House of Lords.

In this arrangement all the advantages were mine. It was the most favourable to one party, and that was to me, of any professional arrangement ever known. It was the Irish game of *itch-and-toss*, of the period when our coins had a head on one side, and a harp on the other—HEAD I win, HARP you lose. It was that game I thus realized.

For, first, it is incredible that the

King's Bench could have ever decided that such an indictment was good.

Secondly, Even if Judge Jebb, who was then alive, and the other judges of the King's Bench, had decided, as they did, upon quite a different indictment in Radford Roe's case, that the indictment was good, it is more incredible that the twelve judges should not reverse that decision.

Thirdly, But if the Irish judges sustained the indictment it is impossible; I say it in the presence of the entire bar of England; it is impossible, to the last degree of impossibility that the House of Lords should not reverse (as they did in Roe's case reverse with some contempt) the Irish decision. It is to be remarked that both indictments came out of the same shop, that is, were framed by the same person. But better remains behind.

Fourthly, I had still greater security. The Algerine Act, under which the proclamation issued, was to expire at the close of the then existing session of Parliament, and did expire accordingly. But it was not in the nature of things that the case could go through its course of three decisions and two appeals in the time that could be taken up in that session, that is between February and August; I was, therefore, certain of success, because the law was clearly with me. But, even if the law was against me, I was equally certain of succeeding, because the case could not possibly be ultimately decided until after the statute expired.

Accordingly, when the statute did expire, the Attorney-General wrote to me a polite note, stating that the case was abandoned altogether, as the statute had ceased to be in force: and so the matter ended.

I am glad you made me take notice of the miserable renegade who writes lies for the *Observer*, as it has tempted me, besides confuting him, to state these things. It will drive Stuart of the *Courier* to fabricate or adopt; he cares not which, some other lie. I have taken this subject up for three purposes:

First, That Stuart, and the other unprincipled writers for the London and

Irish press may be without excuse if they again assert that I was convicted of sedition, either rank or trivial.

Second, That it may not be asserted, save by the unblushing liars of that press, that my opposition to the Attorney-General is founded on the fact of his having convicted me of sedition, and triumphed over me as a lawyer. The truth is, that the cause ended in mutual civility, and that I had over him, quietly and unostentatiously, the greatest triumph any one lawyer ever had over another.

The third is, that the reporters should not again attribute, as they have often before attributed, to the Duke of Wellington the incredible assertion that I had been convicted of sedition, when he must have known the contrary, or ought at least to inquire before he hazarded a false charge.

Now, giving full permission to the fabricators of the London press to fabricate any tale they please,

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient servant,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

LORD DURHAM.

GLASGOW FESTIVAL TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

(From the Times.)

Glasgow, Wednesday Night, 12 o' Clock.

THE day has come to a close, and a proud and busy day has it been for the inhabitants of Glasgow. I have seen together, on one or two occasions, a larger collection of individuals, but I have never seen a numerous gathering more quiet, more orderly, and more impressed with a love of tranquillity than the population which this day welcomed the Earl of Durham into Glasgow. The localities of Edinburgh rendered the procession which conducted Earl Grey into that city a more striking and picturesque spectacle; but at Glasgow the arrangement of it was better, for it did not completely block up the streets as it moved along. The scene on the green was animated in the extreme. Not less than 100,000 persons were as-

sembled there, with flags, and banners and instruments of music. The hustings from which the Earl of Durham spoke to the Trades were nearly opposite to Nelson's pillar; and after he reached them, the space in their immediate vicinity was crowded very densely. His lordship appeared delighted with everything around him, and it would have been strange had he not, for a more enthusiastic reception was never given to any man who has deserved well of his country. The proceedings at the dinner we have reported ourselves, but the proceedings of the morning are so much better described in the *Glasgow Chronicle* than we could hope to describe them in our hurried report, that we send them you by our express, with this solitary remark, that the picture which that excellent journal draws of the scene is rather under than overcharged.

HIS LORDSHIP'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CITY—PROCESSION OF THE TRADES TO MEET HIM.

The day dawned bearing promise of such weather as the most anxious of the citizens could have desired. By nine o'clock the city was the scene of animated bustle, presenting every appearance of a joyous holiday. Numerous and well-dressed bodies of trades were to be seen moving along the streets, under their respective banners, and accompanied by music, while the citizens generally were looking out with the greatest interest on the preparations going on. Between 10 and 11 a universal movement was made towards the eastern approach to the city, and in a short time the assemblage on the road, eastward of Parkhead, was immense.

Shortly after ten o'clock the Interim Committee of the Trades met in London-street, where they waited till they were joined by the different bodies, with their banners and bands of music. The whole were soon arranged in proper order, and they marched in procession from London-street along Kent-street and Gallowgate to Parkhead, and were joined by the east district weavers, and by several other bands of music. Marshal Watson, and a strong body of police-

officers, were in attendance, and preserved the strictest order among the joyful people. The Marshal arranged his men on each side of the road at a short distance beyond the grand triumphal arch, which was tastefully formed with green bushes and flowers across the road. In the centre of the arch there was a ticket, on which were printed the words, "Through the Arch of Truth let Liberty pass."

About half-past eleven o'clock his Lordship's carriage was seen at a short distance, and as it drew near, a universal cheer burst from the assembled multitude. As the carriage proceeded along between the ranks of police-officers, the eagerness to get a glimpse of his Lordship was most emphatically demonstrated by the number of most respectable people crowding forward to peep into the carriage windows. The carriage moved along preceded by the procession, the bands of music playing appropriate marches. One of the banners immediately in front of the procession was the Durham Arms, and the words, "The time will come." Besides the cheers and hurrahs of the populace for Earl Durham, as the carriage passed under the triumphal arch, were heard the exclamations, "Durham for ever; the time will come"; and the farther the carriage advanced, the shouts of joy increased, while the ringing of the bells heightened the merry sounds. The procession, as it moved along, had an imposing effect, and must have presented a most gratifying spectacle to the noble Earl, who stepped out of the carriage at Whitevale, and was conducted by the Marshal in the line of procession, smiling complacently to the people as he passed along. The tradesmen, especially the Interim Committee, were respectably dressed; each of the committees carried a baton similar to the magistrates' white rods of office. The number of the flags was immense, and most of them had very patriotic and appropriate mottoes, while the various other devices displayed increased the interest of the scene. The shops on the line of procession, along Gallowgate and Saltmarket-streets were shut,

and from the streets side to side were one moving mass of spectators. The windows and even the house tops were crowded, and every contrivance was made to obtain a prominent place for viewing the procession. A tremendous burst of applause proceeded from the populace as the procession moved past the Cross, and along Saltmarket-street. The noble Earl was received and conducted into the court hall by the magistrates.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1834.

ALMOND, J., Pemberton, Lancashire, wool-
len-draper.
COOK, J., South Moulton-street, tailor.
FLAXMAN, R., Fetter-lane, carpenter.
ISAAC, I. J. B., Topham, Devonshire, ship-
owner.
JAMES, W., Bath, soap-boiler.
LATHAM, T., Liverpool, innkeeper.
LEWIS, T. R., Tonbridge-place, New-road,
wine-merchant.
WYLD, J., Rathbone-place, Oxford-street,
hostel.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

BROWN & MORTON, Kilmarnock, grocers.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

INSOLVENT.

THATCHER, T., Fleet-street, seedsman.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

RAMSDEN, R., Southend, Essex, coach-
master.

BANKRUPTS.

BARLOW, J. W., Liverpool, coal-merchant.
CARTER, T., Cateaton-street, cloth-factor.
CLARKE, R. and J. Burgess, Coal Exchange,
coal-factors.
CURREY, R., Lillswood, Northumberland,
cattle-dealer.
HOLDSWORTH, J., Northouram, Yorkshire,
worsted-spinner.
KELK, J. B., Nottingham, lace-manufac-
turer.
MARTIN, I. B., Salisbury, draper.
NICHOLSON, J., Cheltenham, upholsterer.
TILEY, M., Bath, hatter.
WARD, R. G., Southampton, perfumer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 3.—
Considering the season of the year, and the
field operations of the farmers, we were this
morning rather liberally supplied with Wheat
from Essex, but from Kent and Suffolk the
supplies were moderate. The trade opened
heavily, and continued so throughout the day;
and though selected parcels of white Wheat
were held at Monday's rates, yet the millers
would not purchase the better qualities of
white and red Wheat unless 1s. per quarter
less money was accepted; and good secondary
qualities of red receded 1s. to 2s. from the
terms of this day se'night, leaving several
parcels unsold at the close of the market. In
bonded Corn we heard of no transactions.

The proportion that fine Malting quality of
Barley bears to the amount of the arrivals is
very small, and as maltsters are now generally
at work, and the ale-brewers requiring the
Chevalier samples, these descriptions realized
fully 1s. per quarter advance, and must be
noted at 41s., extra fine, 42s.; fine common
malting participated in the improvement;
distilling qualities met inquiry, but at lower
figures than holders were inclined to submit
to; grinding sorts dull, and nominally the
same in value.

The Malt trade has improved, and fine Malt
is full 1s. per quarter dearer.

Notwithstanding the large quantity of Oats
which have been imported within these three
weeks, exceeding 99,000 quarters, yet the ex-
tensive demand which has existed, has pre-
vented the market from being glutted, and to-
day, the inquiry continuing animated, prices
of fine Corn advanced 1s., and other qualities
6d. per quarter.

Beans have met rather more attention, and
are 1s. dearer than last week.

White boiling and good splitting Peas being
in request, were held at an advance fully of
1s. per quarter. Grey and Maple were firm
at the previous quotations.

The Flour trade was heavy, and ship quali-
ties were taken at scarcely so good prices as
last Monday.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	41s. to 45s.
White	50s. to 54s.
Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 52s.
West Country red	40s. to 44s.
White, ditto	44s. to 52s.
Northumberland and Berwickshire red	36s. to 44s.
White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
Mersey, Angus, and Rothshire red	37s. to 40s.
White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
Irish red	34s. to 38s.
White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	30s. to 37s.
Chevalier	32s. to 42s.
Distilling	28s. to 30s.
Grinding	24s. to 28s.

Malt, new	42s. to 52s.
— Norfolk, pale	50s. to 60s.
— Ware	58s. to 61s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	36s. to 39s.
— Maple	38s. to 42s.
— White Boilers	38s. to 44s.
Beans, Small	31s. to 43s.
— Harrow	33s. to 40s.
— Tick	32s. to 38s.
Oats, English Feed	19s. to 23s.
— Short, small	21s. to 24s.
— Poland	20s. to 25s.
— Scotch, common	22s. to 26s.
— Potato	21s. to 28s.
— Berwick	22s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	17s. to 20s.
— Potato	19s. to 25s.
— Black	17s. to 22s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —.
— York	38s. to —.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester ..	48s. to 50s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland ..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 3.

This day's supply of Beasts and Sheep was rather great; the supply of Calves but limited; of Porkers moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull, as no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Herefords, Welsh runts and Irish Beasts, with about 300 Scots; about 20 Sussex Beasts, a few Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c.

About two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdowns and white-faced crosses, in proportion of about two of the former to three of the latter; about a sixth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kent, and Fennish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norths, horned and spotted Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. Green Lambs are the of season.

About 2,600 of the beasts, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with, perhaps, 50 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts; about 200, a full moiety of which were Scots,

the remainder about equal numbers of Devons and Welsh runts, with a few Norfolk home-breds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 130, chiefly Devons, Herefords, and runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts, about 50, in about equal numbers of Sussex beasts, runts and Devons, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the marshes, &c near London.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } In Sat Mon Tues Wed Thur	
Cons. Ann. }	91½ 91½ 90½ 91 91½ 91½

CURE OF FOUR IN ONE FAMILY OF SMALL-POX, BY MORISON'S PILLS.

To Mr. Fisher, General Agent for Morison and Mead, Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury.

DEAR SIR,—Being informed of the unfortunate and unexpected occurrence which has happened of late at York, in reference to the worthy agent for that city, for administering Morison's Pills unaskingly (as it is said in the public papers) in the small-pox, I herewith, by desire, send the following cases of small-pox, successfully treated by Morison's Pills alone.—Yours respectfully,

JOHN WEBB.

Hyde, Cheshire, Aug. 16, 1834.

To Mr. Fisher, Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury.

Sir,—I have remit unto you the following particulars: about eleven months ago, that dreadful disease the small-pox was very prevalent here, of which several died under the treatment during the time. Four of my children, two boys and two girls, were greatly afflicted with that dreadful disease, and as my family, consisting of eleven persons, seldom made use of any other medicine than Morison's Pills, on every accession of sickness, and have always found great benefit, being intimately acquainted with your humane agent Mr. Hyde, Mr. Webb, I was advised by him to make trial of the pills for this dire complaint, in pretty good doses, to keep down the fever and inflammation. In three weeks I am happy to say that they were all perfectly cured, and with scarcely any marks of the pock to be discovered on any of the four. Sir, you are perfectly at liberty to make what publication you think proper of this.—Your faithful and humble servant,

EDMUND WHEWELL.

Back Lane, Newgate, Hyde, Cheshire, Aug. 15, 1834.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 86.—No. 7.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, November 15th, 1838.

[Price 1s. 3d.]



TO THE COBBETTITES

Shanghae, China, 15. Nov. 1838.

MY FRIENDS,—I have this moment got news from New York, which tells me that my *LIFE OF JACKSON* had been published there at the price of six CENTS, and that **TEN THOUSAND COPIES HAD BEEN SOLD IN ONE DAY!** Talk of a long arm, indeed! The Bank villains were all frying alive, just like so many sharks in a frying-pan on a lake of fire. I dictated this *LIFE OF JACKSON* to my secretary, during one single day, while I was lying in bed to rest myself, after a night's fighting of the army estimates. These enemies of mine, base Tories and base Whigs, base reptiles with all manner of you recollect when Bolton Freeman and his companions put *JOSEPH HERRICK* into prison ten weeks for the crime of having gone round the town of Bolton with a bell, to inform his townsmen that "*WILLIAM COBBETT* had arrived at LIVERPOOL in GOOD HEALTH." I wrote the "*LIFE OF JACKSON*" (to wit the rich ruffians, and the rich and reptiles of England! Faint indeed, wish to do honour to this villainous man, and to the good, fit and brave man, to his brave and virtuous countrymen, but my principal object was to tell my nids in a bold and unflinching manner, the truth, fully and briefly, of the villainous villains, on this side of the water, in whose hands the soundest bankers in America were the mere tools. And did I forget, while I was writing this

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's Court.]

LIFE OF JACKSON, did I forget the imprisonment of *JOSEPH HERRICK*? And did I forget the **TEN THOUSAND POUNDS PAID**? I remember that when I finished the dictating of the last sentence, I said, "There! Lord Byron is famous at exchanging his with exchange this!" Every creature in America old enough to read, or to understand reading, will read, or hear read, the last chapter of this *LIFE OF JACKSON*; and though this reading and this hearing are three thousand miles off, they will give a heavier blow to **COB-
BETTISM** than any which she has received for many a day. Aye, that reading and that hearing will show the price of the *LIFE OF JACKSON* in England, strange as that may appear to imbecile, stupid, fraudulent, rapacious, and ferocious Cobbettites! I give you joy, my friends, on this news, and remain,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I know the three bank-villains, who are now in London, from America, negotiating with villains in London, to obtain the means of abolishing the bank-villany in the United States. I will send their names to a friend at New York immediately.

No. VIII.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL LAWYER.

Normanby Thimble, Parish of Ash,
Yorkshire, Surrey.

Shanghae, China, 10. Nov. 1838.

MY FRIEND,—I have just received from you last-I have been thinking, when the charitable and most benevolent Cobbett's private agent arrived to collect a little money to give to poor creatures who are well and soundly and dying; when the poor sick person gets a sixpence or a shilling in this way, intended for the

him some little comforting thing, the poor creature is frequently obliged to give the bit of money thus obtained to pay the rent of the place where he is, for fear of being flung into the street by the agent of the great lord to whom the house belongs! There are poor women, who, having got a few pence by begging from shopkeepers and other persons in the middle rank of life, purchase herrings and tobacco with the pence, then go to the country and swap these for potatoes; then come into the town, eat some of the potatoes, and sell the rest to pay the rent of the great English landlord. A Catholic priest has informed me that *dung* is constantly made in cellar-rooms, *under the bed* that the poor creatures lie on! The other day this Catholic priest (whose name I shall be ready to state to the House of Commons) informed me, that he had just been to visit a sick man on his death bed, expected every hour to die. He found an *ass* tied to the foot of the bed, which was laid on a frame of old rough boards; man, ass, pig, and family slept, and had the dung-heap, in the same room! In the country it is a common thing to see the farmer's cow sleeping in the *same room*, with the pig and the family, with a heap of dung, as you know there must be, MARSHALL, in such a case, every morning!

MARSHALL, I have a great deal more to say to you another time; and a great deal more to say to the whole nation, in a little book; and still more to say to the Parliament when I shall meet it, on the subject of this condition of this kind and good people who inhabit the most fertile country upon the face of God's earth; who themselves, while they see the oxen, the hogs, the sheep, the butter, the corn, sent away out of their country in hundreds and thousands of ship-loads, never taste either meat or bread themselves; but see it all taken away from them, while they are reduced to live upon the very worst sort of potatoes and salt at the very best. I shall have a great deal more to say to you and our neighbours and to the nation and to the Parliament upon this subject; but, at present, I will point out to you

what the law of God is upon this subject. I shall, in a short time, publish a *BIBLE FOR POOR MEN*; but I will just show you here what God has said upon this subject, in one instance or two. You will bear in mind, MARSHALL, that it is the business of the parson to read the Bible to you and to me; that this is his principal business, and that he gets the tithes for this. You will also bear in mind, that there are Bible societies making great collections of money to distribute about the Bible amongst us. Therefore, into this Bible we ought to look, and see what God has told us to take for our guide in these matters; to see what he says shall be the fate of the oppressors of the poor.

In the tenth chapter of *ISAIAH*, verses 1 and 2, we are told this: "Woe unto them that *decreed unrighteous decrees*, and that *wrote grievousness* which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the RIGHT of the poor of my people, that the widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless."

Now, MARSHALL, a decree is a law; and "writing grievousness," which has been "prescribed," means just such writings as are now coming from the Scotch vagabonds that I have so often mentioned; and it is very curious that the great object of these infamous writings is to take away the *right* of the poor, and to rob the widows and the fatherless!

But, MARSHALL, what is to be the end of those who put forth unrighteous decrees; those who write *grievousness*, as the Scotch vagabonds are now writing; those who "turn aside the needy" when they apply for justice; those who strive to take away the RIGHT of the poor; those who are manifestly seeking to make the "widows a prey," and to "rob the fatherless"? What is to be the end of these Scotch vagabonds, and all those who assist and uphold them, let them be who they may? God says, that he will raise up a man to destroy them, to spread desolation amongst them, to make them feel the effects of his indignation at their conduct, to strip

them of their property, and to "*tread them down like the mire of the streets.*" This is what God says shall be done to those who are the oppressors of the poor, or who try to oppress them.

In the fifth chapter of the prophet Amos, the oppressors of the poor are denounced in these words, in verses 11 and 12 "*Forasmuch as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins: they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right.*" You see,

MARSHALL, how all the prophets and all the apostles agree as to this matter. The villain, the Scotch vagabonds, are not, however, to profit from their villainy in the end. "*They take a bribe.*" A bribe means money given to people to do wicked things, and here the word of God points directly at these Scotch vagabonds, for they are notoriously bribed and paid "*to turn aside the poor from their right*" But, MARSHALL, what is to be the fate of those who take bribes? In the book of Job, chapter xv, and verse 34, we are told, that "*the congregation of hypocrites shall be desolate, and that FIRE shall consume the tabernacles of BRIBERY*"! Now, MARSHALL, a *tabernacle* means a house in which people live. God has told us before, that there shall be "*woe unto those that take a bribe to turn aside the poor from their right*"; and he here tells us, that the tabernacles, or houses, of the bribed villains, shall be consumed by fire.

Now, MARSHALL, if we take the Bible to be the word of God, as I hope we all do, this is what God says upon the subject; and this is what will assuredly come to pass, if these Scotch vagabonds be not speedily put to silence, as I trust they will be put to silence, by the good sense and the humanity and the justice of English gentlemen.

Tell Farmer HOWES, or get Mr. DEAN to tell him, that I say this is the sort of

matter for him to lay before his congregation. Tell him that I say that it is a shame that the people of Noanmaw should be imposed upon by those who pretend to collect money for the "*conversion of the heathen*," which is a false pretence, and a gross and infamous lie from the beginning to the end; tell him that I say that I am very sorry to see an honest and good man like him thus imposed upon. Tell him that not a farthing of the money is ever applied to the purposes of real religion, and piety; and that the fellows who get the money into their hands up at London spend it upon themselves, or their wives, or their girls; and that not a farthing of it is ever applied to any good purpose.

Hoping that you and your family and all of you are well, and knowing that you will be glad to hear that I am the same,

I remain,
Your master and friend,
WM COBBETT.

TO THE
EARL OF RADNOR.

Shangnana Castle, 10. Nov. 1834.

MY LORD,

I am sure that it is unnecessary for me to say that I heard with extreme pain of the serious accident which has recently happened to your lordship; and if I had not felt that pain, I should have been an unnatural and most ungrateful monster. But, my lord, the accident has taken place; no one can prevent that which has happened; and, like wise men; men, at any rate, who ought to have some portion of wisdom, seeing that we have the happiness of millions confided to our care, let us endeavour to draw some good even out of this great evil.

My lord, three of your ribs, it appears, were broken, and your collarbone was dangerously fractured, by a fall of your horse in hunting. We are alarmed, and I dare say very truly, that Lady Radnor had flown to the spot where it was necessary to lodge

you, and had been in constant and most anxious attendance upon your person day and night. Every one that has the pleasure to know you and her will be sure that this is true; and will also be sure, that this attention on her part must have greatly tended to mitigate your sufferings.

Now; then, my lord, suppose my man *MARSHALL*, having a wife and eight children, the eldest, I believe, only twelve, were to have his ribs broken and his collar-bone fractured in just the same manner; not by an accident arising from enjoying the sports of the field; but by a fall from a rick or a mow, or by the running away of a wild horse, dragging a cart over him, or flinging him headlong down some deep and craggy place; suppose him (as would of necessity be the case) to apply for parish relief; would you have him and his wife and children taken to a workhouse; his wife separated from him, and the children separated from both; all of them cut off from all communication with friends and relations out of doors; and all of them stripped of their own clothes, and have the odious workhouse dress put upon them?

The reader shudders at the thought, and exclaims, "How could you put such a cruel question to such a man?" It is a cruel question; but the cruelty is towards him who knows it to be his bounden duty to put it. I know that your lordship will shudder at the thought: I know that you will say, that it must be in a savage breast that the design to execute such cruelty was first generated. But, my lord, I beg you to recollect, that you, in your place in Parliament, praised the system of *PARSON LOWE* of *BIRONGHAM*, in Nottingham; that you praised the practice of this church parson; and that you defended the Poor-law Bill on the ground that, without it, there could not be the practice of *Parson Lowe* adopted in every parish in the kingdom; and, finally, I beg you to recollect, that according to the practice of this *Parson Lowe*, *MARSHALL* and his family would, in case of such an accident, have been treated in the manner that I have described.

Never to be forgotten is the precept of "doing to others as we would be done unto"; and if this accident, which has happened to your lordship, should induce you to make the labouring man's case your own, even this accident, which has filled with sorrow every one who has any knowledge of your character, may produce the great good of making you reflect on the horrible nature of that measure, in the adoption of which your sanction had much more to do than that of all its other advocates put together. You were misled; you were blinded by the Scotch impudence and jaw; you were fastened upon, and held up to the mark by excessive cunning and incessant importunity, to say nothing of brazen falsehoods and infamous libels on the people of England. Left to your own good sense and benevolent disposition, this species of enchantment will, I trust, be broken, and you will be again the man which you heretofore were; and that you may feel that the words of the psalmist apply to you: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble: the Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness."

With sincere and ardent prayers for your complete restoration to health,

I remain

Your lordship's grateful,
Most humble and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO

LORD ALTHORP.

Shangana Castle, 10. Nov., 1834.

MY LORD.—There was one lucky circumstance belonging to the mad-scheme bone-the-negroes, produced by the rack-skilled county of York, and by the scandalous importers who have lived upon this cant about humanity for the last almost fifty years. It was twenty millions of money flung away: it was eight hundred thousand pounds a year laid upon our backs for ever; but, it was putting an end to the thriving im-

posture; it was like putting an end to NAPOLEON, who was made use of as the means of robbing the people of England for so many years. The negro-scheme, bad as it was, put an end to this most abominable, this shameful, this at once ridiculous and scandalous imposture. Other BROUGHAMS and other WILBERFORCES, if it should please God in his anger to afflict England with more than the breed, may be sent forth to play their tricks in the face of high heaven, and to insult the sensible part of this nation, and to cause their ruin at the same time. By that cracked-skulled, that canting, that hypocritical, that fanatical, that conceited, that braggard, crew, forty thousand of whom ran away once at the sight of twelve dragoons and their sergeant, and knocked down crowds of women and children in their flight, this cracked-skulled and light-headed and talking and boisterous crew, who send thirty-seven members to Parliament, while the greatly more valuable county of CORK send only eight, while it feeds one-half of the cracked-skulls at the same time; this fanatical and presumptuous and meddling and mischievous crew may possibly find out other WILBERFORCES and other BROUGHAMS to fasten upon us; but they never can again, thank God! have the base and hypocritical pretence of sending them; of sticking them on upon us with the weasel-like claws and muzzles, under the base and hypocritical pretence of obtaining "FREEDOM FOR THEIR FELLOW-MEN IN THE WEST INDIES."

The scheme has been, thus far, productive of all the consequences, which, you well know, told you to anticipate from it; Mr. STANLEY's flashy speeches; and the small talk between him and WELL BUXTON, in the month of I think it was, intended to convey to the country the news of the "success" of the scheme; small talk arising from FOWELL, under pretence of wanting information as to how they were getting on amongst the negroes. This drew from the Right Hon. superintendent of some Irish estates that I have seen, and about which I shall probably talk of to his

face; this drew from him (as the thing had been contrived between them beforehand) a description of the glorious success of that "great measure of humanity!"

It is very true that the loss of the money given to the sharpers who have mortgages on the West India estates; it is very true that the loss of this money is a good deal; it is very true that the ridicule which will fall upon Mr. STANLEY, yourself, and FOWELL, will be mortifying enough to you, and amusing enough to all the rest of the world; but, at any rate, there will be no more of the imposture. FOWELL cannot again come with his petition signed by two hundred and seventy-eight thousand females: he cannot again play off this farce of humanity. It is a curious fact that, in the small talk of FOWELL and STANLEY, the former asked the latter whether the usual quantity of provisions had been sent to the West Indies from Ireland, for the negroes to eat; and STANLEY "had great pleasure in telling the honorable FOWELL, that he believed there had been no diminution in the quantity usually sent for that purpose." In a few minutes after the answer had been given, Mr. SMITH, member for the county of Tipperary, rose, and asked Mr. LITTLETON if the Government had received any intelligence, relative to the fact of there being, at that moment, in that country, four thousand persons IN DANGER OF BEING STARVED ON ACCOUNT OF THE SCARCITY OF POTATOES? To which Mr. LITTLETON replied, that the Government had been informed of the circumstance, and that it would take care to adopt measures of precaution!

Now, my lord, let me ask whether it be "humanity" for a Government to send by road the meat and the flour and the butter sent away from the poor Irish who raise them, to be eaten by these black fellows, who do not raise them. If ever there were any thing in the world more shameful than all other things, this is that thing; this is that unparalleled shame. My lord, protection is necessary to maintain the claim of alle-

gence. Have men, who are proprietors of land, a right, I mean a *legal* right, to act thus towards those who till the land? In the ownership of land it seems always to be forgotten in the present day that there are two parties: the landholder, and the chief of the commonwealth, who, in our country, is a king. In every estate, there is proprietorship, and there is dominion. Your lordship has the proprietorship in your estate, but your estate forms a part of his Majesty's dominions; and you are not to use the proprietorship in such a manner as for that use to be manifestly dangerous to the *dominion* which his Majesty has in the estate. I know very well that YOU would not, and do not, so use your proprietorship; but, placed in the station in which you now are, it is your duty, and your bounden duty, too, to prevent the wrong being done to his Majesty by persons who may be proprietors of other parts of his Majesty's dominions. And, will any one pretend to say that his Majesty's dominions are not misused, and that dangers to his 'royal rights may arise, and, in the end, must arise, from misuse so flagrantly outrageous as that which takes the food from those who raise it, exposing them to starvation, which carries that food out of the country, and which causes the poor creatures who raise it to receive nothing in return.

It is very easy to talk of a landholder having "a right to do that which he likes with his own"; very easy for him to tell the people who are living on the estate, or near it, that they may go away from it if they please; and that it is their own fault if they continue to be there. It is very easy to say all this; and the arrogant and insolent pretension of the main part of the present landowners, especially the Irish, is well enough expressed in this sort of language. But will you contend, my lord, or will any one but a half-drunk, half-mad, greedy, cormorant, monster, seeking to aggrandize himself by flattering the sordid propensities of landholders; will any one but a hideous monster like this, stepping forth with the howl, and almost the

figure, of Satan; will any one not cursed with depravity equal to that of the Jews, dare to stand forward and assert this; namely,

That, supposing the whole of the land of the kingdom to have for proprietors one thousand men, that one thousand men have a RIGHT (each being able with his family to live upon the fruits of five acres of ground) to refuse to let any of the rest of the land be cultivated or used, and thus to cause all the people to die, or to quit the kingdom?

Let us have no shuffling here. Let the Scotch vagabonds not attempt to shuffle or explain. Let them say that they are ready to maintain and stand by this proposition, or that they are not; if the former, what *dominion* has the King? What *subjects* has he? What *rights* has he? What protection is there in the laws? Yet they must not flinch; or what becomes of the right of Scotch and Irish landlords to clear their estates? What becomes of their right to toss the King's subjects out upon the road to perish, while they send out of the country the food raised upon their estates? What becomes of their right, or rather, is it not a *crime* in them to give to any portion of his Majesty's subjects the choice of perishing in Ireland, or of quitting the kingdom for ever? And finally, what becomes of the principles laid down by BROTHERTON in defence of the Poor-law Bill?

Ah! my lord! We have as yet only a glimpse of the consequences of passing this bill. I have been laughing to-day at the appointment of those illustrious brother members of Parliament of ours, the sublime Messrs. GARDNER, WHITEMORE, WARD, CRAW, Colonel TORRINS, and Mr. SEARLE'S HILL, one of the members for the county of Hereford, in the cracked-skull country of York; I have been laughing at the appointment of these, our brother senators, to be COMMISSIONERS under an act for establishing a new colony in the neighbourhood of Botany Bay, or in the Botany Bay country; which appointment has carried my recollection back to the zeal and devotion

with which these our brethren defended the Poor-law Bill; and especially that part of it which provides for the *tuning of parishes for the sending of the working people out of the country*, at the very moment when we had, under your hand, a report telling us, that a great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated for the want of a sufficiency of hands employed upon them; at the very moment when, by way of weakening an argument of mine, you yourself declared that you did not believe that there was a surplus of labour in the country!

Ah! my lord! A government does not get along: it may live: it may boggle and juggle about: it may exist amidst shuffles and expedients; but it must produce intolerable evils at last; it must become insufferable in time, when means like these are resorted to to prop it up. Mr. Commissioner HILL appears to be a great favourite, and nearly upon a level with WOOD, emphatically called JOHN. The rest of these eloquent squires, who so poured out their souls in praises of the Elysian fields in the south seas; and that Lord of the Shannon, who promised me so faithfully a bill to amend the stamp-laws, and, who, in his right of sovereign, collects a revenue from the sea-weed thrown up by the tide; even his enlarged soul, too, poured itself forth, in almost evangelical strains in praise of the blessings to be found on the borders of the Swan River. Never shall I forget the cogent arguments the ponderous eloquence, of the squires, GORT and CLAY; and as to Squire WHITMORE, he seemed to have caught the spirit of DEMOSTHENES himself, when he was speaking of the "vast regions," the "fertile lands" of which were about to be brought under cultivation by your wonder-working bill.

I shall take care that no persons emigrate from England, who have arms to defend, and who are not such base, spiritless, or imbecile creatures, as to be of no value. I shall teach the able men, that it is their right as well as their duty to remain in England: and a proper sense of your duty would teach you, that you ought to expose the various tricks and

contrivances by which his Majesty's subjects are deluded or driven away from their country and their allegiance. In the meanwhile there are other effects proceeding from measures, and out of a state of things produced by an inattention to the doctrines which I have above laid down relative to the rights of dominion and proprietorship. A disregard of those doctrines and principles has led to a sort of treatment of the working people, which has finally produced that which my Lord STANHOPE lamented, several years ago, as being likely to be produced, namely, a feeling of universal and bitter hostility of the poor against the rich. Far away as I am from my home, complete as is my lack of all private information from England, I gather from the bare newspapers, that the scenes of the fall of the autumn of 1830, are now again renewed. I renew, in this address to your lordship, and beg leave to be understood as again expressing, all that I said upon the subject in the fall of that year, and in the commencement of the next. I then fully explained to you and your colleagues, that, great and terrible as was your power; dreadful as had been your proceedings in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, terrific as were the examples at Bristol and Nottingham; you had not the power, and never could have the power, to prevent, or to check the progress of the FLOCKS, by any physical force, or by any punishments of any sort that you could possibly inflict. I then told you that you had moral power enough, not only to check it, but prevent it: I exhorted you to employ that moral power: you not only scorned my advice, but sought my destruction; or, at least, the destruction of my character and influence, as a reward for having given the advice; and I verily believe that it was mainly owing, or, at least, in part owing, to that endeavour on the part of you and your colleagues, that induced my sensible and just fellow-subjects of OLDHAM to place me in that station, which will now enable me to give you the advice, and to urge the Parliament, in the name of the peace and harmony and happiness of the country, to adopt those measures which shall

once more bring back Englishmen to that cheerful obedience to the laws, to that veneration for courts of justice, for which they were formerly so renowned throughout the world, and which, of all the features in the character of a people, is the most valuable, conducing as it does, in every possible way, to the prosperity and greatness of a country. I am by no means sanguine in my expectation that your majority would listen to my advice, much less act upon it, but a man must not be deterred from doing his duty, by even the certainty of failure in his efforts. I shall do mine, at any rate, proceeding upon the maxim of Major CARRINGTON, "Do what is right, and leave the rest to God"; I am not one of those who hunt about the Scriptures to find out prophecies to fit the times in which we live, but it is impossible for me to recollect that which I have read in those matchless writings, and to view the things that are before me at this moment, without being seriously impressed with the fear that we are doomed to experience the evils contained in denunciations more than three thousand years old. Our rulers appear to be incapable of profiting from any lesson, in however awful a form and manner it may come. The means of effectually obviating, or staying, the terrible and disgraceful scourge of which I have been speaking; these means are so clear to my eyes; they are so infallible, if adopted; and they are so easy of adoption, they are so perfectly costless, and so inevitably effectual; that it seems to me a raging madness that these means should be not only rejected, but that others should be resorted to, which, as sure as the sparks fly upwards, must augment the evil tenfold.

My lord, it is easy to talk of doing things *in spite of the people*. But pleasing as it may be to men of arrogant and insolent disposition, to entertain the notion that they have the power to do this; and though, in certain cases, and for a certain time, they may do it; in the end such attempts must always fail. It is not given to man, possess what power he may, to set the voice of the

millions at defiance. Nor is it right that he should be able to do this, it is not right that any man, or any few men, should be able to enjoy security and happiness in despite of their hundreds and thousands of neighbours. It is what never was, and what never can be. If it could be, the life of man would be a curse. God would have made him to suffer evil upon the earth, instead of participating in the enjoyment of its fruits.

It is very natural, and indeed every moral sentiment calls upon us to deplore the commission of those acts to which I have alluded; but, my lord, it becomes us, whose bounden duty it is not to lose a moment in seeking for a remedy for the evil, to look carefully into the *causes of it*, and not to waste our time in useless invectives against the acts themselves, or against the perpetrators. The elaborate report laid before us by your lordship and other gentlemen, tells us that the riots of 1830 and 1831 arose from the *lowering of wages*, it tells us that the fires succeeded the forcible suppression and the punishment of the riots; it tells us that the fires were put a stop to by the raising of the wages, and, everywhere, we now see that the fires are rekindled by the lowering of the wages, to which must be added the opinion naturally enough taken up by the working people, that this lowering is now contemplated to be acted upon as a system.

The defence of the farmer is, his inability, with the present rents and prices, to pay wages sufficient for the good living of his working people. This is founded in truth, and he adds his inability, with the malt and hop taxes in existence, to supply, in considerable part, the place of money payments by payments in kind, and by the housing of inmates in his now half- and half-useless house. But, my lord, while the farmer's defence is good, as against the landlord and the tax-gatherer, it is good for nothing against the labourer, whose wages are now hardly, in any case, sufficient; and who would be taught by the light of nature, if he had not the law of God, and the

law of the land, before his eyes, and if he could forget all the knowledge that has derived from tradition; he is taught by the light of nature alone, that he is not to suffer from hunger, thirst, or cold, while his life is spent in causing to produce abundance of meat, drink, raiment and fuel. The farmer is the person that comes in contact with him: it is *for him* that he has ploughed and sowed, reaped and mowed, hedged and ditched, attended the sheep, and cut down the coppice: it is *for him* that he has risen before the sun, toiled through the day, and dragged his weary limbs home in the dark: it is *for him* that he has left a wife or child in a sick bed, while he has been working and sorrowing in the fields to procure them the necessaries of life. To the farmer, therefore, he looks for a reward for his cares and his toils; and he recollects that God has told the farmer to give him that reward; and by no means withhold it from him a minute, for that he has set his heart upon it. Thoughtless, hectoring, and arrogant, and unfeeling bullies may call the people of England the "*peasantry*," the "*lower orders*"; may speak of them as of insensible beings, while these bullies are taking such tender-hearted care of the blacks; but, my lord, fatal, indeed, is the delusion of those who assume that these lower orders, as it is thought wise to call them, do not well understand the rights which nature and which God have given them.

Thus it is that the *homestead* becomes the object of vengeance; and this, too, from the dreadfully dangerous opinion that the vengeance is inflicted without crime! To prevent, or to check, by physical force, is impossible. No punishment is of any effect in the way of prevention, if the perpetrator's punishment do not excite general acquiescence in the justice of the punishment; and if the suffering of the perpetrator excite *compassion*, it does harm instead of good; instead of deterring it encourages. In this state of things, we who are charged with the making of the laws, ought to enact such laws as will take out of the hearts of the people

the desire to inflict this species of vengeance, seeing that we have not the power of prevention by any other means; we ought to consider how we can dry up the current of mischief in its source, and not how we can dam it back when it is grown to a torrent, or a flood. It is to us that the farmer has to look for protection; and not to any other means that are in existence, or that can be brought into existence.

The danger from this cause was very great in the years 1830 and 1831. It is much greater now; and just now the difficulty of the currency comes and makes its prodigious addition. Not only cannot the farmer receive any relief from higher prices; but the prices *must be lower*, unless you adopt the course of legal tender for all bank-notes of every description. I warn you of your danger, if you do that; I have warned you of that danger before: it is a measure that cannot be adopted and endured without first abolishing the sinecures, the pensions, the grants, the half-pay; without a temporal application of the clerical revenues; and yet, if this be not done, the proprietorship of the land must change hands as completely as if by an act of general confiscation, and a new granting of all the lands from the crown. The only course of justice and of safety is, the one that I have so often recommended; and, while I have not the smallest hope of seeing it adopted, I am sure the whole country will bear me witness that the consequences, be they what they may, will no part of them be attributable to me.

I am,

Your lordship's most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

THE following address was read by me to the audience in the theatre at Dublin, after my lecture on the *Repeal of the Union*, on the evening of the 8. November.

When the applause had subsided, Mr. Cobbett again presented himself, and read the following as his address to the

citizens of Dublin, for the kindness with which he had been received :

GENTLEMEN OF DUBLIN,—In taking my leave of you, and about to take my leave of Ireland, I cannot content myself with a mere verbal expression of the gratitude which I feel for the kind and generous treatment that I have experienced at your hands ; but think it proper in me to avail myself of the occasion to communicate to you, and through you, to all our fellow-subjects, these, the following statement and observations :

1. That I have seen eleven prime ministers come on the stage, one after another, and be, one after another, snatched off by death, or turned off it by the more lucky actors ; that all these have been my enemies, each causing as much mischief to be done to me as he could ; and, that I am convinced that the one who is now upon this stage is most cordially disposed to act up to the example of his predecessors.

2. That these men, having always millions at their command, and always a hungry pack of mercenary writers in their pay, began their hunting of me at a time when I had but just quitted the red coat and sixpence a day ; that, in 1820, the present Lord Chancellor laid it down as a *maxim*, that Cobbett must, at all events, be *run down* ; and that these clever fellows have been at the work of *hunting* and *running down* for now more than thirty years, until they have at last fairly run me into a seat in Parliament, and into a set of circumstances which have led to all those marks of honour which you and your countrymen have been pleased to bestow upon me.

Gentlemen, I am proud of being the representative of freemen ; I am proud of my constituents, and of the station in which they have placed me ; I am proud of the applause of my countrymen ; I am, above all things, proud of the manner in which I have been received in this part of the kingdom, to which I came alone, and in which I was an utter stranger. I enjoy these things exceedingly ; but oh, how sweet are they, when taken in conjunction with a reflection on

the mortification, the impotent rage, that are burning up the souls of the haughty and empty-headed men, who, have been so long endeavouring, if not to destroy me, to cover me with indelible disgrace.

Still, however, there are considerations beyond these arising out of this visit to Ireland. The malignant men who have so long been employing a hireling press for the purpose of degrading me, know full well the attachment of the people of England to me ; and they know also, that the kind reception given me by the people of Ireland will have a tendency to encourage a mutual friendship between the two people. "*Divide and govern*" has, in all times been the maxim of tyrants : "*Unite and be free*," ought to be the maxim of the people. The present state of things never could have existed had the people of England and Ireland known one another as well as I know them both. The great object of my visit was, to be able to promote this desirable union in sentiment of the people of the two countries ; and, gentlemen, you may be assured that if it be in the power of man to effect that object, it shall be effected by me.

Gentlemen, it is impossible that Ireland can be suffered to remain in its present state ! What ! vessels laden with provisions ready to sail for England, while those who have raised the provisions are starving on the spot where they have raised them ! What ! landlords living in England, having a "*riot*" to drive the King's subjects out of this island, on pain of starvation from hunger and from cold ! What ! call upon England for meal and money to be sent in charity to save the people of Ireland from starving, and make the relieved persons pay rent the same year ! What ! demand allegiance from a man whom you toss out upon the road, denying that he has any right to demand from any part of the community the means of sustaining life ! Tell him that there is no law even for the protection of his life, and yet that he owes allegiance ! What ! give to three hundred and forty-nine thousand of the English people as many representatives in Parliament as you

give to the whole Irish nation, and bid the latter be content!

Gentlemen, there must be a change these things cannot continue; and let me be permitted to hope that the knowledge which I have now acquired, and that the support which I shall receive from you may enable me to do some thing, at least, in the accomplishment of that change; and thereby, besides the performance of my duty, demonstrate that gratitude which I shall ever feel towards all Ireland, and particularly towards you, the gentlemen of Dublin

PAPER-MONEY.

I AM going to insert presently, from an American paper bribed with English money, a paragraph or two relative to the elections which have been recently going on. If we were to believe this hired ruffian, who is an "accommodated" insolvent, we should take it for granted that the new Congress will be hostile to the President; but we must not be such beasts as to believe him. The very language in which he conveys his lies to us, proves to me that a very great majority of the new Congress will be on the side of the President, and against the infernal paper-money. But even if there were to be a majority against the President, he will be President until after the charter of the infamous Bank shall have expired; and he has given us HIS WORD, that, let what will happen, he will never give his assent to a renewal of the charter. So that the base plottings of London will be defeated, happen what may besides. However, *the thing is already done*. Gold and silver are the legal currency in America, as they are in England at this time. There are bank-notes circulating with the gold and silver, as they now circulate in England; but the gold and silver are daily getting more and more into vogue, and the paper daily disappearing. So that there is no hope of a rise of prices here in England. America has no debt and no rascally pensions, grants, sinecures, and allowances. Her returning to real

money hurts nobody but rogues; nobody but fraudulent villains. She has no taxes to be doubled by returning to cash, as we had at the time when Peel's stupid bill was passed. The President has swept away the locusts that were devouring the fruit of the people's labour; and now all is right again in that country, leaving us more burdened than ever, and our distracted councillors reeling about like drunken men. I will now insert the lies of this bribed reptile about the elections; and when I have done that I have another article to insert relative to myself.

"LIVERPOOL, Thursday Evening.—
"By the arrival this afternoon of the packet-ship *Columbus*, advices have been received from the United States, eight days later than the preceding accounts, per the *George Washington*.
"The greatest possible excitement prevailed throughout the States, caused by the elections which were then proceeding. On the 16 ult., when the packet-ship left New York, the returns were decidedly in favour of the Bank party. In Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, the contests had terminated in the return of strong and determined opponents of General Jackson. As may naturally be expected with a people possessing the warm temperament and political license of the Americans, the most unbounded fierceness and political rancour were everywhere prevalent among all ranks and conditions of society. Charges of bribery have been made by the opposition party against the government; and the newspapers opposed to the existing authorities distinctly and unequivocally assert, that the government is badly employed in appropriating the coffers of the State to influence the elections, and bribe the voters. Time, and date, and place, are given with such unerring minuteness and circumspection, that if ignorance prevailed with respect to the usual policy, and too frequent disregard of truth, evinced by the American editors, when party feeling interferes with the expression of their opinions, some degree of reliance might

"be placed on these assertions. It is also asserted, that the most unfair means are used by the government in influencing the post-masters, for the purpose of preventing the circulation of the opposition papers through the post-office.

"Complaints are being continually made by distant subscribers of not receiving those papers, while the government is engaged in the work of inundating the country with free copies of the papers or 'collar presses' as they are insultingly termed, which espouse its interest. Complaints of a wholesale nature are also preferred against the post-masters, who are accused, in some instances unfortunately with too much truth, of the grossest robbery and speculation of the public money in the exercise of their calling. The government, it is declared, will bankrupt the nation in its desire to maintain power and ascendancy. Betting on the result of the elections is carried on to a great extent, and the *Journal of Commerce*, as well as the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, are shocked at the immorality and spirit of gambling which are thus generated. A great meeting of 'Whig' young men took place on the 14th, at the Masonic Hall, New York, which is described as being a 'proud result for the Whigs.' Long before the hour at which the meeting was to commence the spacious hall was crowded to overflowing with multitudes anxious to show their devotion to the 'constitution'; that is, their opposition to General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren."

Now for myself.

"Mr. Charles Mathews, after an absence of fourteen years from America, had arrived in New York. Some extremely flattering notices of his general merits as an actor have appeared in the papers, which proceeding, as they do his appearance at the Park Theatre, are likely to be beneficial to him.

There is, however, another actor, who performs on another stage, against whom the most strong and indignant execrations are hurled by the Oppo-

sition papers. This is no less a personage than the celebrated *William Cobbett*, whose recent *Life of Andrew Jackson* appears to have excited the most bitter hatred in the breasts of those persons opposed to the policy of that statesman. The long vocabulary of hard names appears to have been literally exhausted in describing what are termed his atrocities."

Reader, congratulate me, but don't envy me; for all this enjoyment is justly my due. I have good health, without which there is no earthly blessing; I am going about seeing new countries; and am every where received with kindness and generosity indescribable; and that, too, by sensible and just men. I do not know how it can be possible for any human being to enjoy greater earthly pleasure than I now enjoy; but, surrounded as I am with delights, without any alloy, not all the other delights put together are so great as that of learning that I have put the caustic upon the proud flesh of these fraudulent monsters in America. I abstract myself as much as I can from all other subjects of thought: I eagerly get into bed, promising myself the unmixed pleasure of lying awake an hour to think of the torture that I am inflicting on these wretches: no saint ever felt half the delight at the most signal triumph over Satan. I endeavour to persuade myself, that I see the long and haggard visages of the detested villains, twisted into all sorts of shapes, like the well-known visage of a Scotch quack, who runs about the country bawling out, "USEFUL KNOWLEDGE." I think I see them with the father of lies before them, and with *NICHOLAS BROOKS* for their priest, imploring him to give them one more hour wherein to commit their frauds in exchange for the eternal damnation of their souls! I think I hear Satan reply: "What! I find you again, when the Bill for your souls is already over-due!"

This *LIFE OF JACKSON* was written one Saturday, during the last session of Parliament, I lying in bed, having been up in the House till one o'clock in the morning, and my secretary taking down

the words for the press. At the conclusion I remember that I said to him: "There! that's a nice handful of hot lime, that will make the vagabonds curl up and foam and sputter and spew till they expire."

The vagabond booksellers of PHILADELPHIA, who, for forty-two years, I have known for the greatest rogues that ever infested the earth, have had a "meeting" at the command of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, and have "revolved unanimously" that they will not sell the *Life of Jackson*. They certainly did not take the devil into council this time, for he would have told them, that this was SURE to cause a tenfold sale of the book, as well in Europe as in America.

PATRIOT CREEVY.

"MR Creevy, formerly member for Appleby, is the new commissioner of Greenwich Hospital, the emoluments of which office are about 1,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Creevy replaces Lord Auckland who, by the recent arrangements, has relinquished his seat at the Board. The five commissioners are now, Sir J. H. Ashurst, Mr. Poulton, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Lister, Mr. Creevy, and Mr. Twiss."

I have known this man for a patriot any time these thirty-two years. The last effort of patriotism that I heard of him was, his going to OLIVIER as a candidate, for the purpose of keeping me out, sent thither for that purpose by the GRAYS, the LEBERS, the RUSSELLS, and the BROUGHAMS. He was a candidate along with this latter at Liverpool once; and now, at last, we have to pay him a thousand pounds a year. Here is a TIERNEY, too! I had thanked God many times that we had got rid of that name and that race; but it seems that old TIERNEY, like the ADDINGTONS, and many others, lived in the barley-mow till he bred in it! Ah! this is a sort of population of which we have a surplus. God Almighty knows. We want a thorough-going "RAT HUNT". terriers, cats, ferrets, broomsticks, guns:

we want the barn surrounded, and not let any of the devils escape to the straw-stacks and the hedges. We do nothing if we leave an ADAM and EVELINE: we must totally exterminate the race, or they will overrun us again. Burning down the barn is of no use, if we let the breeders escape. And, then, it is so difficult to get at them: they are nestled into every hole and corner: they are of all sizes, and assume all shapes. However, something we must do: we must have one-pound notes and legal tender; or annihilate this race we must.

NO WORK.

(From the Morning Chronicle, 7. November.)

We yesterday received files of Jamaica papers to the 24. September. It appears that great difficulty is experienced in giving effect to the apprenticeship system. The difficulty is, precisely that which was anticipated by reflecting individuals. If all the hangers-on at Government offices in London were shipped off to Jamaica or Demerara, they would not, however numerous, be sufficiently so, to supply the places of the whips on the different estates. When the slave was refractory, before the Emancipation Act, the driver was at hand with his cart-whip, and the overseer within call. But, during the prevalence of a refractory spirit among the slaves, a long interval must elapse between a refusal to work and the punishment ordered by the magistrate. Corporal punishment can only be efficacious in the way of enforcing labour, when it is administered at the will of the master. Between freedom and slavery it has hitherto been found impossible to discover a medium. In Livonia, Esthonia, and the other Baltic provinces of Russia, the power of punishing serfs was taken from the landowners, and given to magistrates named by the Government. The result was, that the landlord lost all means of making the labour beneficial. If a complaint was lodged either by master or serf, the time consumed in hearing it was at the expense of the master. The charges were borne by the master. If the serf was sentenced to imprisonment, the time was

the master's loss. If corporal punishment was slight, the serf disregarded it or became sulky; if the punishment was severe, it afforded the serf an excuse for doing nothing. The result was, that the landowners, sick of the business, wished to make the serfs completely free; but they refused their freedom: they considered that they had a right to their grounds, and that freedom was only another word for turning them out on the world beggars, like so many ejected Irish tenants.

In Jamaica, the owners are dissatisfied with the special magistrates, and the Marquis of Sligo has been obliged to make a tour of the island in order to adjust the differences. The *Kingston Chronicle* of 23. September, states, that his Excellency had arrived at Montego Bay, on Thursday the 18. From the following account of the investigation, it appears, that in consequence of the harassing duty to which the special magistrates are subjected, there has been a great mortality amongst them; that his Excellency expected the mortality would amount to one-half:

"His Majesty's ship *Rhadamanthus* arrived in the bay on Thursday at half-past three o'clock. His Excellency received company on board as soon as the vessel came to anchor. We understand, that at the instance of Mr. Manderson, his Excellency requested such persons as had forwarded memorials to him respecting the conduct of the special magistrates, would repair on board at seven on Friday morning, that they might receive such consideration as he was willing to bestow upon their respective merits. A great number of gentlemen accordingly went on board, and were graciously received by his Excellency, who took his seat in the captain's cabin, and reviewed the complaints with which he had been furnished, with great discrimination, and decided matters with as much satisfaction, we believe, as the circumstances of all the cases would admit. *Bon-Ancie* is one thing with which his Excellency is truly blessed; and we think that all who were present must have been convinced of this. We trust

that every good man will see the necessity of following his Excellency's advice, and avoid creating dissensions in future. In conclusion, his Excellency thought that the special magistrates had not been supported in this parish as they had been in all the others, and added, that without that, the law could not be so efficiently administered, nor could they be so much respected in the estimation of the apprentices. He said, that with regard to the difficulties of attending to the calls of the various proprietors of all the estates, it was impossible for them to accomplish it; that human nature would only go a certain length; and that the mortality which had already taken place among the special magistracy, showed the harassing duties in which they were engaged, in fact, he expected there would be a loss of one half their number ere the matter could be remedied; and that the insufficient pay allowed did not enable them to perform those duties in the way they ought to be done. He, however, had sent home a strong representation, both of the practical difficulties in carrying into effect this part of the machinery of the bill, and in respect to the small pay apportioned to them. The vessel was now getting under weigh, and the company left the ship to proceed on her voyage."

His Excellency was expected at Spanish Town on the 24. There the rising spirit of insubordination and incendiarism had created the utmost alarm. The *Kingston Chronicle*, a moderate Government paper, does not hesitate to observe that the Government has been too lenient: "We trust," it says, "the tour of his Excellency has had the effect of opening his eyes to the necessity of enforcing a more rigorous system of discipline."

We shall give to-morrow, from these papers, reports of some judicial proceedings under the new state of things; and we must own that some of the circumstances detailed show that if the apprentices sin, they have occasionally been grievously sinned against. Indeed it would almost seem, from a case, "*Anderson v. Gore*," that there was an im-

tention to drive the negroes to desperation.

The following extracts will show the spirit which prevails among the negroes:

(From the Kingston Chronicle of 22. Sept.)

"There was a report in circulation in this city on Saturday, of a very unpleasant nature, but whether well or ill founded we cannot take upon ourselves to assert, not having ourselves received any official intelligence from St. Thomas in the East. It was currently reported that the apprentices on Belvidere estate, the property of Mr. Cuthbert, had struck work; and that while the special magistrate was on the estate, having repaired thither with a company of police to restore them to obedience, they had the daring boldness to set his authority at open defiance, and to apply the torch to two trash houses, which were speedily consumed. We are happy to state, however, that prompt measures were immediately adopted, to prevent this rebellious feeling from spreading, and that nineteen of the apprentices were apprehended on the spot, and conveyed to the workhouse."

"Since writing the foregoing, further intelligence has been received, which we believe can be relied on. As already stated, the torch was applied to two of the trash-houses. We quote the following from the Gazette.

"We have been informed, that the fire on Belvidere was happily got under, at about eight o'clock at night, that the police force and militia were stationed on the property last night. The apprentices attempted to rescue the prisoners, but were repulsed.

"The cause of this affair is said to be this—the stipendiary magistrate had visited the estate on the day above named, and had ordered several of the apprentices, who had been guilty of misdemeanour, to receive corporal punishment on the estate. It had been stated to Mr. Lyon, in the early part

of the morning, that the people on the estate were extremely unruly, in consequence of which he ordered the police force to be on the property; and when the punishment was to be inflicted on the delinquents, a body of them prevented the order of the magistrate from being carried into effect. Immediately Mr. Lyon had left the property, a messenger was sent to him, stating that the apprentices had set fire to the work. On being informed of this, Mr. Lyon applied to another magistrate at Morant Bay to turn out the militia; but that gentleman thinking he had not the power, applied to the clerk of the peace for advice, who informed him that the senior officer on the Bay could order out the companies that were there. This order was therefore given, and two companies, with the constabulary force, mounted on horseback, proceeded to Belvidere, where they apprehended the ringleaders. These men were marched off to Morant Bay gaol, although an attempt was made to rescue them by their fellow-apprentices, and who were with difficulty repressed, even at the point of the bayonet."

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE HON. RICHARD BARRETT, CUSTOS OF ST. JAMES."

(From the Kingston Chronicle, of Sept. 20.)

"Some of our contemporaries, who have on former occasions failed to do justice to the eminent talents and integrity of the Hon. Richard Barrett, are now obliged to acknowledge that his recent resignation of office proves, that no temptation of power or influence could induce him to act in opposition to what he conscientiously considers the real interests of the country. His pre-eminent abilities, we may safely say, forced him into office, but he has always pursued a straight forward path, and disclaimed to truckle either to prejudice or party. He stood manfully forward amidst a host of opposition, as the first liberal and powerful advocate of the coloured population! He was the first member in our colonial legislature who

eloquently pleaded their cause, and who dared to deprecate the inhuman exercise of the whip! He it was who stood forth alone to assert an enlightened policy, and to expose the corruption of the state, and the inequalities of office. He pointed out the proper policy to be pursued, if we wished to develop the resources of the island, and we have no hesitation in affirming, that had his judicious recommendations been duly attended to, this colony might have been placed in a far more flourishing condition! The pages of the *Kingston Chronicle* and *Jamaica Journal* bear testimony to the independent spirit and indefatigable zeal with which he laboured to improve the resources and elevate the character of the country. Fifteen years ago he urged, with ample energy, the necessity for stimulating the industry of the free native population, the benefit which would arise by the encouragement of small settlers, and the introduction of machinery and manufactures. His wise and reasonable suggestions were scattered upon stocks and stones! His liberality was booted, and his plan disregarded! And this is the man, the discriminating, intelligent politician; the liberal-minded and unbiassed patriot, who has been obliged to quit his post in the hour of danger! And for what? Because he cannot consent to truckle to the puerile, markish, pseudo-philanthropy, which fosters idleness and feeds vice, and which, if the present system be persisted in, will fill the colony with strife, wretchedness, and degradation. Deeply do we regret the resignation of Mr. Barrett at the present alarming crisis, for we know him much better qualified by an acute, vigorous, and discriminating judgment, to afford useful and salutary assistance to the executive. He has none of the grovelling vanity of a cringing courtier, but he possesses the far more valuable attributes of sound judgment and practical experience. The governor estimated his superior abilities as highly as we do, he would not have consented to accept his resignation. This augurs badly for the welfare of Jamaica."

"THE RESIGNATION OF THE HON.
S. M. BARRETT, CUSTOS OF ST.
ANN'S.

"The resignation of this highly-esteemed philanthropist is another very bad symptom of the state of the times, for no person can possibly accuse him of being deficient in the milk of human kindness. He has been notorious for carrying his liberality to the extreme verge of imprudence, and endangering discipline by over-indulgence. There must be something rotten in the state of Denmark, if the bold decrees of this very benevolent proprietor have given occasion for any dissatisfaction amongst the labouring class, or their special protectors, the stipendiary magistrates. It is rumoured that the executive allowed a special to usurp the functions of the Custos of St. Ann's, which caused his resignation. We wait, however, for further explanation of these extraordinary proceedings with extreme anxiety."

(From the *Kingston Chronicle* of 19. Sept.)

"The intelligence from those parts of the country from which we have received letters, is still gloomy and unsatisfactory. An experienced planter in St. Ann's, under date of the 17. inst, writes us, 'The apprentices in this parish are daily becoming more insolent and lazy; so much so, that a great change, for the better or worse, must soon take place.' They are not earning five-pence per diem. This the masters cannot stand.' From Hanover our correspondent writes, 'It is really laughable to find the people awakening from their torpor, and discovering that the apprentices are not likely to work at all except in the hours which the law prescribes. I will tell you from whence the now disappointed expectations of many arise.' There are several very extensively concerned attorneys, who funded, by giving way to all the whims of the apprentices, they would rear up for themselves a good name for their constituents in England; and, moreover, with our governor, on whom they have, as it will ere long be shown, attempted to impose the truly incredible fiction, that the people under their manage-

ment were going on exceedingly well &c.&c.; and it is a notorious fact, that one of those lately-made 'great men' had the folly to write a circular to all the overseers in his employment, not to require the special magistrates to visit the estates, as it would look bad, and induce the people to think the properties were not under well-regulated management!! No sooner, however, is it found absolutely necessary to bring the misconduct of the apprentices before the special magistrate, than you hear these time-serving folk wondering at being deceived as regards the behaviour of the apprentices, quite unwilling to open their eyes to the deception they have been themselves practising on the governor and the community. The law must be greatly amended to render property of any value; some regulations for 'task work will be the only available mode.' To whom the foregoing allusion is intended to apply, we are quite ignorant. The conduct of the party, however, deserves public reprobation."

TREATMENT OF THE IRISH POOR.

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—It gives me pleasure to hear of your being in Ireland, advocating the interest of the most wretched of any existing (the Irish peasantry). You have travelled over a great extent of uncultivated lands in Ireland, and I have no doubt saw much poverty among the tenantry; but the south-western parts of the county of Cork, would present to you an appearance far more miserable than any you have met with. In many places the land, deteriorated from repeated cultivation, without the assistance of capital to keep it in a productive state, will not yield the cup potato (considered by the people a luxury), and is now usually planted with the white potato, which is the food of the grower, who would consider himself rich indeed, if he could calculate with certainty upon a sufficiency of this, of all other, the least nutritious food.

To the generality of travellers this country presents an appearance of improvement, from the great extent of mountain land which has been brought into cultivation. Upon minute observation it will be found, though the lands have been changed in appearance from the first state, the alteration is of comparatively little value, being unattended with the outlay of capital necessary for permanent improvement. This extension of cultivation, strange as it may seem, is almost wholly attributable to the want of capital, which any person, who will take trouble to inquire into the progress of improving lands in Ireland, will easily perceive, from the cheapness and facility with which a crop can be taken off newly broken lands, but with this crop the improvement ends, the cultivator scarcely ever having means of sowing even grass seed in the land.

The house of the farmer shows no appearance of comfort. What must be the feelings of an Englishman, on seeing the damp earthen floor; no bed except what a few sheaves of straw afford; the domestic animals sharing the same shelter with their nominal owners: yet we are told the condition of the people is bettered, while every thing is absorbed under the name of rent and taxes, and no remnant left to afford a comfortable subsistence, nor to be the means of accumulating wealth.

There is another class of the many destitute to which I beg to call your attention, those congregated in the small towns, where the quantity of unemployed labour has been considerably increased by that extirpating machine called the sub-letting act, though the great power which propelled it has been to ascertain the great decrease by the recent enactment, yet its lesser wheels still revolve, and wherever put in motion, at every turn throws out a pauper, who directs his course, with his houseless family, to the next small town, erects a dwelling by rearing a few sticks against some vacant wall, where they must breathe a vitiated air (instead of their accustomed mountain breeze) which rings on some lingering disease, that

ends the sufferings of the unfortunate victims.

The average earnings of a labourer here is not more than from one and sixpence to two shillings a week, without diet, upon which a family of from four to six, usually depend for subsistence. This occasional labour leaves a good deal of unemployed time, which induces one of the most mischievously delusive means of employment that can be imagined, planting con-acres with potatoes. The following statement fully bears me out in the assertion :

	£.	d.
Rent at Bantrey of an English acre	4	
8 boats of weeds, at 8s. each ..	3	
Expense of drawing weeds to the land at the distance of 1½ mile, 3s. per boat	1	4
Ploughing the land	0	3
Four men hacking, at 8d. per day	0	2
Seed Potatoes, 96 stone, at 2d. per stone	0	16
Two men, spreading manure ..	0	1
Cutting Seed	0	3
Eight men sticking potatoes, at 8d.	0	5
Shutting ground after planting ..	0	1
Five men, first earthing, at 8d. per day	0	3
Six men weeding	0	4
Sixteen men, at 8d. per day, second earthing	0	10
Thirty-two men digging in crop	1	1
Three men picking, at 8d. per day	0	2
Drawing Potatoes home ...	1	0
	13	6

Average produce of the acre 1,200 stone, at 2d. per stone, 10l., which leaves the person who plants the potatoes, the loss at 3l. 6s. 8d., and when you consider that the oatweed, the drawing of it, the seed, the ploughing, and the carriage of the potatoes home, and supposed to be paid for in cash, but when labour is given, which is frequently

the case, so much is required that it adds considerably to the above loss.

The bad effect of this system is not confined to this part of the country. In Galway, Mayo, Roscommon, and Westmeath, it is equally destructive to the man whose poverty subjects him to this species of extortion. In the months of March and April, those who plant corn-acres, traverse the country in search of land, with an avidity only equalled by their poverty, and when the value of land to the farmer is not more than from fifteen to twenty shillings an acre. The enormous price of 4 and 5l. is demanded for the corn-acre. If this is not usury, and the very worst description of it, taking advantage of the necessities of a starving people, I suppose you are aware that in the counties where the corn-acre system is general, there has been periodical famine, to a considerable extent, which the Government or the benevolent cannot so repeatedly relieve.

I have gone through a few of the evils which affect the country. You may perceive the different changes the farmer suffers until he becomes the freeholder in the same town, which is the ultimate remainder of his misery.

With the fragile connexion which subsists between landlord and tenant, there are several others relative to commerce, each depending on the other, from that of the banker to the lowest trader in the succession; the greater possesses the most unmitigated power over the lesser; for instance, by the banker suddenly refusing to discount, he annihilates the merchant; this can be done, and too often it is, by the information received from some malevolently disposed person, who is induced to destroy his neighbour, because he happens to be his competitor. In like manner the various traders, who depend on credit (and where is the man who does not) may be made bankrupts; and the natural inclination to acquire wealth by removing competition, stimulates this species of destruction which is unknown in England; because there the law makes it the object of each class in so-

ciety to preserve the welfare of all ; and when wealth depends in a great degree upon having the whole community comfortable ; it adds to the law the powerful aid of private interest, for if any individual becomes distressed, his support will be drawn from the pocket of the rich.

It is full time that some protection should be afforded to Ireland, to prevent the landed proprietor, through a false notion of interest, or other motives from adding to the miseries of the peasantry without being obliged to contribute to the support of the pauper, which he makes, who is now maintained by the industrious shopkeeper and honest tradesman, whose benevolence imposes the tax, sooner than their fellow man should starve.

I remain your obedient servant,

A. SMITH.

FISCAL EFFECTS OF THE UNION.

(From the *Dublin Morning Register*,
8. November).

A favourable opportunity occurs at present for the publication of an epitome of what we have on former occasions advanced on the subject, and we shall embrace it.

The most prominent of these grievances is that which comes under the head debt.

At the time of the Union we owed (speaking in round numbers) 20,000,000*l.* and Great Britain 420,000,000*l.* ~~Our~~ then, was not quite so much as the one sixteenth of the British debt. ~~This rendered it necessary that there should be separate exchequers and separate taxes.~~ But a clause in the act of Union provided that, at some future day, the united Parliament should have the power of forming a junction of the exchequers, and levying indiscriminate taxes. Circumstances were to warrant the exercise of this power. One was the liquidation of the two debts. Another was such a change in their relative amounts as would reduce their proportions from 16 to one to 7½ to

one. The third was such an improvement in the wealth and comforts of the Irish people, as would prove them capable of enduring as heavy a rate of taxation in all instances as the British ; and of this improvement the united Parliaments were to judge by the relative consumption of beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt. Now our inquiry is, in the first place, how far these circumstances justified the Parliament in the exercise of the power of joining the debts and their liabilities, and the exchequers generally, and what the consequence of the exercise of the power has been to Ireland.

1. The two debts were unliquidated in 1816. They had, indeed, enormously increased. There is no justification here for the act of the united Parliament.

2. The debts came within the prescribed proportion, for as much was borrowed for the pretended "uses of Ireland," as made her obligations to the public creditor which were as one to 16 in 1800, as high even as one to seven in 1816. If this had been the result of fair or equitable dealing towards Ireland there would be at least one strong ground for the act of the united Parliament ; but it was entirely the contrary, it was the result of admitted wrong-doing towards Ireland, wrong-doing proclaimed by the Parliament itself, its committees, and the ministers of the Crown.

A rate of expenditure was fixed for Ireland at the Union. This was regulated by certain tests of her relative ability, adopted by the government of the time. This rate was one part for Ireland and 7½ for Great Britain. The tests were admitted by Lord Castlereagh himself to be a defective guide, but he said the Government had no better to resort to, and accordingly there was introduced into the act a clause giving the united Parliament a power of adopting such other tests as experience might sanction, and proportioning the expenditure in all instances to the actual ability of the people who were to raise it. Sir John Newport, who has been referred to by the *Edinburgh Review* and the present Ministers as an authority of the highest class on all questions relating to Ireland,

contended in 1816 that the proportion should have been one to 15, instead of one to 7½. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, then Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, spoke these words: "You contracted with her (Ireland) for an expenditure she could not meet; your own share of which you could not meet but by sacrifices unexampled, by exertions, the tension of which only England could have borne. Ireland had been led to hope her expenditure would have been less than before she was united to you. In the fifteen years preceding the Union it amounted to 41,000,000%; but in the fifteen years of union it swelled to the enormous amount of 148,000,000%. The increase of her revenue would have more than discharged, without the aid of loans, an expenditure greater than that of the fifteen years which preceded 1801. Your own committee have shown you what an advance in permanent taxation Ireland had made." In a protest which certain members of the House of Lords put on the journals in 1800, a still stronger view was taken of the injustice done to Ireland. Taking the balance of trade, they said, as a criterion of ability, the proportion of expenditure should have been 29 to 1

Current cash 12 to 1

Permanent revenue 13 to 1

the average of which is 18 to one. If we were made responsible for more than double our due share of expenditure, and if this injustice was the true cause of the inordinate accumulation of our debt, that accumulation afforded no warranty for the act of the united Parliament.

It is perfectly plain that if no greater expenditure was imposed upon Ireland than she was able to bear, her debt could not have had a more rapid increase than the British, and that in 1816 it would have borne exactly the same proportion to the British as it did in 1800, a circumstance which would have rendered a junction of the debt liabilities as glaringly inconsistent with all principles of justice in 1816 as 1800.

The act of Union gave the united Parliament a power of borrowing money

for either country at their discretion. If in one or the other they thought proper in a given year to raise money by loan, in preference to a making up of any deficiency in the supplies by new taxes, they were left at liberty to do it. In exercise of this power they borrowed in some years as much for Ireland as England herself, and there was one year in which they added three or four millions to the Irish debt, though they paid off a trifling amount to the British. In this power some have affected to believe there was conferred the right of reducing the proportions of the two debts, not by a liquidation of the British debt, but by an inordinate accumulation of the Irish debt. We have read, we believe, all the debates in the two Parliaments on the Union, and we never saw a sentence in which it was supposed that the proportion could be reduced without a liquidation of the British debt. Mr. Pitt, in April, 1800, (*Parliamentary History*, v. 35, p. 53), asked these questions: "Would you defer the advantage of the Union, because you cannot at once carry it to the extent you wish? Or will you defer it until, by the increase of the debt of Ireland, and the decrease of the debt of England, the two countries had so far approximated towards each other that an indemnity of finance might be established?" This was the universal language on the ministerial side in both countries, while on the other side the notion that any just approximation could take place, by any disproportioned increase of the Irish debt, was treated with the most contemptuous ridicule. On the 15 of March, 1800, Mr. Foster properly contemplated a rapid increase of the Irish debt as a demonstrative proof of our growing poverty. A liquidation of the British debt, which was on that and all other occasions spoken of as a certain event, was, on the contrary, regarded by him, and with justice, as an evidence of Britain's increase of wealth. Then, said he, in effect, this is the monstrous absurdity which you would force down our throats: that Ireland's increase of poverty and England's increase of wealth are to bring

them to an equality of condition, so as to be able to bear an equality of taxes," "This," added Mr. Foster, "is CONTRARY TO ALL REASON." So must say all just men who are able to put two ideas together; and still it is in a theory so preposterous that any shadow of justification cannot be found for this act of the united Parliament.

There was one way in which some colour of sanction might have been given to a considerably disproportioned increase of the Irish debt. Discretionary borrowing was authorized in order to prevent an increase of taxes at unsuitable periods. Borrowing in this view was for the purpose of conferring an exemption from taxes. Now, if it gave that indulgence in any one instance to Ireland; if her taxation experienced no augmentation; and if new taxes were falling upon Britain in disproportioned masses; then, indeed, we would not have so much to complain of on the score of the inordinate increase of our debt. But borrowing gave us no such indulgence. New taxes were imposed in almost every session. They were laid on at length in such abundance as to injure the receipts of the Exchequer themselves, and this was declared in 1822 by one of the present Government, Lord Lansdowne, (*Hansard v. 7, p. 1050*), and by another member of the same Government, Mr. Poulett Thomson, on the 26. of March, 1830. (Pamphlet published by Ridgway, p. 39). Nay, THE INCREASE OF IRISH TAXATION WAS NEARLY AS MUCH GREATER, THAN BRITAIN'S AS THE INCREASE OF HER DEBT, and for this we have, in the report, of the finance committee of 1815 (alluded to by Mr. V. Fitzgerald), an authority in the remarkable words which follow: "For several years Ireland has advanced in permanent taxation more rapidly than Great Britain itself, notwithstanding the immense exertions of the latter country, including the extraordinary and war taxes, the permanent revenue of Great Britain having increased from the year 1801 to the proportion of 16½ to 10; the whole revenue of Great Britain, including war taxes, as 20½ to 10; and the revenues

"of Ireland in the proportion of 23 to 10. But in the twenty-four years referred to your committee, the increase of Irish revenue has been in the proportion of 46½ to 10." (Session, 1814-15, vol. 6).

Then, instead of being less harassed than Britain by newly-imposed taxes, we were far more harassed; and in this injustice vanishes, we say, every shadow of justification for an inordinate accumulation of our debt. The debt, then, should not have disproportionably accumulated, there was warranty in reason, or equity, IN THE LETTER OR SPIRIT OF THE ACT OF UNION ITSELF, for the junction of the debts and their unequal liabilities.

Mr. Spring Rice, we understand, is in the habit of saying, and has probably said in Parliament, that this act of the united Parliament was, under all the circumstances, the best that could have happened to Ireland. This only means that if a man be fraudulently involved in debt, and if he be not able to meet his engagements, the best thing to do in his case is to make him a bankrupt. We deny the ethics of the proposition altogether. The best thing to do with the man is to shift the unjust debt from his shoulders—to say that it does not belong to him, and that he should not bear it. This is precisely what should have been done in 1816, in the case of Ireland. In that year her real capability was ascertained by actual experience. Whether the proportion of expenditure should have been, according to Sir John Newport, one to 17, or, according to the Lords' protest, one to 18, or according to Lord Castlereagh, one to 7½, could have been determined to the minutest fraction. The whole arrangement would have been revised since 1800. A new rate of expenditure, both past and future, should have been fixed—the right of applying surplus revenue to her own domestic purposes should have been left in its full force. And what would have been the consequence of this "equitable adjustment" to Ireland? MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF HER TAXES, THAT HAVE GONE TO ENGLAND, WOULD HAVE RE-

MAINED AT HOME, CHERISHING HER INDUSTRY AND AUGMENTING HER WEALTH. There would, besides, have been this very material advantage, that England should now raise, by exclusive and separate taxation, the interest of a great deal more than HALF the whole debt. Instead of separate taxes, amounting now to probably three or four millions, she would have separate taxes amounting to FIFTEEN MILLIONS. And would this, after all, have been an arrangement prejudicial to the substantial interests of England herself, though it was one quite consistent with the "compact" of 1800? Far are we from thinking they would. Increased security in Ireland, and augmented sources of commercial wealth, would return to her a measure of compensation "filled up, pressed down, and flowing over."

3. The third in the class of circumstances to which we allude is an approximation between the countries in the wealth and comforts of the people. We need not again give the figures to show that this approximation had not taken place. Suffice it to say, that in 1816, or even in 1834, the countries are, considering the advance of population in Ireland, as distant from each other as they were in 1800. Here again there is a total failure of all justification for the act of the united Parliament, and the ruinous consequences to Ireland attendant upon it.

The other heads of fiscal grievance we must, after detaining the reader so long, dismiss in a paragraph, in which they shall be merely named. First, our standard of taxation was at the Union in all instances lower than the English, for a reason stated by Mr. Pitt, when he said that "England always denied us 'the use of our own resources, and rendered us completely subservient to 'her own interest and opulence.'" The standard is now, except in instances not of consequence to the mass of the people, the same as the English. Secondly, during the war our taxes were, on the whole, more than doubled. The same thing did not happen in England, and yet since the peace the net relief extended to England has amounted to

between thirty-five and forty millions, whereas one million, according to a return used without contradiction in the last session by Mr. O'Connell, is the total of the relief extended to Ireland. Thirdly, our expenditure has been every year diminishing without bringing adequate relief to the people; whereas for every million of expenditure diminished in England there has been a corresponding relief afforded to the English people. Finally, England bears at present a peace taxation, whereas Ireland endures nearly the full amount of her war burdens, though the present Ministers, when out of office (and Lord Althorp especially) claimed for Ireland the justice of their removal.

LORD DURHAM.

GLASGOW FESTIVAL TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

(From the Times.)

(Continued from p. 381.)

At 11 o'clock the doors of the Court-hall were opened. The hall was fitted up as at the circuit court. The magistrates' seat and the jury-box were reserved for the town-council; the table in front of the bench was occupied by the town-clerks and others officially connected with the city, and also by the provost, two of the magistrates, and the town-treasurer of Paisley. By 12 o'clock the centre seats were mostly filled. These had been allotted to the stewards of the dinner, with the exception of those set apart for the gentlemen belonging to the Press. The back seats had been reserved for the gentlemen who headed the various deputations from a distance; and the chief deputation from the Trades. At half-past 1 o'clock, the magistrates and town-council assembled in the Council Chamber, in readiness to receive Lord Durham. At a quarter to 1; the loud cheering on the outside announced the approach of the procession. The magistrates, and the other gentlemen who were to occupy the bench, then left the Council Chamber, and having received his lordship under the piazza, were severally introduced to him in the

Council Chamber, after which they proceeded to the hall. On entering, his lordship was received with loud cheers. Having taken his seat at the right hand of the chief magistrate, and silence having been obtained,

Baillie Gilmour, in presenting the freedom of the city, said, "My lord, we feel particularly gratified in bestowing upon your lordship the highest honour which we have it in our power to give. In the present instance, however, we feel that we do not confer so high a favour as you are entitled to by your merits, and by your exertions in the cause of the people. It must also give us peculiar pleasure to reflect that to your lordship we are much indebted for that measure of reform which has enabled us to meet you here in our present capacity.

Baillie Gilmour then, after having read it, presented the freedom of the city to Lord Durham.

The Earl of DURHAM rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said that in returning thanks for the honour which had just now been conferred on him, he could not but express his dissent from one thing which had fallen from Baillie Gilmour. So far from that honour not being commensurate with his merits, he conceived that no Englishman could fail to appreciate it as the highest mark of respect which could be paid to him, coming as it did, not from a close corporation, but from a free community. He could not but feel, however, that it was not paid to the individual who was now before them, so much as to the cause of which he had been an honest though an humble advocate. (Cheers). He did not see any exclusive merit as to the Bill. He had co-operated zealously with his colleagues in carrying forward that measure, as he had always done where the object aimed at was the improvement of our institutions; but he would say here and every where else, that we were indebted for it to one man, and that man was Lord Grey. It was now 19 years since he had visited Glasgow before, and he could not but notice the many improvements which had

been effected since that time; but, of all these improvements, none gave him greater pleasure than when he looked around him in that hall, and saw, instead of a close corporation, a popularly elected magistracy. He repeated his thanks for the honour which had been conferred on him, and said that none whom they had so honoured, or might hereafter honour, could be more anxious than he was to contribute to the happiness of his country. Lord Durham sat down amidst tremendous applause.

The chamberlain then introduced the guildry of Perth to his lordship, when the dean of guild presented him with the freedom of that city. In his speech prefacing it, he complimented his lordship on his exertions to adapt our institutions to the "spirit of the times."

Lord Durham, in reply, said he was deeply sensible of those marks of their esteem which they had conferred on him. He wished that those in the same station with himself would mix more frequently with the people. It was of great importance that those to whom were intrusted the highest destinies of the nation should do so occasionally. While conveying to the citizens of Perth his thanks for their kindness, he might also tell them, that if he were ever in that part of the country again, he would certainly wait upon them, and it would give him no ordinary pleasure to mix with those whom he might now call his fellow-citizens.

Baillie Gilmour having then intimated that the deputation from the country and the trades would be received on the hustings, Lord Durham, accompanied by the magistrates, proceeded to the Council Chamber.

As might have been expected on such an interesting occasion, the crowds in the streets and in the green were immense. As his lordship left the Justiciary Court Hall, and proceeded on his way to the hustings, the air was rent with the joyous acclamations of the assembled multitude, while groups of them might be seen pressing forward in every direction to obtain one glance of the illustrious stranger. Nor was the motley character of those groups

one of the least imposing features of the scene; the old were cautiously moving onwards, the young and the middle-aged were dashing along with the greatest energy, while children were raised in the arms of their parents and their guardians to behold the vast assemblage met to do honour to one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age.

Upwards of 100 flags, with appropriate mottoes, waved in the air, and gave a pleasing variety to the scene.

The different trades rallied round their standards, and hailed his lordship with all the warmth and affection of old and steady reformers. The crowd around the hustings was exceedingly dense, and manifested great anxiety to hear his lordship, while those who were placed at a greater distance, and were consequently unable to catch his sentiments, conducted themselves in the most orderly manner, and gave a practical demonstration of the great interest which they took in the cause of reform.

There would at least be upwards of 120,000 on the green.

Mr. H. D. GRAHAM, after some very excellent remarks on the occasion which had called them together, said, in addressing his lordship, that the working classes now before him were persons whose opinions were the result of ardent study, and he hoped they had such resources in their industry, in their intelligence, and in their conduct, as would show they were entitled to, and worthy of, the extension to them of the franchise.

Mr. J. TAYLOR then read the address, which was listened to by the Earl of Durham with the most marked attention.

THE TRADES' ADDRESS.

"May it please your Lordship,—The workmen of Glasgow and neighbourhood feel it incumbent on them, on this proud occasion of your welcome visit, to express their high esteem towards one who has, from his long and ardent attachment to the principles of reform, and bold, firm, and manly vindication of the people's rights, earned to himself

the true distinction of nobleman, independent of hereditary influence, and the associations of mere rank and wealth.

"Above all, we honour and esteem your lordship for the sentiments recently expressed by you in Edinburgh and Dundee, whereby you acknowledge that neither wealth nor high blood are sufficient of themselves to propel a requisite and sanatory reform in our civil and political institutions, and that without the aid of the working classes every attempt at general improvement would be futile. We hail this declaration of your lordship as something like a call upon us to be again up and doing. We cling round you as the standard from which the banner of freedom is to be still further unfurled. We promptly seize, with gratitude, the friendly hand so unexpectedly stretched out towards us, and embrace the generous heart that has so warmly responded to the voice of a long-oppressed and insulted people.

"From sentiments so noble, and yet so novel, in one of your rank, it follows that your lordship would, were it in your power, assist in extending to workmen, whose aid is avowedly so necessary in forwarding the good and glorious cause of social and political reform, the highest privilege of rational freemen: the right of voting for those in whose hands the legislative functions are intrusted, or that it is the opinion of your lordship that the provisions of the bill, which you formerly aided in drawing up and carrying through so many opposing obstacles; a measure great for the time; and to the promotion of which, although not included in its provisions, we lent all the influence which we possessed, are inadequate for the purposes intended, and must be enlarged.

"Let not your lordship for a moment suppose that we are so inconsiderate as to expect all at once all that we innately feel an imperative right to claim: a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament, by the extension of the franchise to all who in any degree contribute to support the state, and advance the interests of the social compact. This we will ever claim; but in pity for the ignorance, the violent prejudices, and

the heartless illiberality of those of the higher classes who look upon us as a degraded caste, we will be glad to acquire by peaceable and constitutional means, and through the incessant drop-pings of imperishable truth, a gradual extension of our legitimate rights; and shall be happy, should your lordship join with us, in deeming household suffrage, vote by ballot, and the abridgment of the duration of Parliament, as measures now requisite, and which would satisfactorily lead to a better understanding among all classes of the community.

"That we are not demanding at this time the exercise of a portion of that political power which is our due, either rashly or unreasonably; we appeal to the measures passed in the two first sessions of what is called a reformed Parliament. Not one of these have, except with additional burden, upon the condition of the British labourer. We, indeed, rejoice that the black inhabitants of our colonies have been partially emancipated; but when 20,000,000 of money, the price of their freedom, were laid upon our shoulders, why did the legislature refuse to render the hands of industry more free? Why were the mean but lordly paupers of the state still left to fatten upon the fruits of our toil? Why was the base embargo on the bread of life, that we might have borne our burdens with the greater ease, and the unhallowed restrictions on the acquirement of useful knowledge, that we might have learned the laws of society more perfectly, not removed? And does not this total neglect of the interests of the British poor and labouring class, for a greater infusion of popular feeling into the national legislative assembly?"

"Taking it for granted that your lordship's response is in the affirmative, we earnestly desire that you may be speedily called upon to fill an influential and responsible situation in His Majesty's councils, and that you may be spared, with all your faculties and energies entire, to promote the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this great empire, and never, like some who, in office, instead of rising in

public confidence and esteem, have miserably failed, even in common honesty, sink into disrepute. These are the sincere and fervent aspirations of the workmen who now address you, and in whose name and by whose instructions we have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

"Your Lordship's obedient servants."

Earl DUNHAM then stepped forward amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. On silence being obtained, his lordship said, nothing could be more gratifying to him, nothing could be more honourable to him, than to merit the approbation of the trades and other industrious inhabitants of the city of Glasgow and the west of Scotland. (Cheers). He could not find words strong enough to give expression to his astonishment at the pleasant scene before him and around him. (Cheers). To see around him tens of thousands; nay, he counted hundreds of thousands, of brave but peaceful men, brought together by one animating principle, was a sight not to be seen in any other portion of the empire. (Cheers). He admired the beauty of their native country, its beautiful valleys, and its lakes; but in his mind, these were not the chief beauty of the country; he liked the mental attributes which characterized the people, and which proved the strength of the national character. (Cheers). To their enthusiasm, they added a grave and steady energy which was necessary for their success in any cause, while they were not on the adventurous side of violence. (Cheers). Supported in this line of conduct by the wise and the good, they would render irretrievable the exertions of the friends of freedom and good government. (Cheers). He most gratefully returned them thanks for the kind expressions they had used towards him personally. He was happy to hear them state all the complaints they had to make. Whatever were their feelings, it was proper that they should state them freely and openly. It was better that they should do so, because they would

thereby secure the concurrence of all who might agree in their feelings. He hoped they would give him credit for sincerity when he told them, that though he would not flatter them, or though he might not be able to adopt all the sentiments they expressed, or go all the length to which they might be inclined to go, he honoured them, and confided in them. (Cheers). There was a difference in feeling towards them between him and those who were opposed to him. They feared and detested the people; they thought they would use their power if they obtained it to the destruction of the institutions of the country. There was a fear and a jealousy of the people, his was affection and confidence. (Immense cheering). He would trust them with all he held most dear, with life, with honour, and with property, (cheers), knowing they would be all as safe in their hands as in his own. (Tremendous cheering). He believed their object was not, as was calumniously said of them, to destroy the institutions of the country, but the preservation of all that was good in them. (Cheers). He would proceed to notice some of the topics embraced in their address. It was the first occasion on which he had met them; he hoped it would not be the last on which he would appear among them, but it was proper they should know, who it was they had to deal with, and how far they could depend upon him. There were three points in their address to which they directed his attention: householders' suffrage, short Parliaments, and vote by ballot. He would make no concealment with them on these topics. He had long ago given pledges to his country as to the first two; he had already proposed in his place in Parliament householders' suffrage. (Cheers). He had already proposed triennial Parliaments (cheers); and his principles remained the same. (Cheers). He might have yielded as he ought to do to the feelings of good reformers, but he never did and never would compromise with the enemy, though he would never refuse to sink his own opinions if sincere and good reformers differed with him on the point

of expediency. There were great differences of opinion on the subject of the ballot. Some of the very best reformers thought that it was not advisable, and were therefore against it. After mature deliberation, and after giving the subject every possible consideration, he was decidedly in favour of the ballot. (Tremendous cheers). This declaration he did not make for a momentary purpose. Those who knew him, knew that he had long entertained and acted on these opinions. It was the only means of preventing corruption, the only security for the independence of the voter, without which the franchise would be a curse instead of a blessing. (Cheering). They would thus see that his opinions were not hostile to those in the address. They were not, however, to deceive themselves; he saw they did not, because they knew that there was a large portion of the country opposed to the extension of the suffrage. They feared the people, and were united to oppose them. They, too, were powerful; but he did not bid them despair, or to allow their aspiration, as they happily called it, after political freedom and independence, to be destroyed. Let them follow in the course they were pursuing, and which was admirably pointed out in the address; let them endeavour by tranquillity, and by the diffusion of sound political opinions, to show themselves every day more and more deserving of, and entitled to, the extension of political rights, and if it could be thus secured by obtaining the concurrence of the other classes of the people, it would secure the lasting peace and prosperity of the country. (Great applause). He again returned thanks for the splendid reception he had met with from the honest, the industrious, and the intelligent inhabitants of Glasgow. His lordship sat down amid deafening cheers.

The following addresses were then presented, but not read:

By Mr. W. Thomson, from the weavers (hand-loom) of Glasgow.

By Mr. Dunn, from the North West Political Union.

By Mr. Wallace, of Kelly, M.P., from the Political Union of Glasgow.

From the magistrates and town council of Greenock, and from the Greenock branch of the Renfrewshire Political Union.

Addressees were next presented from the trades of Edinburgh.

From the Edinburgh united Irishmen, and from the burgh of Dysart.

By Mr. Bontine, from the Renfrewshire Political Union.

By Dr. McFadyen, from the inhabitants of Saltcoats.

By Dr. Taylor, from the inhabitants of Ayr.

By Mr. Bruce, from the inhabitants of Irvine.

By Baillie Craig, from the Kilmarnock Political Union.

By Captain Speirs, from the inhabitants of the western district of Stirling-shire :

" TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN GEORGE, EARL OF DURHAM.

" THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF STIRLINGSHIRE

" My Lord,—We, the inhabitants of the western district of Stirlingshire, in public meeting assembled, avail ourselves of your visit to the west of Scotland, to express the deep gratitude we feel for the many important services your lordship has rendered your country. Your patriotic and liberal advocacy of the rights of the people, while a member of the House of Commons, your consistent conduct, your steady and firm opposition to the venal majorities of corrupt and tyrannical administration, the large share you had in framing and passing the Reform Act, are services which we love to remember and can never forget

" As Scotchmen, we feel in a peculiar manner the benefit of the Reform Act, which has rescued our country from a state of political degradation and slavery, and elevated it to comparative freedom and dignity.

" My lord, we admire your fearless denunciation of all abuses, and especially your late public deprecation of all unnecessary delay in carrying into effect such measures of amelioration and improvement as are acknowledged to

be requisite in almost every department of the state, and for which the liberal and right-minded of our country look as the natural and proper fruits of the Reform Act; and we trust that strong in the support and confidence of the nation, you will persevere in the honourable course you have so ably adopted, and that whatever station you may occupy, you will exert the energies of your powerful mind to the removal of all existing abuses, but especially to the furtherance of those reforms which are still called for in the representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament.

" Finally, my lord, we must be permitted to say, that we anticipate much good will result to the country from your visit to, and communication with, the true reformers of the west of Scotland!

" With every wish for your future prosperity and happiness, and with the fullest reliance in your unimpeachable integrity, we direct our chairman to sign this address, in our name, and on our behalf.

" In name and behalf of our meeting,

" A. G. SPEIRS, Chairman."

Mr. Speirs also presented an address from the town of Renfrew.

By Mr. Geddes from the magistrates of Kilmarnock.

By Mr. Graham from the trades of Greenock.

By Mr. Wilson from the Strathaven

By Mr. Fraser from the inhabitants of Johnston; and addresses from the inhabitants of Galton and Kilbirnie; and the Irish labourers of Glasgow.

Lord DUNNAN then said, he hoped from a consideration of the fatigue he had yet to undergo, they would allow him shortly to return his best thanks to the various bodies for the flattering testimonies they had borne to his public conduct, and to say that the approbation they had showered on him he would remember to the last hour of his life. He required no such incentive to active exertion, for he always had acted, and ever would act, from the purest

sense of principle, and not for the sake of popularity. He had acted independent of the frowns of power, nor did he court those with whom he could not agree. He never would swerve from the avowal of his opinions, and he hoped he would get from them what alone he coveted, justice. (Loud cheering). He anticipated from them a verdict that he lived in their hearts for his exertions, not for his own interests, but for the interests of his country. (Cheers). Till his last hour he would feel the deepest gratitude for the great kindness and attention they had bestowed on him. (Shouts of applause)

On reaching the south side of the hustings, his lordship shortly addressed the crowd on that side, and to whom his back formerly was, and again returned thanks for their overwhelming kindness.

At the conclusion of the proceedings on the hustings, the procession moved from the green along Saltmarket-street, Trongate and Argyle-street, Queen-street, and the south side of George's-square. His lordship walked in the line of procession along with the magistrates, and most excellent order was maintained in that part of the procession by the town and police-officers. Every place where a view could be commanded was occupied. The windows presented a rich display of beauty and fashion embellishing the scene. The populace on all sides cheered his lordship as he walked along, but he was so plainly attired, and altogether so devoid of that aristocratic and haughty manner which the Tory press so frequently, but most improperly, attributes to him, that in many instances it was with difficulty he was known. A tremendous rush was made in George's-square to hear the noble earl's good-by,

The noble earl entered the door of the hotel, but on the calls of the populace for a speech, his lordship returned to the outside, and the marshal having obtained silence by the waving of his baton, his lordship in a very handsome manner, expressed his gratitude for the flattering reception he had obtained from those with whom he was proud to

say he was now identified as a fellow-citizen. His lordship complimented the citizens on their intelligence and respectability. While he sought them not to give up one of those principles which identified him with them, he hoped they would conduct themselves with that respectability and patriotism which are the boast of a free state. It was certain, he said, that in struggling for those political rights which the higher classes would withhold, they would yet be victorious, and it would be far from him to say that they were not to persevere. His lordship concluded by again thanking them for the marks of respect they had displayed towards him.

Every sentence which the noble earl uttered was followed by immense applause, and loud cheering was kept up for a considerable time after his lordship had bowed and re-entered the hotel. The trades then dispersed, each body preceded by its own band and flags.

The Political Union for the Lower Ward of Renfrewshire, accompanied by a deputation of the inhabitants, and another of the trades of Greenock, arrived by the Clarence steamer from Greenock at half-past 10 o'clock, and, headed by the Greenock instrumental band, proceeded to the Eagle Inn in procession, and were there joined by Mr. Wallace, of Kelly, M.P., Mr. Bontine of Ardloch, President of the Renfrewshire Political Union, and a number of the councillors and members from various parts of the county. The Greenock reformers, as they proceeded through the city, attracted the attention of the spectators. The flags carried by this patriotic band of reformers were, first, the beautiful blue silk banner of the Renfrewshire union; secondly, a chaste red silk, and blue-coloured flag, bearing an appropriate inscription, commemorative of the sufferings of Mirar in the cause of reform; and the other flags. This party had a splendid appearance, being well dressed, and wearing the medals of the union, and waving the medals of the union, and other insignias of union and reform. They arrived at the hustings a considerable time before Earl Durham made his appearance.

THE DINNER.

The dinner, like that at Edinburgh was held in a building specially erected for it by subscription; 1,450 persons attended it, and were very comfortably accommodated under its roof. As there was a smaller number of guests, than at Edinburgh, greater space was allowed to each person; and this circumstance, accompanied with the better ventilation of the building, prevented that annoyance from the heat which at Edinburgh was almost stifling. The ladies, who at Edinburgh were placed in a gallery at such a distance from the chairman's table as to hear little or no thing of the speeches, were at Glasgow placed in a gallery immediately above it. It was decorated with festoons of evergreens, interspersed with flowers, and when filled, as it was in the course of the evening, added much to the beauty and attraction of the scene. Opposite to them was another gallery, in which tables were placed for guests; and on the sides was another gallery, in which the musical performers were placed. The appearance of the room when filled was peculiarly splendid. It was lighted by three gas chandeliers having nearly 2,000 jets, and the centre jet was hung in the most tasteful manner with crystal lustres.

The company previously to their admission into the room, arranged themselves in the area of Anderson's College, under the various stewards in parties of 28. The seats were then balloted for, and each party, headed by two stewards, was ushered into the places which fell to them, under the direction of Mr. Bell, who acted as master of the ceremonies. A private entrance was provided for the reporters, who received from the committee generally, but more particularly from Mr. Bell, every attention and accommodation which they could desire.

At 45 minutes past 5 o'clock, the chairman, James Oswald, Esq., of Shieldhall, M. P. for the city of Glasgow, entered the room, accompanied by the noble earl, and was supported on his right by Baillie Gilmour, Charles Tennant, of St

Rollox, Esq., Baillie Mills, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M. P., Baillie Lumden, and Professor Mylne; on the left by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Alexander Speirs, of Elderslie, Esq., Baillie Fleming, W. D. Gillon, of Walthouse, Esq., M. P., Robert Wallace, of Kelly, Esq., M. P., and R. C. Bontine, of Finlaystone, Esq.

The croupiers were Colin Dunlop, of Tolcross, Esq.; John Douglas, of Barlock, Esq.; and A. G. Speirs, of Calcreuch, Esq. They were supported on the right by Provost Hardie, and Baillies Hendry and Jeffry, John Denny, Esq., Dumbarton, and David Hamilton, Esq. On the left by William Stirling, Esq., of Cordall; Andrew Mitchell, Esq., of Maukside; Alexander Denniston, Esq., and Professor Mylne, who said grace and returned thanks; and we have to remark that here the dinner was not concluded before it commenced. The radicals of Glasgow were not so eager to pounce upon the loaves and fishes as the Whigs of Edinburgh.

After the dinner had been regularly concluded, "The King," "The Queen," and "The Princess Victoria," "The Duke of Sussex," and the rest of the Royal Family, were all given from the chair without remark, and drunk with the utmost loyalty and enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN.—I shall give without preface, for it requires none, "The People, the only true source of political power." Immense cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.

Toast.—"The Navy and Army, and 'may service and merit be the only means of promotion.'"

The CHAIRMAN said that he rose to propose a toast on which he might perhaps, make some observation, but the meeting was well aware that he was no speaker, and that he should not detain them long, for they had not assembled that day to hear him speak. (A laugh).

The toast contained a sentiment, and as it was better expressed than any thing he could say on the subject, he should, without further preface, give, "Lord Melbourne and his Majesty's Ministers, and we trust that their practice

"in power will be in accordance with their principles in opposition." The toast was received with three heart cheers.

An appropriate song was then sung by the professional gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN then rose to propose a toast, which he said that he knew they would receive with enthusiasm and he might, if he had the power, detain them for some time in bringing before them the high merits of the noble Lord whom they had the honour to see among them that day. (Cheering and waving of handkerchiefs). He might begin by stating to them, that the father of the noble Lord, their guest sat at the press of the meeting of the friends of the people of that town in 1792. (Cheers continued). He might add, that in no one point had the son deviated from the principles then expressed by the father. (Cheers). He would not dilate on the public virtues of the noble Lord, for there were two reasons why he would not detain them long. The first was, because he could not do justice to the subject; and the second was, that the straightforward, manly, and intellectual character of the noble Lord convinced him that he (Earl Durham) would feel it unpleasant to have his praises sung before him. (Cheers). He could only say that in no one instance had the noble Lord deviated from the principles which he had professed in his outset of public life. He had always gone straightforward to his object. He had turned neither to the right nor the left (cheers); but had dared to be honest in the worst of times. In times of difficulty and danger he had always been at his post to advocate the cause of the people; and he (the chairman) was quite sure that the noble Lord's conduct henceforward would always correspond with what they had hitherto known of it. (Cheers). He might say more; but for the reasons he had already given, he should do nothing more than propose that they drink the health of the Earl of Durham with all honours.

This toast was received with a degree

of enthusiasm which nothing could surpass.

The Earl of DURHAM, after the enthusiastic cheering had at length subsided into silence, addressed the meeting in nearly the following terms: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I stand in need of your utmost indulgence (cheers), I require from you not merely your belief in the expressions which I am about to utter, but also your conviction in the sincerity of my feelings, which surpass all powers of utterance. (Cheers). Worldly honours have been conferred upon me. I have the good fortune to receive for my services the approbation of my Sovereign; I have been listened to with favourable attention in both Houses of Parliament; but in all these situations, and under all those circumstances, eliciting feelings of just and honourable pride, there has been wanting that animating excitement, that inspiring enthusiasm, which always fills my breast when I am cheered and gratified by the approbation of my fellow-countrymen, eagerly pursuing the same object with myself, unalloyed by private or public considerations, that object being that great public object which ought to be the end and aim of all our exertions—the improvement and welfare of our common country. (Cheers). I am not, therefore, sufficiently master of myself to thank you as I ought; and yet, how warmly I ought to thank you! for you have placed me in an elevation vainly coveted by those infinitely superior to me in talent and ability (loud cries of No, no); and yet I will not discredit your choice so much as to say that I have not lesserved well of you. (Cheers).

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1831.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

HINDE, W., Liverpool, drysalter.

BANKRUPTS.

MILLEN, W. B., Clapton, Somersetshire, tanner.

SAILEY, J., Sparnolt, Hampshire, cattle-

salesman.

DAVIES, R., Noble-street, straw hat-manu-

facturer.

EMERY, J. C., Broad street-buildings, and Lloyd's Coffee house, underwriter.
 HAMPSON, J., Salford, Lancashire, book-seller.
 HARVEY, E., Exeter, baby-linen-manufacturer.
 JONES H., Poultry, chinaman.
 MILLS, S. & N. B. Jewett, and S. Mills, jun., Bolt court, Fleet-street, printers.
 MITCHELL, J., Penstone, York-shire, cloth-manufacturer.
 MORGAN, I., Elgin, Herefordshire, timber-merchant.
 PHILLIPS, F., (Change-alley, Cornhill, provision-merchant.
 STRAKER, J., Jarrow-lodge, Durham, ship-builder.
 WEBB, J. W., Axbridge, Somersetshire, grocer.
 WICKS, A. N., Clement's-lane, Lombard-street, watchmaker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

DEANE J. and T., (Stewarton, near Kilmar-nock, carpet-manufacturers.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

INSOLVENTS.

LANFRET, A., Church-street, Spitalfields, dealer.
 LAYTON, J. W., Kew, coal-merchant.
 SPENCER, T., Church-street, Bethnal-green, shoe manufacturer.
 JAYNION, N., Lincoln's Inn, law-stationer.

BANKRUPTS.

BOOTH, J. Nottingham, stone mason.
 CARTER, C., Oxford street, woollen-draper.
 COOPER, W. J., Sackville-street, Piccadilly.
 CORLE, F., Limehouse, tavern-keeper.
 DIAN, I., Asylum buildings, Westminster-road, cowkeeper.
 FRANCES, E., Loampit-hill, Lewisham, Kent, baker.
 GOWAR, I., Greenwich-road, coach-maker.
 GRANGER, T., Carey-street, victualler.
 HARRIS, W., sen., and B. Harris, Stoke-Prior, Worcestershire, milkers.
 HARWAR, C., Oldham, Lancashire, money-scrivener.
 JONES, C. T., Brighton, coach-proprietor.
 MANSILL, T., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, grocer.
 MILDWIN, T. C., Broad-wall, Stamford-st., coach-maker.
 RIVERS G., Twickenham, upholsterer.
 RIVERS, J., Highwych, Hertfordshire, grocer.
 TAYLOR, J., Spoutland-bridge, Lancashire, hatter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 10.—
 The supplies of Wheat from the home coun-

ties, as well as land-carriage samples, were moderate to this morning's market. The market opened steadily, Wheat proving sale-able at the currency of last Monday, and a tolerable clearance effected at these rates. In bonded samples nothing transpiring.

Barley continues to come sparingly to hand, Chevalier and fine malting qualities realizing 1s. per quarter more money, the former article being taken at from 42s. to 43s. for some sam-ples, and for an extra parcel 44s. was obtained. Distilling and grinding descriptions steadily in value. Bonded Barley was in request; for middling and good samples 16s. to 18s. was returned, and for the best 19s.

The demand for Malt continues limited, as only the neatest brewers are purchasers to a small extent. Prices, however, must be noted to be 2s. higher than last Monday, Chevalier being freely obtained 65s.

The supply of Oats since Friday has been liberal from Ireland, from Scotland there are few parcels offering, and of English the arrivals are trifling. During the last month we have received 120,000 quarters, of which 101,155 quarters were Irish. Though Friday's average of 1s. per quarter on Monday's quotations was maintained this morning, yet the trade was less animated than at the close of last week, dealers refusing to accede to the advanced demands of the factors. Holders of bonded Oats are asking higher rates and prices must be noted at 12s. to 13s. with some inquiry for the article.

Beans in short supply, and full 1s. per qr. dearer.

There was a good show of white and foreign Peas, but the demand was not brisk, and prices unaltered. Maple and Hog quantities scarce, and to the full as dear.

The Flour trade steady, and fine fresh ship quantities, the arrivals still continuing moderate, met a better sale at last week's currency.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk 40s. to 46s.

White 42s. to 56s.

Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } 38s. to 44s.

and Yorkshire.....

White, ditto 42s. to 45s.

West Country red..... 40s. to 41s.

White, ditto 44s. to 52s.

Northumberland and } 40s. to 44s.

Derbyshire red.....

White, ditto 44s. to 46s.

Moray, Angus, and } 37s. to 40s.

Yorkshire red,.....

White, ditto 40s. to 45s.

Irish red 32s. to 44s.

White, ditto 38s. to 42s.

Barley, Malting 34s. to 36s.

Chevalier 33s. to 42s.

Distilling 30s. to 34s.

Grinding 28s. to 30s.

Malt, new, 44s. to 54s.

Norfolk, pale..... 50s. to 60s.

Ware 58s. to 61s.

Peas, Hog and Gray 40s. to 42s.

Maple 42s. to 44s.

White Barley 38s. to 44s.

Beans, small	34s. to 47s.
— Harrow	36s. to 38s.
— Tick	34s. to 37s.
Oats, English feed	20s. to 23s.
— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
— Poland	22s. to 26s.
— Scotch, common	23s. to 24s.
— ——— Potato	24s. to 26s.
— ——— Berwick	23s. to 25s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	18s. to 20s.
— ——— Potato	22s. to 23s.
— ——— Black	18s. to 20s.
Barley, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 10.

This day's supply of Beasts, Calves, and Porkers, was remarkably good: the supply of Sheep was limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About a fourth of the Beasts were Short-horns, the remainder about equal number of Devons, Herefords, Welsh rumps and Irish beasts, with about 300 Fries, about 20 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex hewers, Stafford, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdowns and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolk, horned Dorsets and Southdowns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,350 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Short-horns, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh rumps, Scotch and Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts, about 200, chiefly Scotch, with a few Devons, rumps, and hornbreds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 140, chiefly rumps, Devons, and Herefords, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and middle districts, about 30 in about equal numbers of rumps, Devons, Sussex and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the marshes, &c., near London.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri 34 1/2 Mon, Tues, Wed 34 1/2	4 per Cent. } Fri 91 1/2 Mon, Tues, Wed 91 1/2
Cons. Ann. } 91 1/2 91 1/2 91 1/2 91 1/2 91 1/2	

THIRD PATENT FOR THE FERRIAN PEN.

INDIA-RUBBER-SPRING PEN, } s. d.
superior in flexibility to the Quill, } 2 6
nive, with holder, }
Fountain Pen, warranted to Write }
more than fifty lines with one } 3 0
drop of ink, nive, with holder.... }

All the other sorts of the FERRIAN PEN, at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion-square, London.

97, FLEET STREET.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public, and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices

For Cash:

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Ditto, Blue or Black	2 10 0	to 3 5 0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3 10 0	to 4 0 0
Superfine Kicks, with Silk Fittings	1 0 0	to 1 10 0
Superfine Trowsers	0 14 0	to 1 10 0
Superfine Vests	0 12 0	to 0 14 0
Superfine Drawers	0 8 0	to 0 10 0
Superfine Ties	0 10 0	to 0 14 0
Superfine Socks	0 10 0	to 0 10 0
Superfine Hosiery	4 0 0	to 4 10 0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Robes and Petticoats, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlets and Field Cloaks, Wiltsey Wrappers, and every other article made equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson & Co., and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 66.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20th, 1831.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TURNING OUT OF THE WHIGS.

THE KING.

SIR,

Dublin, 19. Nov., 1831.

I was grateful to your Majesty for your assent to the Reform Bill; but I am much more grateful to you for having driven from your councils and presence, a set of servants who have used their power for the purpose of procuring to be passed a bill which has abrogated the greatest of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and that, too, upon the express allegation, by them made, that the labouring part of your subjects, when brought by misfortune into a state of indigence and want, have no right to relief out of the land upon which they were born, and which they alone make worth any thing; and upon the further allegation, that your assistance to the old and infirm was bad and mischievous, when provided for by law.

I most humbly and heartily thank your Majesty for having dismissed from your councils a set of servants, who, when the House of Commons had resolved upon the repeal of a part of the

mal-tax, threatened to quit your service and leave your Majesty without servants, unless that vote were rescinded: a set of servants who sent out the special commissions of 1830 and 1831; a set of servants who have expended twenty millions of money on a project, which has thrown into utter confusion the most valuable of your foreign dominions; a set of servants who have introduced bands of commissioners, and a sort of mongrel government, carried on in detached parcels, by creatures of their own, irresponsible as well to your Majesty as to the Parliament; a set of servants who have commenced making innovations in every thing, giving a shake to every institution of any standing, finishing nothing, tossing all rights and all principles of government into the air, till, at last, no man knows what to expect.

But, may it please your Majesty, it is the reverse of this set of servants, that I most complain. It is impossible for an Englishman to look at their deeds in almost every part of the kingdom, without shuddering; it is impossible to behold their conduct with regard to the poor, with regard to other things connected with the sufferings of the people; it is impossible to look at these, or to think of these, without being grateful to your Majesty for having put an end to their power. To your Majesty it belongs to choose your own servants. It is our duty to leave you the free exercise of that prerogative, and

carefully to abstain from every thing like an attempt to thwart you in your choice. If that choice should unhappily (which we ought not to presume likely) be such as to be hostile to our liberties and happiness, we must rely on our representatives in the House of Commons to protect us against any evil that may be likely to arise from their counsel; and, if we do not choose representatives that will discharge this duty towards us, the fault will be in ourselves, and not in your Majesty. At any rate, the first feeling of your people, upon hearing that you have driven from your presence a set of men, amongst whom he, who is technically held to be the keeper of your Majesty's conscience, has openly and loudly declared himself a disciple of the merciless MALTHUS, and has inculcated the justice and the necessity of ruling the poorer part of your subjects upon the principles laid down by that barbarous man; at any rate, the first feeling due from us towards your Majesty, upon this occasion, is that of gratitude.

I am,

Your Majesty's faithful subject,
And most obedient humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

I HEAR from London that *pis-aller* PARKES, Mr. Commissioner HILL, who, in an "incautious moment," uttered something about the honourable member for Tipperary; rearing RUMSTON; WOOD, emphatically called JOHN; FRANKLAND LEWIS; penny-a-line GARDWICK; PETER MACCULLOCH; and all the whole swarm, or swarms, of "commissioners," are in an uproar in that devil-begotten wen. *Pis-aller* PARKES's paper, the *Chronicle* of Monday, tells me that the COMMON COUNCIL has met, and that parochial meetings, in the me-

metropolitan parishes, are about to be held. As to my masters of the Common Council, my greatest concern relative to them is, that I know, that they never meet without guttling or guzzling *something at my expense*; for, as to their *opinions*, as to their *decisions*, one may fairly say of them as SWIFT did of the Legion club:

"And, let us, while they strain their throats,
————— with their notes."

Every one will fill up the blank in a proper manner, and it is not worth while to *print words* that are of no use. As to what these fellows may say or do, it is of no sort of consequence. Their conduct, as exposed by Mr. WILLIAMS; their shameless conduct, makes their sayings and doings of less consequence to the English nation, than the sayings and doings of any description of people out of doors, assembled upon any occasion, or in any place. Any body acquainted with the downs, in the west of England, knows, that all the rooks of a neighbourhood frequently meet upon a high and clear hill, and sit in council. They draw themselves up in as regular a square as any geometrician ever laid down. They station a scout upon each of the neighbouring hills, in order to give notice of danger, if it should be approaching. In this square they *deliberate*. When they have come to a *determination* they call in the scouts, and away they all go in divisions to their several rookeries. The subject of their deliberations is, how they shall come at the fruit of the labour of others with the least possible trouble, and with the least possible risk to their own carcasses. In his respect they resemble my London masters, who for several years (if they do not do it yet) made me pay church-rates for *two churches*, and let me and the rest of the parishioners have *no church to go to*! As to the deliberations of this crew, *pis-aller* PARKES is quite welcome to all benefit to be therefrom derived. But the *metropolitan parishes* are another thing; and I am not to be made to believe that they who found it absolutely necessary to combine against

the Malthusian crew whom the King has now turned out, will be so inconsistent and unprincipled as to do anything which shall have the appearance of their feeling sorrow for the ousting of that crew.

It is uncertain what the Duke of WELLINGTON may propose; to propose anything worse than the things which the other crew were enforcing, is thing impossible. It was a *pottering dabbler, patching, pinching, muddling, poking crew*; it was a hypocritical, canting set, *doctrinaires, liberals, a free-trading, centralizing, concentrating, amalgamating, accumulating, emigrating* damnable crew. Most likely we shall be able to understand the Duke. It is our fault then if we suffer him to beat us out of anything that we ought to have; but with this shuffling crew, who brought us in a bill to pass upon the evidence to be furnished in ten folio volumes of reports, and who pushed us along to pass the bill, and then brought us in the reports; with a crew like this, who seemed always to be drenched with laudanum and brandy, and into whose designs we never could penetrate; with this crew, from whom we gathered only this one thing clearly laid down, namely, that they meant to bring the people of England to submit to live upon a COARSER SORT OF FOOD; with a crew like this, it was impossible to proceed; and an end to their power seemed to be absolutely necessary to give the King a chance of restoring peace and contentment to his people.

I beseech my readers not to be amused by names. The scoundrels who are endeavouring to overthrow the liberties of America, and establish a tyrannous aristocracy of money, have taken the name of "WHIGS," have taken the name which was taken by those who made the revolution in that country, and who established its independence. Let us have the sense to scorn the use of the term *Whig* or *Tory*; let us have the sense and the decency to leave it to the King to choose his own servants; let us resolve to support them, if they give us all our rights; and to

oppose them with all our might, if they attempt to withhold from us any one of those rights; and, in the meanwhile, let us enjoy the confusion of the standing army of commissioners, *Pis-aller PARKES, GROVE, HILL, CLAY, WHITMORE, FORBES*, and all that set, whose business it was to be, to get away the labourers of England, to till the lands in the South Sea. I am sure that all my readers will set a consistent part upon this occasion, and that they will expect a similar part to be acted by me.

The *Morning Chronicle* hints that it is possible that the Duke of WELLINGTON may adopt the "desperate course" of joining the Radicals, and of doing some of the things, at least, which they want done. Now, if *pis-aller PARKES* deem me a Radical, all that I can say for myself is, that, if the Duke will give us complete security for the maintenance of the rights of the poor, according to our English laws; if he will be so "desperate" (and, indeed, so truly wise) as to do this; if he will be "desperate" enough to blast the hopes of the base and nasty Malthusians for ever, if he will repeal the dreadfully mischievous, burdensome, and brutalizing, malt-tax; and, if he will do that which common sense, as well as justice, dictate with regard to Ireland; if he will adopt the measure proposed by Lord ABERCROMBIE with regard to the factories in Yorkshire and Lancashire, he shall, at any rate, have all the little support that I am able to give him, provided he take no step to harden the penal code, or to supplant the operation of the law, and the constituted authorities of the land, by military or Bourbon-police force, and propose no new law to restrict the press, or endanger personal liberty.

We now see the motive for bringing in Lord DUNHAM. This set, that is now turned out, knew that their days were numbered. He was cast out as being something too good to be in this set, whom the people hated; and he was to be called in by the people, in order that he might be a little sort of infallible political Pope, who would have been able to keep the main part of the others in, and so patch up and work

along. The King has defeated the whole project. And, I again, as I did once or twice before, put it to men of sense: What would have been the lot of the people of this kingdom, if there had been neither king nor lords, and if the Whig faction, who had passed the Coercion Bill, with red-court courts of justice in it; who had passed the Poor-Law Amendment, or COARSER FOOD, Bill; who had rescinded a vote in favour of a repeal of part of the malt-tax; who had openly avowed themselves the disciples of MALTBUS; who had three hundred men shut up in one year for the selling of cheap publications: who had passed a law, giving the rich the liberty of selling those wild animals, for being in pursuit of which, the same law transported the poor for seven years; who brought in, and who passed, the *Dead Body Bill*: I put it to men of sense, who have only a common feeling of regard for the liberty, happiness, and honour, of their country, to say, "What would have been the lot of the people of this kingdom, if there had been neither king nor lords; and if we had been left wholly at the mercy of this faction?"

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MY CONSTITUENTS.

MY FRIENDS,

I REQUEST you to read the above papers; to think well upon the subject; not to be misled by any artful representations; to resolve not to enlist yourselves under the banners of any faction; to consider well what course of conduct is best calculated to restore us all to our rights, liberties, and happiness, as industrious Englishmen; and to resolve to pursue that course.

I have written to Mr. Fielden, and I hope, with him, to have the pleasure of seeing you all, in about a week from this day.

I am,

Your faithful representative,

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

No. IX.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL.

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Farnham, Surrey.*

Shangnau Castle, 15, Nov., 1834.

MARSHALL,

You must needs think that I hear about the *FIRMS* that are going on in England. Indeed I see accounts of them in every newspaper that comes from England. There is no man more sorry than I am, that my country should be in such a state; but I cannot join with those who call the working people of England "*lazy and sturdy miscreants*"; being, besides, quite satisfied, that, to call them by such names, never yet was, and never will be, the way to make them cease to do any thing, in the doing of which they are engaged, however wrong it may be to do that thing.

I will endeavour, MARSHALL, to explain to you, why it is that the farmers are unable to pay the wages that they have been paying for some time past. The greater part of farms are still paying as much *rent* as they were paying when wheat was, on an average, ten shillings a bushel. Besides this, they pay nearly as much in poor-rates: they pay more in county-rates, in church-rates (taking England and Wales all through); in road-rates; in malt-tax (which is heavier than all the other taxes); in sugar, tea, and tobacco tax; and they pay full as much as they ever paid for all articles of clothing; and they pay as much for fuel as they ever paid.

Now, you know, that fat hogs used to be from twelve to fifteen shillings a score; that mutton used to be from four shillings to five and sixpence a stone at *Warrington*; that beef used to be from four shillings to six shillings a stone; that butter used to be at *Guildford*, from fifteen to twenty pence a pound. You know that now fat hogs are about eight shillings a score, I suppose; and you know, that even the

fine wheat, that grow on your little patch, is hardly worth five and sixpence a bushel; and wheat in general, all over the kingdom, I can assure you, is not worth four and sixpence a bushel.

Therefore, MARSHALL, if the farmers have to pay the same rent, and the same taxes, he must be ruined if he pay the same wages that he paid before; and, I am sure that there is none of you who would wish to see Farmer Warr, or Fagcorran, or Hoang, or any of the rest of the farmers brought to ruin. They have all families as well as you; and, besides, this, if they be brought to ruin, their labourers must either come to ruin and starvation, or there must be an end of all law, and all security even for person. Yet, MARSHALL, the labourer and his family must live; must have meat, bread, beer, clothing, and a bed to lie on, and fuel to warm them; and there is no reason, seeing that their labour is as great as ever, why they should not live as well now as they did before. There is a miscreant who publishes a paper called the *Brighton Gazette*, who says, that the wages of the labourer ought to be lowered, in proportion to the fall in the price of wheat and flour; so that, according to him, a man ought to have six shillings a week, instead of twelve. This, Marshall, is a real miscreant, who, if he could have his will, would set the whole country in a blaze.

Let us see, then, how this matter stands. Suppose a man to have twelve shillings a week. He is no *corn dealer*; and no *bacon merchant*; and the question with him is, not the price of *wheat*; not the price of the *whole fat hog*; not the price of *barley*; but the price of the *bucket of flour* and of the *gallon loaf*; the price of the *three or four pounds of bacon*; and the price of the *pot of beer*. The wheat, the bacon, the barley, have to go through the hands of the *corn-dealer*, the *mill*, the *baker*; the *bacon* has to go through the hands of the *bacon merchant* and the *shopkeeper*; the *barley* has to go through the hands of the *maltster* and the *tax-gatherer* and the *brewer* and the *public-house keeper*: through all

these hands they have to pass before they come to the labouring man, every one of them respectively, coming loaded with a share of all the enormous taxes, ^{the maltster,} sort, paid by the corn-dealer, the bacon merchant, the ^{the} maltster, the brewer, and the public-house keeper; and, at last, the low price which ruin the farmers, produces very little effect in lowering the price of these commodities to the labouring man; and this you all find to be the case.

If this is the case with regard to the more food, how stands it with regard to other things necessary to the decent existence of yourselves and your families? The sugar, the tea, the tobacco, the rent, the fuel, the soap, the candle light; all these; every article of clothing; all these put together make twice or three times the amount of the mere bread and bacon: as to the drink, that is still as dear as before; for five parts out of six of the price is tax, or monopoly arising out of tax. Put the drink, then, to the rent and these other things, which are all still as dear as they were before; and then see how unjust this *Barratry* mercantile is; in proposing to lower your wages in proportion to the fall in the price of WHEAT! The single man, too: has he not still as much to pay for his *lodging*, for his *washing*, for his *clothes*, as he had to pay before? Has he not as much to pay for his *tobacco*, for his *soap*, and, in short for every thing, except a mere trifle on the loaf, and on the pound of bacon? He must lament that the farmer is ruined; but is he to *starve* because the farmer is ruined? The farmer has been ruined by the arbitrary *rages* made in the value of the circulating money of England, and by the heavy taxes which the farmer has to pay. But was it the labouring man that caused this arbitrary change in the value of the money? Was it the *labouring* man that laid on the malt-tax, on account of which the working people of England pay twice as much as the amount of all the parish relief that they receive? Was it the labouring man that laid on taxes, which

make the tea cost three shillings instead of one; which make the sugar cost two shillings instead of one; that make the tobacco cost three shillings instead of threepence? The labouring man did none of these things. He must be sorry to see the farmer ruined: it would be unjust in him to wish that the landlord should receive no rent for his land; but if the farmer lose all his money, and the landlord lose all his rent, the labouring man has not been the cause of it. The law of God and the law of the land, say that he shall not starve, as long as there is food in the country; and, if you will speak to Farmer HORNE, he will show you, that St. PAUL tells TIMOTHY that "the husbandman that laboureth must be the first partaker of the fruits."

I do hope that good-will and good neighbourhood will prevail in the west of Surrey, at any rate; that landlords, farmers, labourers, will all have consideration one for another; and that the farmers and landlords will particularly have great consideration for the single young men; and that, whenever they possibly can do it, they will take them into their houses, make them part of their families, and bind them to them by the ties of mutual benefit and kindness; and not drive them away from their doors as if they had no right to be upon the land whereon they were born.

Now then, MARSHALL, so much for that; and now I have to talk to you about another matter. You know that there has been a POOR-LAW BILL passed, which, whenever it shall be put into execution, will make a total change as to the situation of the working people. It was a SCOTCHMAN of the name of BROUGHAM who proposed this bill to the House of Lords; and in that such a bill was necessary to rest the poor from SWALLOWING UP THE LORDS' ESTATES. Now, MARSHALL, it is a command of God, that those who have the ability to do it shall plead the cause of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger. I have the ability to do this, as well as to teach you how to rear fields of cabbages; and it is my duty to obey this command, and not

to waste my time in feasting and drinking, and in snoring in bed. After having taken time to consider in what way I can best perform this duty, I have determined to write and publish a LITTLE BOOK, in such form and size that any working man can carry it in his waistcoat pocket, and at the price of FIFTEEN PENCE; so that all the working men may read it, or hear it read. And I shall have it bound in leather, so that it shall not easily be worn out; and that it may be read, not only by the men of the present day, but by their children, and their great-great-grandchildren. I have sent the first part of it to London, and shall send the rest in a few days. If the landlords and farmers have any sense left, they will be the first to read it, and to CONSIDER IT WELL, and if they do not choose to read it, they may just let it alone. I will here give you the TITLE of it, MARSHALL, and the TABLE OF CONTENTS: and when the book is printed, which will be in the course of a fortnight, some copies of it will be sent down to Mr. DEAN, and I shall request him to send one of the copies and give it to the man who now lives in the house in which I was born. The Title and Contents of this little book are as follows:

**COBBETT'S
INQUIRY TO LABOURERS;**

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and Squires, have to possess the Lands, or to make the Laws?

In Six Letters addressed to the Working People of the whole Kingdom.

WITH A DEDICATION TO
SIR ROBERT PEEL.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; stating the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title.

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*?
Is the land their own; or, are they
holders under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands?
Or do they lawfully possess only
the use of them?

Letter V. Can they do *what they like* with
their lands?

Can they use them in any way that
shall clearly tend to the injury of
other men, or to that of the King,
or Commonwealth?

Can they use them so as to drive the
natives from them?

Can they use them so as to cause the
natives to perish of hunger, or of
cold?

Letter VI. What right have the Lords, Bar-
onets, Squires, and rich men, to
vote at elections any more than
working men have?

You are not to suppose, MARSHALL, that I am going to die, because I have awarded you a legacy. You are to have it first or last; and the sooner you have it the better; and if I see it in your hands in my life-time I shall be sure that you have got it. Since the vulgar bonds have dared to assert that the *poor have no rights*, it is high time to see what are the *rights of the rich*. When you get the little book be sure to send one of them over to the chaps at PUNBRIGHT, and tell them to go to the parson at CHORHAM, and ask him what *right* he had to libel me; and to tell him that I will call him to account for that before this winter is over.

I have nothing more to say to you at present, only that, if all of you work as hard as I do; if you be as diligent (as I hope you are) with the ploughs and the spades and the dung-prongs and the bill-hooks as I am with the pen, you will have the farm in most excellent condition before I get back. I hope that all of you and your wives and families are well, and

I am,
Your master and friend,
WM. COBBETT.

FIRES IN ENGLAND.

As the liberal and sincere Whigs took so much pains to *singe* me in 1831; and as some people think that I had so narrow an escape, it may surprise the

reader that I venture to pronounce the word "*fire*" even for the purpose of getting a servant to light a fire in my room. However, I am not so easily frightened. And I shall now take the liberty to insert from the English newspapers, copied into DUBLIN newspapers, some of the details which have reached me relative to these fires; and when I have done that I shall insert an article of a wise London newspaper, relative to the means of "*checking*" the fires; and when that is done I shall, in an address to the King's Ministers, point out that which I think they ought to do in this case, as faithful servants of their royal master, with the peace of whose kingdom, and the upholding of whose dignity, they are specially charged; and to do which, to the utmost of their power, by the most solemn of oaths.

..... The details which have reached are as follow:

"Last week fires occurred in Dorsetshire, Huntingdon, and Norfolk.

"On Sunday last, two fires broke out in the farm yards of Mr. Carr and Mr. Akerman, near Bascoot. Much stock was destroyed. 100*l.* is offered for the discovery of the incendiary.

"On Monday, at eleven o'clock, a fire broke out at Till-barn, Alfriston, in the occupation of Mr. Pagden, which consumed the barn filled with oats and barley, three wheat stacks, a hovel, and a quantity of loose straw. Two men are in custody.

"A few evenings since, an incendiary fire broke out at the immense barn belonging to Mr. Holton, near Stratford-on-Avon, which consumed upwards of 1,000*l.* of property before it was got under. Rewards are offered for the apprehension of the miscreants who committed the act.

"On Monday se'nnight a haulm-rick and wood hovel, on the premises of Mr. Freeman, farmer, were wilfully set fire to, and two wheat stacks, and a stack of oats and beans, were destroyed.

"On Monday, at nine o'clock, another *fiendish* act of malicious burning took place at Thoresorpe, on a farm belonging to Mr. Gilbert.

" On Wednesday night, a most alarming fire took place on the premises of Mr. James Smith, at the Hoo, near Frindsbury, Kent. Eight stacks of corn were totally destroyed, with some buildings. There is every reason to believe that this outrage was the working of an incendiary.

" It is painful to add, that several farmers in the neighbourhood have received threatening letters. A meeting of the association for the protection of property from *incendiarism* took place on Monday at the Bag, *Stash House*, at Shorne, at which the Earl of Darley presided, and the most prompt measures will be resorted to for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of such a calamity.

" A destructive fire took place on the premises of Mr. Holtham, at Cleeve Prior, near Eversham, on Wednesday night, the 29. A man is in custody on suspicion of having wilfully occasioned the conflagration.

" On Wednesday morning last a very awful fire broke out upon a farm occupied by Mr. Fryson, at Old Hurst, Huntingdonshire, three miles from St. Ives. The flames were first discovered issuing from a cow-lodge, and spread with such rapidity, that almost the entire premises and produce of two extensive farms, with eleven cottages, were consumed before the devouring element was subdued. There is little doubt but that it was the act of a diabolical incendiary. A fire broke out in a stubble stack about half a mile from Grantham during the afternoon of Monday, which was clearly the result of accident; but in an hour after the flames were subdued, some vile incendiary fired the stack yard of John Norman, a small farmer, which consumed a bean and barley stack, and nothing but the most strenuous exertions prevented the destruction of four or five other ricks. — On the same evening some *villains* set fire to the stack-yard of Mr. Charles Howright, farmer, of Whaplode, near Holbeach. From the great scarcity of water on or near the premises, and from the

" stacks being fired in various places, no effectual resistance could be made to the devouring element, so that all the contents of the yard were wholly consumed, consisting of wheat, oats, and beans, to the value of about 700*l.*, not onesheaf of which was insured. Several persons were taken into custody, suspected of being guilty of this outrage, and taken to Spalding on Tuesday morning for examination. But the most mysterious part of the catastrophe remains to be told. While Mr. P. was at Spalding on Tuesday, attending the examination of the prisoners, his dwelling-house, which by great exertions had been saved on the previous night, took fire, and was burned to the ground. There is little doubt but that this also was the act of an incendiary. — On Sunday evening last, as early as eight o'clock in the evening, a hay-stack and hovel on the farm of Mr. George Houlden, of Saleby, near Alford, were set fire to, and entirely consumed; and on Saturday, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a fire broke out in several places at once, in the stack-yard of Mr. Isaac Bee, farmer, of Deeping High Bank. No doubt this was effected by some combustible matter which was neither intended nor expected to ignite so soon. All attempts to extinguish the flames were in vain. The whole contents of the yard, with a part of the dwelling-house, were consumed. The damage is about 300*l.*

" As a proof of the effect produced by these villainous proceedings, take the following from the *Oxford Journal*: " On Wednesday last, a numerous meeting of the landholders and other respectable inhabitants of the towns and villages of Lechdale, Buscott, Kilmecott, Inglesham, and Eaton Hastings, was held at the New Inn, Lechdale, to take into consideration what steps should be adopted to prevent the alarming destruction of farming property by incendiaries. Several strong resolutions were passed in condemnation of the offence, and subscriptions to the amount of 140*l.*

"immediately collected in the room, to be appropriated to rewards for information leading to the apprehension and conviction of the offenders. Another meeting is convening to propose and adopt further measures on the subject; and a letter from the rector of Boscott has been forwarded to the Chief Secretary of State, soliciting the assistance of the Government in the affair."

The following is from the *London Morning Advertiser*. It contains the observations of a person who knows nothing at all of the matter. Inquiries can do no good. The causes are all known; the remedies are as clear as daylight. And they only want to be adopted to put an end to the evil.

"The extent to which the setting of fires has been carried in England has at last excited the uneasiness of the London press; certainly not before the subject called for attention. There is a great deal of good sense in the following remarks on the subject in the *Morning Advertiser*:—The prevalence of incendiary fires in many parts of the country, the diabolical spirit they evince, the destruction of property and even life they occasion, and the ease with which they are perpetrated, are circumstances well fitted to excite the most painful feelings. Nevertheless the subject does not appear to have received much of that attention to which it is so well entitled. But it is obvious, whatever be the causes of the mischief, that their violence has been in no degree abated, and that willful fire-raising is as prevalent now as it has ever been at any time during these half-dozen years. Under these circumstances it seems to us to be comparatively necessary that the whole population should be carefully inquired into; not by a set of flying commissioners picked for a special purpose, and sent only to hunt for such evidence as might pave the way for a measure determined on before they commenced their investigation,

but by those who will look at it without prejudice under all its aspects and bearings. The crime of arson may be said to be new in England, and it would be absurd to suppose that it should have grown up to the frightful magnitude it has attained without the operation of powerful causes. These ought to be carefully investigated; and if they can be detected, and their influence correctly appreciated, it will be comparatively easy to deal with this gigantic nuisance. But if it be allowed to go on unchecked, if Ministers content themselves with merely offering rewards for the discovery of incendiaries, and make no efforts to trace and stop up the sources whence the mischief flows, it will be more owing to accident than to any thing else if we escape falling into something like the condition of Ireland. The organization of a rural police has been talked of; but there are a thousand difficulties in the way of such a measure; and though it were established, it would hardly be possible to make it efficient for any practical purpose. But how comes it that a rural police should be more necessary in 1834 than in 1824? What is it that has inspired a part of our population with such a malignancy, that to gratify their malice against others, they do not hesitate to destroy the very food they are in want of? A quack never troubles himself about inquiring how the disease originated, but immediately sets to drugging the patient with his pernicious nostrums. But the quackery is quite as bad in politics as in medicine, and we hope in this instance, at least, we shall not have to deplore its occurrence; but that while every thing is done in the mean time to discover and punish the perpetrators of such abominable outrage, an impartial and searching inquiry will be instituted into the causes whence they originate; and that an attempt will then be made to deal with them on broad and comprehensive principles."

TO
THE KING'S SERVANTS.

Shangana, Cattle, 16. Nov., 1834.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I RECOMMENDED to you, in the terrible time of the special commissions of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire, the measures which I thought ought to be adopted for effectually doing away with the discontents of the country people of England, and, especially, the *working people*, including, as Mr. LOCKE most judiciously does, all the various tradesmen employed in conjunction with the husbandman in the producing of a loaf of bread; for, surprising indeed is your mistake, if you imagine that low wages, deprivation of relief, and the hardships arising therefrom, do not appertain to tradesmen, as well as to those that are more immediately engaged in tilling the soil. I recommended to you those measures, so easy of adoption and execution, and so perfectly *costless*, which I was SURE would restore tranquillity and contentment to the millions of Englishmen and Welshmen. Instead of the thanks of you, and of those colleagues who are now out of power, I had to endure the effects of your endeavours to shut me up in jail for the probable remainder of my life; from which end I was preserved by an honest jury; and by that jury alone.

I will now offer you the advice again; and, if you reject it, I, at any rate, shall have done my duty. I have just quoted the remarks and recommendations of a writer in a London paper. He does not understand the subject; but, apparently his wishes are good. This gentleman talks of checking the destructive deeds, which he very properly describes, as far as relates to the deeds, in themselves considered; but, when he is loading the perpetrators with hard names, I am sure he does not know the consequence of that, supposing these hard names to reach the eyes of the parties.

His recommendation of instituting an inquiry into the causes by agents sent from you, shows that he is totally igno-

rant of every thing connected with the matter; and shows, that, however good his motives, he is wholly unfit to advise. And, with regard to the associations of farmers and others in the country, they are the mere effect of passion, operating upon irritated minds. It is baffled power; it is power and undisputed domination filled with resentment on seeing itself reduced to a state of impotence. Did you never dream (you are very likely to have such dreams) of having some man standing before you; some unfortunate underling, on whom you wished to pour out a torrent of censorious expressions; and that, somehow or other, you could not speak? I once had such a dream: I thought I had got an opportunity of laying it well on upon old SIDMOUTH; and that I could not utter a single articulate sound of all the expressions (which were not of the mildest sort) which I had prepared for him. Just much about such is the situation of these agricultural chieftains: they would swear like troopers: oh, how they would swear! but they do not know whom to swear at: they would execrate and blaspheme; but they do not know on what object to pour out their execration and their blasphemy: they would cut, slay, shoot, hang, quarter; but they do not know on whom they would exercise these terrible inflictions; while, perhaps, and most likely, the very persons that they employ (for they are compelled to employ some to aid and assist them in their work of detection) are the persons who have perpetrated the deeds; and that nothing short of an extirpation of the people, by whom they are surrounded, and on whose labour they depend, will give them security, without taking the hostile disposition out of the hearts of the people. This was my opinion before, and it is still my opinion.

I will not act the hypocrite, nor will I act the fool; and it would be acting he fool in a manner the most staring to affect to *deplora* the existence of the evil. What would be thought of me, if I were to affect to *deplora* the present confusion in the West India colonies, which confusion I so clearly foresaw

and so distinctly foretold, and to prevent which I laboured so earnestly? To attempt to deplore these evils is as ridiculous as it would be to deplore that Christna is so near at hand, unless he who deplores is able to show that he has done every thing in his power to prevent the evil from happening; that he has had some power to exercise in the case, and that the evil has come in despite of his laudable exertions.

Men of sense and sincerity seeing the evil, and knowing, or thinking they know, the causes of it, will propose a remedy, not wring their hands, tear their hair, and sit down and cry; not, as a great privy councillor is said to have done at the time of the panic, violently clasp his hands together, turn up his eyes, till you saw nothing but the whites, and exclaim, "My God! what shall we do!" This is not the way to govern nations; it is not the way to govern the English nation at any rate. "Get up, you lubberly dog!" I said JUPITER to the wagoner, "apply your hands to the whip, and your shoulders to the wheel; and do not lie there 'worrying me with your exclamations'!" Pray, my lords and gentlemen, do not think that I recommend the whip to be used by you in this case, nor the racking-wheel by any means; just the contrary, as you will presently learn, if you should be condescending enough to do me the honour of reading this address, which is entitled to your attention, because, long before any fires at all took place, I, being afraid that such would be the end, discharged my duty in suggesting measures of effectual prevention.

Come, come! It is time to get the better of your pride and haughtiness, and of your apparent vow, recorded in heaven, to perish rather than listen to me. It is time to get the better of this prodigious and absurd perverseness; and then let me ask you whether, if I foresaw this terrible result of what my Lord RABNOB, in his evidence before the Poor-law Commissioners, calls the harsh treatment of the labourers; whether, if I clearly foresaw this result, and as

others, at SALISBURY, in the year 1826; whether, this being the case, it is not your duty to your master to attend to me now?

The writer of the above article, in the *London Morning Advertiser*, truly enough describes, and pathetically laments, the great facility that there is in setting the fires, and the great difficulty of detecting the fire-setters. All which wise observations he might have spared himself the trouble of making, seeing that both these were so fully proved by me long and long enough ago. And I wonder that he was not afraid, seeing that Hampshire LARMONGER suggested to COCKEY DENMAN, the "chivalrous" brother who fought together with BRUGHAM so valiantly in the case of the really unfortunate queen, and who sat the other night at the Lord Mayor's feast in Guildhall, and doubtless displayed his "chivalrous" spirit in "keeping together" with his brother-lord, in enjoying the applause poured out on him by my fellow-citizens, hes and shes, who, it is said in the newspapers, chose upon this occasion to imitate, not the cheering crowing of the cock, but the gratulating sound of the voice of a bird of a much larger size, of a more stately port, and of manners more congenial with the gravity of those civic authorities, by which the brace of noble and "chivalrous" peers were then and there surrounded; seeing that Hampshire LARMONGER, of WERWELL, who is a Colonel, I fancy, advised COCKEY DENMAN to put this very advice which I gave the Ministers into his indictment, in which he called me WILLIAM COBBETT, Labourer, of St. Dunstan's in the West, though I was a Liveryman of London, a bookseller in the city; had a good house at KENSINGTON, and paid in direct taxes more than a hundred pounds a year; into this bill of indictment LARMONGER, of WERWELL, suggested to this mun, who is now a lord, to put the very article containing my advice to you, and your then colleagues, the object of which advice was, to put an end to the fires; and the ground of his suggestion was, that I had put it into the labourers' heads, that

they might set fire to corn-fields and woods; and by-the-by, Mr. DENMAN, the member for Wiltshire, told my attorney, Mr. BATHURST, that I had put him to the expense of *insuring standing corn*! I have been informed, and I believe, that DENMAN declined to put this additional crime into the bill of indictment, but told LAMONTAGNE that it would certainly weigh in aggravation, when I should be brought up for judgment! With regard to this last fact, I do not speak with any great degree of confidence, not believing DENMAN to be a fool to such a surprising extent; but of the Tory colonel making the application, I have not the smallest doubt. I heard of the thing before the trial; I had BENNET subpoenaed and in court; I was dying with impatience to hear the thing mentioned by DENMAN, and had PIERCE's new penal code in my hand ready to show that the setting fire to standing corn and woods was there very amply described; and ready was I to pour out upon all the parties every drop of my vial of wrath, of well-mixed-up indignation, ridicule, contempt, and scorn.

However, I wonder that this writer in the London paper was not afraid to say, as I had said upon that occasion, that the act was of so easy commission, and of so difficult detection. But, is it not monstrous in men in power, to be angry with a writer for saying that which is so notorious to all the world; is it not monstrous for being angry at a man's saying, in print, that that is true, the truth of which is proved to us every day of our lives? What I have always contended for is this, that the act cannot be prevented; and that it cannot be punished, because it cannot be detected in one case out of ten; and further, let it be observed, that the punishment, when punishment does take place, has not the effect, in this case, of deterring by terrific example. Whenever the chances are ten to one in favour of escape, men enough will always be found to risk. Besides, here comes an additional motive: here comes revenge on account of the suffering party. One, if not two, of the most terrible fires that have taken place, was the act of a

son, whose father had been transported for rioting by the Special Commission at WIMBORNE. In this very list of burnings, which I have inserted above, we find, that, while a farmer was gone to an examination before the magistrates, of persons suspected of having set fire to his stacks and barns, his farm-house, which had escaped before, took fire and was burned to the ground; and that this also was suspected to be a wilful act! Will nothing open your eyes? A rural police is talked of. The newspapers tell us that WESTMORLAND asked MURDOCK, whether it was intended to establish a rural police; and the same papers tell us (I hope falsely), that the latter seemed to answer in the affirmative. Gracious God! a rural police in a village of Wiltshire, or Hampshire, or Berkshire, or Sussex, or Kent, to protect corn ricks, standing out in the fields, each, on an average, a mile from any house! There will be another time and place for talking of this matter; therefore I shall say no more about it here.

I repeat, that there are no means of prevention but that of taking the disposition to do the thing out of the hearts and minds of the people; and, if I had the power that you have, out of their hearts and minds. I would take that disposition in the course of one month, on pain of being racked on the wheel in case of failure. That is to say, in one month after the Parliament should meet; and I would have it together in fourteen days, the time limited by law, if I called it together in a tavern, or a play-house. Now, then, let me tell you, ~~what I would do~~, if I had the power, first laying down the principles upon which I would proceed, and stating shortly the notorious facts which call for the application of those principles.

It is notorious that the working people, in town and country, the latter especially, are in a state of great and general discontent. As Lord RABENOR says, in his evidence given to the Poor-law Commissioners, this has been produced by harsh treatment, of long growth, and, as my Lord STANHOPE ob-

served, a year or two ago, has at last produced a hostile feeling in the poor towards the rich. Laying the facts out of the question, though they are inadmissible, reason tells us that this must be the case; because, if it were not so, there could not be generally prevalent this simultaneous disposition to commit these acts; and, besides, if this were not the case, numerous demonstrations would take place. I will engage that, for every line that is wilfully set, there are, on an average, forty persons, who could either give evidence of the fact sufficient for conviction, or who could furnish a clue to the obtaining of such evidence. Thus, in ordinary times, it is very rare that an act of arson escapes punishment. It is so terrific an act; it excites such general alarm, that the common feeling of self-preservation sets the whole neighbourhood on work; puts the whole country in motion to discover the perpetrator. How is it that this is not the case now? How is it that, now, instead of every creature running to help to put out the fire; instead of women and girls forgetting their sex, working, as if for their lives, to extinguish a fire; instead of this; instead of being ready to risk their lives in the work of extinguishment; how comes it that we see men, women, girls, and boys, standing by, and laughing at the destruction they behold; and how was it with you; what were your thoughts, when you heard the laugh from Westminster-bridge, re-echoed from Waterloo-bridge, when the Houses of Parliament were burning? And, will the "swart police," though armed, as in Ireland, with pistols, swords, daggers, carbines, and muskets; sent to remove the discontent; tend to take the resentful and revengeful feeling out of the hearts of the people?

Come! come down, proud stomach! It is useless to storm; it is useless to rage. It is useless to revile the thunder and the lightning; it is time to think of a reconciliation. For, when men cease to regard the wilfully setting of fire as a crime, richly deserving of death; and when the death of the perpetrator ceases to be acquiesced in the manner that it

formerly was, it is obstinacy, it is madness, it is power in a passion, not to think of the means of bringing the people to their former way of thinking upon the subject. I would bring them back to that former way of thinking, if I had the power; and now I will tell you what I would do to effect that desirable purpose. I will state my measures to you; and, as you will see, they are all within your power. I will state them one by one; and, if I had the power they should be adopted within forty days from this time.

1. A complete, absolute, and entire, repeal of every part of the new Poor-law Bill.
2. A repeal of STURGES BOURNE's Bills which gave to the rich a plurality of votes in the vestries; and which then gave them the power of forming select vestries; and the power of nullifying the old powers of the real overseer, and of the magistrate, and also the power of introducing hired overseers, strangers to the parish, which bills of STURGES BOURNE were the principal cause of the riots in 1830 and 1831.
3. A repeal of the new and severe Game Laws, which authorize the magistrates to transport for seven years men found, in the night time, in pursuit of pheasant or hare; those wild animals which the common law of England holds to be the common property of all mankind.
4. A repeal of Peel's new trespass-law, which punishes the trespasser without trial by jury; a repeal of Peel's new felony laws.
5. A repeal of the malt-law.
6. Pass an act to restore young people to the farm-houses, by indirectly giving inducements to the farmers to have yearly servants as formerly.
7. Repeal the new law giving magistrates power to shut up foot-paths without setting out others to their stead.
8. Repeal Peel's Bill, and pass an act on ROBBERY PATRIAL.
9. Abolish the Bourbon-like Police.

I think I see you sitting round table, and *bursting out in laughter*, at this being read to you. Happy to see you so merry, gentlemen; but not being ambitious to be the subject of your mirth, I put on my hat and take my leave of you. Those are the things that I would do; those things you can do, if you like: I cannot make you do them; and if you will not do them, you must leave them undone. You call me "*innovater*," and "*revolutionist*"; propose to you to do nothing but to *remove innovations*, the oldest of which except the malt-tax, is only of sixteen years' standing; several not of ten years' standing, and one of them the work of the "*REFORMED Parliament*"! I ask for nothing for the people, but to bring them back to *the laws of England*, such as they were only twenty years ago. However, *you* have the power, and *I* have not the responsibility; follow, you, your course, being assured that I will follow mine.

WM. COBBETT.

THE MINISTERIAL MESS.

"So when the dirty sloven once has thrown
"His snot into the mess, 'tis all his own."

SWIFT.

Yes, "*'tis all their own*" now! no fear of rivals, except in cases where the money can be got at without the responsibility. **BUXTON'S BLACKKEY**, **POOR LAW ENLIGHTENING WORK**, **JACKSON'S PINCHER**, **BUSHEL OF WHEAT**, **IRISH TITHES-WORK**, **THIRTY-NINE-ARTICLE WORK**. "*'Tis all their own*"; and let them keep it all to themselves; enjoying, at the same time, *their advice to the King not to restore to me my thousand pounds*; and enjoying also the reflection, that their magistrates and parsons did *their best* with the famous **THOMAS GOODMAN**; and enjoying further, the reflection on their **HUMANE** conduct in sparing the life of that "*poor deluded young man*," who *set five fires* with his own hand, and who made *confessions* about the "*latters of a Mister Copit Copit*"; while **HENRY COOK**, under a sentence of

VAUGHAN, was hanged for striking **BINGHAM BERING** without doing him bodily harm!

MR. ELLICK, it seems, has quitted his office of Secretary-at-War; and the newspapers tell us, that General **VIVIAN** refuses to take it. If this be true, these are both men of sense. People thought that I was jesting about six years ago, when I said that the concern would become so low at last that no man would touch it, who was not in *absolute want of the necessities of life*. I never was more serious; and events seem to be pushing on very fast, to verify my prediction to the letter. It required no inspiration from above or below to foresee this result. When Norfolk petition and been rejected with scorn! knew where the thing must end.

BUXTON'S BLACKKEY.

HERR, CRACKED-SKULLS; you that shouted and bawled, and elected **WILBERFORCE** and **BROUGHAM**; you, whose hypocrisy is costing your country eight hundred thousand pounds a year; you who see the Irish people living upon potatoes and sea-weed while their meat and their flour and their butter are sent out to your friends, the blackkeys, and while your own carcasses, with those cracked skulls upon the tops of them, are drenched with *water-porridge*: read the following, you conceited and mischievous fanatics; and go away and do the work that these fat blackkeys used to do, and which they will no longer do.

The *Jamaica Herald* of 20. August, says:

"We have just seen a gentleman, who was present on most of the unruly estates during the late apprentice fever in St. Ann's.

"It had been 'given out' on the previous Sunday, by the *sectarian parson*, that a man named Baird, on Roaring Liver, or the Bog (we forget which), would, on the following Sabbath, preach sermon at Ocho-Rios.

"This man was spokesman of the malecontents, and addressed Mr. Laidlaw, the special magistrate, to the fol-

lowing effect: 'Master, when God released the Israelites from bondage, did he make apprentices of them? Jesus Christ has made us free, and unless you will kiss the Bible and say, that the law which Jesus Christ has made, declares that we are to be apprentices, we will not work.'

"This speech the *deluded* man must have learnt like a parrot, from the mouth of one of his teachers. It behoves those in authority, to have an inquiry instituted into the practical effects of *sectarian influence*, lest these hypocrites again become 'the subjects,' as Lord Mulgrave said, of 'the most relentless persecution.'

"His Excellency, Lord Sligo, has been very unfortunate in his proclamations to the negroes: and to him (without intending, however, the slightest disrespect) may be attributed all the inconveniences, jarrings, and squabbles, that have occurred relative to the distribution of the four and a half hours, between the master and the apprentice. If the latter had never been told that he was entitled to have the half of Friday, he never would have expected it; but having received an assurance from the highest authority that he was entitled to it by law, he has shown himself resolute enough in insisting on it. And yet it was an egregious mistake to give him such assurance: for it is not according to law. The executive is now sensible of the blunder; and his Excellency has made, by his last proclamation, a sort of effort to correct it. But he has not appealed to the public in that dignified manner which even the public of Jamaica expect from a British nobleman: he has not admitted his mistake with the gallant generosity of his countrymen: he says nothing about it. Having told the apprentices that they were to work only four and a half days in the week in a former proclamation, he now advises them to consent or agree with their masters, to work five days in the week, and to do one half hour's more work on the Friday than on the other four days. He tells them, also, that the master has a right to divide the forty and a half hours as he pleases, provided

that he do not exact more than nine hours' labour in any day from the apprentice. This will not satisfy the apprentice half so well as if he had said, 'Apprentices, I have made a mistake in laying down the law, which I have read over again. I told you you were to work only the half of Friday: I was wrong: it was my fault, and not your masters', that any cause of quarrel turned up between you.' The advice in the proclamation is unexceptionable.

"We have no doubt that the intention of the abolitionists was that the negroes should really have the Friday afternoon to go to their grounds and prepare for the Saturday market, or that the masters should pay them for their work on that afternoon after they (the negroes) had worked out the forty and a half hours; and therefore we admit without hesitation, that the governor has not issued his proclamations with any bad feelings towards the masters. He has meant well, but has made a mistake in the law as it stands; and if the apprentices had shown a disposition to meet the wishes of their masters, less harm would have followed from their contumacy than what is and has been experienced. *But they will not work for money!* We do not mean to make this as a general assertion; but we mean that on a great many estates the apprentices have positively refused to labour, even for money, beyond the prescribed hours. We know some properties whereon the boilers, stokers, trash-carriers, and mill feeders, declined working night shifts on any terms. They said they had enough of spell. We know of others, where a macaroni a head was demanded for boiling off after sunset, for perhaps a couple of hours. On another property no temptation could persuade the negroes (not even the cash) to cut canes on a Saturday.

"Thus the expectations of the abolitionists, as to the negroes working for hire, do not appear as yet very likely to be realized; but, however, this was scarcely to be hoped by us. We trust that in all future proclamations the law, if necessary, will be laid down accu-

rately. The white people will not submit, nor can it be expected of them, to Orders in Council or out of Council they can interpret the law almost as well as the attorney-general, and cannot but feel mortified and angry at any mis-constructions of it to their prejudice, which may have received the sanction of the highest authorities in the island.

"Sept. 13.—It is with deep regret we have to announce, that in many districts of the country a most alarming and dangerous spirit of sulkiness and insubordination has been manifested by the new apprentices; and it is feared, with fair reason for the suspicion, that there are some evil instigators among them sowing the seeds of discord and discontent. An intelligent correspondent from Morant Bay on this subject observes: 'I cannot conceive what has thus influenced the people in this quarter. At first they were generally orderly and thankful. Some demon of discord has got amongst them, which, if so, I trust he will soon be discovered and made an example of, or when crop commences, not ten hogsheds of sugar will be made, where formerly two hundred were.' If such conduct had been manifested by the apprentices on the first or even second week of August, much allowance might have been made, but not at this late period; the more especially so as almost all the apprentices who have thus misconducted themselves have not only had the law and various proclamations explained to them by their masters, but by the special justice, and they admitted they thoroughly understood them, and the change they were to undergo, and they now take every opportunity to tell their new masters in the field, 'We know the new law as well as buckra, and the new law we will have, and not be imposed on any longer by buckra.' Their daily, or weekly labour is not even a tithe of what they heretofore did; and it is perfectly clear that the most of them, if only coerced by admonition and left to themselves, will do no one thing so long as they are entitled to the maintenance they now enjoy from their masters, and they never will do so again until thrown

on their own resources by giving, or rather being made to give, a fair equivalent in labour as an exchange for all those indulgences. On Sunday they may be seen lying down about the works like hogs, and nearly as filthy.

"The Jamaica papers of the 16. of September say, in a letter from Lucca:

"There seems daily stronger cause to fear that insurmountable difficulty will attend the taking off the expected crop. On one of the best-conducted estates in this district, having a steam-engine at work, they cut canes for plants, and begin to make sugar with the butts. Last week, as soon as the shell was blown for the field gang to take their dinner time, the whole spell gang drew off, leaving the engine, coppers, &c. &c., to work by themselves, and no persuasion could induce the people about the works to resume their duty at the works until their time for shell blow to turn out had expired. It is notorious that the apprentices on this estate have been under most regular and humane treatment: and it is currently rumoured that the general feeling of the apprentices is not to work, or keep spell beyond the hours they may be compelled by law, even if a reasonable rate of wages should be offered them.

"An experienced planter in St. Ann's, under the date of the 17. inst., writes as—'The apprentices in this parish are daily becoming more insolent and lazy; so much so that a great change for the better or worse must soon take place. They are not earning fivepence per diem. This the master cannot stand.' From Hanover our correspondent writes: 'It is really laughable to find people awakening from their reveries, and discovering that the apprentices are not likely to work at all except in the hours which the law prescribes.

"At a plantation called Belvidere, the property of Mr. Cuthbert, the apprentices struck work: and upon the arrival of the special magistrate and a body of the police on the estate, they boxed and pelted the magistrate, and set fire to two trash-houses, which were burnt to the ground.

"In the *Gazette* is the following account of the *rebellion* :

"We have been informed that the fire on Belvidere was happily got under at about eight o'clock at night, and that the police force and a militia guard were stationed on the property during last night. The apprentices attempted to rescue the prisoners, but were repulsed. The cause of this affair is said to be this : the stipendiary magistrate had visited the estate on the day above-named, and had ordered several of the apprentices who had been guilty of misdemeanour to receive corporal punishment on the estate. It had been stated to Mr. Lyon, in the early part of the morning, that the people on the estate were extremely unruly, in consequence of which he ordered the police force to be on the property, and when the punishment was to be inflicted on the delinquents a body of them prevented the order of the magistrate from being carried into effect. Immediately Mr. Lyon had left the property a messenger was sent to him, stating that the apprentices had set fire to the work. On being informed of this, Mr. Lyon applied to another magistrate at Morant Bay, to turn out the militia, but that gentleman thinking he had not the power, applied to the clerk of the peace for advice, who informed him that the senior officer on the Bay could order out the companies that were there. This order was therefore given, and two companies, with the constabulary force, mounted on horseback, proceeded to Belvidere, where they apprehended the ring-leaders. These men were marched off to Morant Bay jail, although an attempt was made to rescue them by their fellow-apprentices ; who were with difficulty repressed, even at the point of the bayonet."

with regard to the characters of all the actors now upon the stage ; it is necessary for him to read this book, which clearly develops all the proximate causes of the present difficulties, embarrassments, discontents, and dangers. It embraces the most interesting period of the history of our country ; it takes a look back too ; it shows us how we have been brought down and plunged into that, *demi-confusion* which now reigns throughout the kingdom ; it presents to young men especially the means of clearly understanding, that without a knowledge of which they cannot well know what they now ought to think and ought to do. In order to give the public as full a description as I can of the contents of this book, I shall here insert the *CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE*, which is published at the end of it, the perusal of which Table will show the readers of this how various and how interesting the matters are which are contained in these two little volumes.

1762.

GEORGE IV. born.

1787.

Prince's enormous debts, first time, paid.

1793.

War against the French Republic began.

1795.

Prince's marriage

Prince's enormous debts paid a second time.

1796.

Princess Charlotte born.

Separation of the prince from his wife.

1806.

Whig ministry formed.

The investigation into the conduct of the princes.

1807.

Whig ministry turned out.

1810.

Report of the bullion committee.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

It is necessary for every one, who wishes to be able to form a sound judgment of what is now going to happen, and especially to form a sound judgment

Cobbett's punishment for writing against the flogging of English local militia men at Ely, under a guard of Hanoverian bayonets.

1811.

Regency established.

First provocation given to the Americans by the frigate *Guerriere*, Capt. Samuel Brod. Pechell.

The English ship *Little Belt* mauled by the frigate *President*.

1812.

Perceval killed by Bellingham.

Threatening letters against the regent.

Clergy call for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and for prompt measures against domestic traitors.

American declaration of war.

Insolent English order in council in answer to it.

Great suffering amongst the working people.

Hanging of a woman at Manchester for snatching some potatoes out of a market-cart.

Immense sums granted to Perceval's wife and son.

American War — The perfidious doings of CAPTAIN HENRY, employed by the British to stir up sedition in the United States.

Pressed American seamen imprisoned at Dartmoor.

English frigate *Guerriere* commanded by the *Honourable* Captain DACKES, sunk by an American frigate, 30. August.

English frigate *Macedonian*, Captain Carden, captured by the American frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur.

English frigate *Java*, Captain Lambert, knocked to pieces by the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain Bainbridge.

American frigate *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, captured by the English frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke.

1813.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone's motion relative to the *man child* which the Douglasses had sworn to be a child of the princess of Wales.

THE BOOK published in London.

The city of London, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Wood, address 'the princess, and carry and present the address at Kensington Palace.

The secretary of state (Sidmouth) refused to publish the address in the *London Gazette*.

Two English ships of war taken by an American frigate.

The English fleets taken on the Lakes by inferior force.

1814.

The princess is prevailed upon by Canning to go abroad.

Burning of Moscow by the "*magnanimous*" Alexander.

First fall of Napoleon. He goes to Elba.

The old battered Bourbons return to France.

Peace of Paris, 30. May.

Mortification of the English borough-mongers at seeing France left in so good a state; and loud complaints that her museums were left her.

Rejoicings in England, roasting of sheep and oxen; visit of the Russian autocrat and the king of Prussia. Disgraceful public delusion.

Base conduct of "the *ladies* of England."

Glorious victory over the Americans, on the *Serpentine River*, in Hyde Park.

Waste of the public money on shows and exhibitions.

Threats against JAMES MADISON (the American president). The necessity of deposing him.

Agreement of the allies, at Vienna, not to interfere in favour of America.

John Wilson Croker's manifesto.

The English press insists on measures to destroy the American navy at once.

Pacific professions of the English government while it was preparing to ravage the American coasts.

Tierney deceives Mr. Bayard.

Canning's insolent and contemptuous language with regard to the American navy.

Cochrane, Cockburn, Warren, and Ross, ravage the American sea-coast.

Bloody deeds of the English Indians at Frenchtown.

Sackings and burnings at the town of Hampton, in Virginia.

Burbing of the city of Washington.

President's appeal to the people.

Attempt of the English to take Baltimore.

Ross, the English general, killed by an American boy.

English driven from before Baltimore and compelled to bear out to sea.

Unparalleled valour of the crew of the American privateer, the General Armstrong.

Lists of all the ships taken on both sides during the war.

Battle of Sandusky, where a handful of Americans repulsed and routed an English army.

Treaty of peace, 24. December. And the treaty at full length. The conduct of the English government in proclaiming this peace.

1815.

Return of Napoleon from Elba, and the causes of it.

Flight of the old battered Bourbons to Ghent.

Declaration of the allies against Napoleon Prince Regent's message to parliament for war against Napoleon.

Proceedings in parliament relative to the war against Napoleon. Ever-memorable debates.

Battle of Waterloo.

Napoleon at Plymouth.

Napoleon sent to St. Helena.

Treaty of Paris, 20. November.

The killing of Marshal Ney.

Seizure of the museums at Paris.

Curious letters of Castlereagh and Wellington on this subject.

Castlereagh, on his arrival from Paris received by the House of Commons the members all rising up, standing uncovered, and clapping their hands.

Immense grants of public money to Wellington.

The nation begins to find that it has a reckoning to pay, and sadness succeeds joy.

The effects of a diminution of the quantity of paper-money.

Glorious victory (8. January) at New Orleans, gained by the American General Jackson, over the English army (seven times his number), under Gene-

ral Packenham, Gibbs, Kean, and Lambert, and over Cochrane and Cockburn, with their ships and their gun-boats. Horrible slaughter of the English army, while the American general lost only seven men.

(April.) The killing of the American prisoners of war in Dartmoor prison.

Complaints about taxes, and numerous meetings for a repeal of them.

The parliament passes a corn-bill, to keep up the price of corn.

1816.

An address attempted to be got up at Maldstone: the people about to throw the addressers into the Medway.

1817.

Marriage of the princess Charlotte.

Reform again raises its head.

Dungeon law and gagging laws passed.

Reformers put into dungeons by Sidmouth. Their dreadful sufferings.

1818.

Bill of Indemnity for acts done under the laws of 1817.

Riots in Derbyshire. Death of Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner.

1819.

Dreadful slaughter of reformers at Manchester.

PEEL's BILL passed.

History of the "Bank-restriction" from its commencement in 1797 to 1819.

The famously stupid and mischievous Act at full length.

How this operated on the base borough-mongers; how it took away their rents and estates; how they cringed to the Jews and other money-monsters; how they themselves sold that game to them, which, for ages, they had made it a crime to sell or to buy: how, with their own hands, they thus pulled themselves down.

SIX ACTS passed. Opposed by the Whigs, but not repealed by them.

1820.

Woods, Inga, Brunt, and Tidd, executed for having formed a plot to kill the ministers. Their defence; their unequalled bravery.

Napoleon's death.

George III. died in January.

Queen Caroline's conduct in not hastening to England.

In June she arrived at St. Omer, in France, on her way to England.

She is met at St. Omer, by Lord Hutchinson and Mr. Brougham, who offer her a pension of 50,000*l.* a year, if she will consent never to come to England, and will renounce her title and rights as queen.

She slips away from these two envoys, and comes off to England with all possible speed.

Her reception by the people; their excessive joy; their resolution to uphold her against all her foes.

Reluctance of the ministers to gratify the wishes of the king by measures of open force.

King's message to the two Houses, 6. June
Queen's message to the two Houses, demanding the enjoyment of her rights.

A negotiation carried on to get her out of the country, by Wellington and Castlereagh on one side, and by Brougham and Denman on the other, the result of which was, that these latter agreed that she *should* go, on certain terms, which terms the other party would not agree to.

Great surprise and indignation and suspicions and murmurings excited amongst the people, by her having consented to go on any terms.

Cobbett's private letter to her on the subject, depicting the certain ruin to her which must arise from consenting to go, on any terms.

The House of Commons now address her with a view of getting her out of the country.

Cobbett's private letter to her, advising her to reject the advice tendered to her by the House; the answer which he advised her to give to that address.

The deputation of the Commons wait on her with the address.

She rejects the answer proposed to her by Brougham.

Her answer.

Cobbett's private letter to her, expressing the sorrow of the people that she had

not positively asserted, that she would not quit the country, and beseeching her to make such assertion, in a public manner, as soon as possible.

The salutary and complete effect of this letter.

She makes the assertion which he was so anxious to see.

Cobbett's motives for acting this part.

Nature and tendency of the advice which he gave her.

The queen having come to this resolution, the proposition of her was resolved on, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties brought into the House of Lords.

The Bill of Pains and Penalties itself.

An Englishman throws into a ferment by the promulgation of this bill.

The Bill read a first time on the 6. of July, and the trial (or second reading) put off to 17. August.

The bold proceedings of the press and the people during the interval, and the state of complete seclusion in which the king thought it prudent to live. The outcries against him: the odium brought upon him.

The SECOND READING of the Bill of Pains and Penalties.

The proceedings against the queen opened by the attorney-general Gifford.

"Peep at the Peers" published.

"Letter of the Queen to the King" published.

Prodigious circulation and prodigious effect of these publications.

The witnesses against the queen (26 in number). Swiss, Germans, and Italians, hunted out of England by the people, and shipped off to Holland by the government.

Brought back by water in an armed vessel, and landed near the Parliament House, in a secret fortress, from which they were conducted into the House of Lords by a subterraneous passage.

Lords surrounded by troops and cannon, the streets barricaded, soldiers and policemen stationed everywhere.

The attorney-general's opening speech.

Cobbett's answer to that speech.

Effect of these on the minds of the people. Total discredit thrown on the witnesses.

Excellent conduct of the press and of the people.

Miserable defence of the queen by her lawyers.

The Lords, after long debating, finally reject the bill.

Voted her guilty three times, and, from fear of the people, finished at last.

Demonstrations of triumph on the part of the people.

The queen instantly begins to fall.

The Whig aristocracy get about her.

She takes back her old chamberlains.

Craven and Gell.

She affrights the people by cold and repulsive answers to their addresses.

She lays restrictions on their approaches to her.

Cobbett, seeing that the project was revived for getting her out of the country, writes a private letter to Lady Ann Hamilton. *The letter.*

Public official notification from Craven and Gell, forbidding, in fact, the people to approach her person any more.

The people cease to talk, or to think, about her.

1821.

The king's coronation in July.

His visit to Ireland.

The queen, as a just reward of her ingratitude, being totally abandoned by the people, is thrust back from the door of Westminster Abbey by the hands of a common prize-fighter.

Her death, twenty days after the coronation of her husband.

Her funeral procession: fights between the soldiers and the people over her coffin: two men killed in these fights.

The king's visit to Hanover.

1822.

Agricultural distress: wheat fallen to 4s. 6d. the bushel.

The tables of the House of Parliament loaded with petitions from farmers and landlords, complaining of this distress.

The parliament, to raise prices, passed a law, in July, to authorize the issuing of one-pound notes for eleven years, which was a repeal of the most important of the provisions of Peel's Bill.

The king's visit to Scotland.

1823.

Prices began to rise at a rapid rate, and all seemed flourishing.

1824.

Prices still rise, money-gambling seized on the nation.

Loans to all the world were made.

People talked of nothing but loans and borrowing money.

Joint-stock companies were formed for the most ridiculous objects.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Robinson, boasted (February) of the prosperity of the country, which he ascribed to the measures of the parliament, and reviled those who wished any reform in that parliament.

1825.

The bubble burst in November. The gold had nearly disappeared long before.

Mr. Jones, of Bristol, petitioned the parliament against a banker who refused to pay in gold.

People ran for gold universally.

In December there was a general alarm.

This crisis took the name of the PANIC.

About a hundred country banks broke.

The Bank of England narrowly escaped.

1826.

Law to suppress one-pound notes in England.

Prices fall instantly.

Predigious ruin following this measure.

The feebleness and embarrassment of the government arising from this cause.

Dungeons and gags cannot cause wheat to be sold at 10s. a bushel in gold currency.

This change (beginning in 1822) broke down the influence of such men as

CASTLEBROUGH, LEVERPOOL, and GARRICK.

CASTLEBROUGH (August 1822) cut his own throat at North Ock, in Kent: his character: his death: his alleged insanity: his burial: the power he possessed in the government, at the moment when he cut his throat: the verdict of the jury: the conduct of the coroner.

1827.

LIVERPOOL'S extinguishment complete.

CANNING prime minister in May: boggles and reels about like a baby till August, and then died, and became forgotten in a week: his character: his origin: his base insolence towards the reformers: his suckings of the public money.

LORD GODENIGHT (Frederick Robinson) succeeds Canning: quits his post at the end of a few weeks: is succeeded by the Duke of Wellington: the duke flouts that the "*word of command*" will not raise 59 millions a year with wheat at 6s. a bushel.

1828.

THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS repealed: this, was the first distinct blow at the Church.

1829.

The repeal of the laws against the CATHOLIC RELIGION, which repeal took the name of Catholic Emancipation: brought forward by the DUKE and Sir ROBERT PEEL, as the best means of upholding the Protestant Hierarchy in Ireland!

The difficulties of the government go on increasing: the means of the nation diminishing: its burdens increasing, in fact, though not in nominal amount: the landowners looking about them for help, vainly hope to find in the "*vigour and decision*" of the "*Hero of Waterloo*," who was unable to make wheat rise in price, however able he had been to expend the money borrowed for the carrying-on of the war.

1830.

Great distress in the country: the people, at last, fixed on a *reform of the parliament* as the only effectual remedy: the country full of discontent: in this state of things (26. June) the Big "*SOVEREIGN*" died.

The new king's angry speech on pro-roguing the parliament.

The Duke of Wellington's *declaration against Reform*, on the same day.

The rage of the people at hearing this declaration: the gross insults which the duke had to endure: his name rubbed

out from the corners of streets: his picture rubbed out of signs; his bullet-proof window-shutters.

The memorable *burial-day* of "*the SOVEREIGN*": conduct of the people of London on this occasion.

The sort of life that he led from the year 1822 to the day of his death.

The base adulation of royalty which became fashionable.

The CHARACTER of "*the SOVEREIGN*": the severe punishment of the MESSRS. HUNTER, of the EXAMINER newspaper, for having spoken of him: the cowed-down state of the press: the prosecution of the same gentlemen for an alleged libel on the dead George III.!

We may say what we please in *praise* of sovereigns, dead or alive.

Sir Robert Peel's praises of Geo. IV.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS during this regency and reign.

BURDENS which the Big "*SOVEREIGN*" left on the backs of his people, and to which he had added a permanent weight of nine millions a year.

TABLE (from official accounts) showing the amount, in each year of this regency and reign, of the TAXES, of the COLLECTION, and of the cost of DEBT, ARMY, NAVY, ORDNANCE, CIVILIST, SECRET SERVICES, and the amount of money voted out of the taxes for the church parsons.

Monstrousness of this taxation and expenditure.

It now shakes all the ancient institutions and all property.

SUFFERINGS, privations, ruin, and misery of the people, arising from these burdens.

IN THE CHURCH abuses enormous: churches suffered to fall down: the aristocratical clergy taking away the means of existence from the working clergy: the revenues of the parishes carried away and spent at a distance: the people straying into all sorts of sects.

CRIME increases in proportion as the misery of the people increases; till, at last, their ideas come back to the law of nature, which tells every hungry man to take food where he can find it.

NEW AND SEVERE LAWS to check this increase of crime; a total departure from all the main principles of English law.

A fearful looking forward towards that which is to come, as the final and natural consequence of this long, this taxing, this squandering, Regency and reign, during which the great land-owners of England, by endeavouring to extinguish the last remains of English freedom, put their own estates in jeopardy

• LORD DURHAM.

GLASGOW FESTIVAL TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

(From the Times.)

(Continued from p. 444.)

For more than 20 years I have laboured honestly, zealously, and conscientiously, in the public cause (Cheers). I have never deviated, as my hon. Friend your excellent Chairman has told you, at least my conscience acquits me of having ever deviated either to the right or to the left. I have pursued unceasingly the path pointed out to me by my excellent father, to whom he alluded; and if I can continue to pursue the same course, I believe and trust that I shall continue to be honoured with your applause. (Cheers). But if you are thus kind, I might say if you are thus just to me, there are others who will not mete out to me the same justice. (Cheers, and cries of "Shame"). It may be, perhaps, on account of the too great favour which I find at your hands. (Cheers). Every inducement has been tendered to me since I received your invitation to prevent me from coming to meet you here this day. (Immense cheering). I was told forsooth that I should find your principles too violent, and that I should commit myself by endeavouring to follow up those opinions which tend to the destruction of all good government. (Cheers). My answer to all this was twofold. In the first place I denied that I should find any such principles here among the men of Glasgow, (cheers), and I ask you fearlessly whe-

ther the events of this day have not proved my anticipations to be correct? I ask you, who have looked round upon the immense multitudes assembled upon the green this day, and who have listened to the sentiments contained in the addresses presented to me; I ask you whether there is any the slightest foundation for such a report. (Loud cries of No, no). But, gentlemen, I must say, in justice, that this injustice meted out to me came only from one quarter of the country. You are all aware of the quarter to which I allude. (A scornful laugh of recognition). I set aside for the present our mutual enemies the Tories; but among those who profess liberal sentiments I know of an attack from one quarter only, and that quarter is the capital of this country. (Cheers). I ask you is that attack just, is it fair, is it founded on public principle? Is there any public principle which I have violated? Why, then, if no public principle is concerned, why am I thus turned round upon by these persons and denounced as a tyrant in private, and as an impostor in public? (Cheers). I will not seek to discover their motives, if they be not founded on public reasons. It would be too painful for me to reflect upon the motives by which their attacks may have been prompted. But I will take this opportunity of doing myself an act of justice before you, my fellow-citizens of Glasgow, I will avail myself of this opportunity to justify myself, which I will do (great cheers) against these accusations. I will state to you, first, what the accusations are. I will not blink any one charge preferred against me. First of all, it is stated that I wished to propose a less popular plan of reform than that which was given to the people by the Government. (Hear). I distinctly and positively assert to you that that is false. (Deafening cheers). The next charge against me is, that I willingly consented to certain mutilations of the Reform Bill. I shall prove to you how false that charge is, when I state to you that I was not in England when those mutilations I and my friends were engrafted on it. (Cheers). I just suffered the first of a series of

calamities which might have unnerved a man of the steadiest mind, and had been kindly and considerably permitted by my sovereign to travel for a time to recruit my health and spirits. (Cheers). I was not, I say, in England then, and I therefore cannot be considered answerable for the preparations for the second Reform Bill. (Cheers). You are all aware, gentlemen, of the public contradiction which I have felt it necessary to give to certain charges affecting my public character. After making that contradiction public, I felt that my first duty was to consult upon the subject a person then filling the highest station in the country, who had, as I think you will allow, a right to be consulted by me upon it. There is no man living who has a more complete case in vindication than I have. (Cheers). But I placed myself in his hands, and wished to have permission from him to state every circumstance. I believe the shortest way for me to proceed will be to read the letter which Earl Grey has addressed to me on the subject. It is as follows :—

“Hewich, Oct. 25.

“My dear Lambton,—In answer to your desire to know how far you would be justified in stating publicly what occurred in the preparation and discussion of the Reform Bill by the King’s confidential servants, I can have no hesitation in saying that, in my opinion, no such disclosure can be made, consistently with the obligations of private confidence and of public duty. Were all that has taken place with respect to individual opinions, or the various modifications which almost every measure of Government must undergo, before it is finally agreed upon, to be exposed to public view, there must be an end of all security and confidence in his Majesty’s councils.

“Having stated this opinion confidently and frankly, it may, perhaps, be satisfactory to you to add, that, in all my communications with you on the subject of the Reform Bill, nothing occurred to cast a doubt on the consistency of your principles, or on your sincere and anxious desire to assist in ren-

dering it a safe and efficient measure. “Believe me ever, my dear Lambton,
“Yours most faithfully,

“And affectionately,
“GREY.”

You will therefore perceive that I am precluded from stating the particulars relative to the preparation of the second Reform Bill, which tend to the justification of myself from these charges, and you must therefore be content to take my asseveration, which I now solemnly make to you, that I am not guilty of the charges preferred against me. (Cheers). I also wish to take this opportunity to state that there is another accusation against me as unfounded as that to which I have already alluded. It has been stated as an excuse for the half revelations which have been made on the subject of the Reform Bill, that I was the first to disclose the secrets of the Cabinet when addressing my friends at Gateshead. I deny the truth of this charge. I never disclosed any secret. I never stated any Cabinet transactions, and I will prove to you how impossible it is that I should have done so in this instance. I refer such of you as take any interest in my public conduct to a speech of mine, which now stands as a record, and contains evidence which those that can may turn against me. All I stated on that occasion at Gateshead was, that Earl Grey had intrusted to me the preparation of the Reform Bill, and that I had been assisted in that task by three of my colleagues, was that a secret? It might not, perhaps, be known to my friends in Durham, but it was notorious to every man living in the metropolis where I had been residing; for all the memorials to the Treasury, and all the depositions to the Prime Minister, were referred by him to me. I saw the parties in my own house; I received there every information which I thought likely to elucidate the subject. Did I then disclose any secret at Gateshead? I say I did not, and I therefore again deny the charge that in anything which I uttered at any meeting I ever said a syllable disclosing either what had been done in the committee or what was subsequently done in the Cabinet. (Cheers). But

enough, gentlemen, of myself. Let me rather direct your attention to that great public object, which is the best justification of the honours which you have this day conferred upon me, and of my acceptance of them. If ever there was a time when mutual co-operation and active combination among the friends of liberal principles was not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, it is the present. (Cheers). We have fought an arduous battle, and won a glorious victory. But our enemy is still in the field and in force, and we must not repose in the security of past triumphs, but must rise to the consciousness of an impending struggle. I only ask you to look around. See the activity and combination of all parties in the empire; see the stirring bustle of the Tories in all parts of England and Scotland. From one extremity of the empire to the other: from Ramsgate and Canterbury up even to Perth (a laugh); from the highest to the lowest; from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Stormont (bursts of laughter); all are on the alert. Look again at Ireland. See the activity of the Orangemen and the Repenters; and are we, we, the Reformers of England and Scotland; are we alone to remain supine and inactive? (Cheers). No; let us be up and stirring. (Cheers). Let us show our enemies that we will not be taken by surprise, and our friends and leaders that we are determined as ever in the pursuit of our acknowledged rights. (Cheers). We must not suffer the Reform Bill to become a dead letter, or, what is worse, merely an instrument of party triumph; but we must make it what it ought to be, and what it shall be (cheers)—a great instrument of national regeneration. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I cannot adequately describe to you the ~~which~~ ^{crisis} which I attach to the present crisis. If the House of Commons in the next session of Parliament do its duty to itself and the constituency, all may be made the right; but if, unfortunately, it should shrink from the high task which circumstances impose upon it, and if it should pursue an uncertain and vacillating course, irretrievable ruin will be the consequence. (Hear). Let me ask you, however, one question. "Have you no duty to perform?" (Cries of yes). Aye, you have; you have an important and essential duty to perform; you have to keep a watchful eye over your representatives. (Great cheering and laughter, in which Mr. Oswald, to whom Lord Durham had pointedly turned, cordially joined). You must show them that you are not to be trifled with, and you must require from them the reaping of that harvest, the seeds of which you have planted, and the coming of which you have waited for with such exemplary patience. (Loud cheering). No doubt many and weighty obstacles will be in your path, and in the path of your truly honest and independent representatives; but all can be overcome with firmness and decision, but not with rashness and violence. (Cheers). In the spirit of firmness and decision you must act, for we have great and important objects still to accomplish. We have to require the perfecting of the Reform Act. (Cheers.) We have to require the repeal of the Septennial Act. (Cheers). We have to require the purification of the church establishment of England and Ireland from all acknowledged abuses. (Long-continued cheering). We have to require the reform of corporation abuses in England, and the strictest continuance in economy and retrenchment. (Cheers) No doubt there are many other measures emanating from these to which I have alluded, and on which my sentiments are well known. There may be some difference of opinion entertained with regard to some of them, but I have only alluded at present to those on which no friend of reform can entertain a doubt. Shall any one tell me that the attainment of these objects cannot but be attended with danger to the institutions of the country? for that is the cry now attempted to be raised against me. (Cheers). I would relieve the Dissenters, and would purify the church from abuses for the sake of justice and for the advancement of true religion. Is that attended with danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no). I would reform corporations so as

to make them what they profess and what they ought to be, the correct representatives of local rights. Is that attended with danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no). No! I echo your words, and I assert that the true result of timely and not too-long-delayed reform is to preserve all that is valuable by removing all that is corrupt in our institutions. (Immense cheering). These are my opinions, and these are my principles: I have never concealed them, and I never will. (Cheers). I would not accept the highest office in the gift of the Crown; I would not even receive the warm and enthusiastic approbation of you, my fellow-countrymen, if either were to be gained by the concealment of a single opinion, or by the compromise of a single principle. (Cheers). I am, moreover, determined that my opinions and principles shall be known and judged from my own representations of them, and not from the false and interested description of them by others. By one party I am denounced as a destructive, by another as patronizing the impatience of the people (Cheers and laughter). Now, my opinions are neither the one nor the other of these. I know too well the artificial and complicated state of society in this country, and the absolute necessity of public confidence in the permanence of tranquillity, and the danger which arises from the interruption of the peaceful working of our commercial machinery, to propose any measure which should impede the peaceful flow of national industry and the regular operations of trade and commerce. (Cheers). But it is because I wish to see tranquillity perpetual, industry protected, commercial energy encouraged, that I advocate the necessity of an immediate and salutary reform, which will remove discontent before it has time to ripen into turbulence (cheers for some minutes), and will dissipate on the horizon the dark and hostile clouds which, if suffered to burst in mid heaven, will not only disturb the serenity of the sky, but will also pour down on the earth devastation and ruin. (Cheers). Now as to the charge of impatience. (Laughter). It

has been lately brought against us by one most eminent person (cheers and laughter), and, if I may judge from the report of a speech which was delivered in a distant part of the empire, in no very complimentary terms. But I will not follow the example which he has set us, and nothing shall fall from my lips inconsistent with his high station and his former services in the cause of his country. (Cheers). He has been pleased, for the allusion cannot be misunderstood, to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords, (Laughter). I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. (Cheers and cries of no). He is a practised orator and a powerful debater. I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy from an unwilling majority. (Cheers). Do not, gentlemen, misunderstand me, when speaking of that majority. I will not condescend either to ridicule those who form it at one time, nor to flatter them at another. (Great cheering). They differ from me conscientiously. I know that. They have been brought up to believe that all we ask for is dangerous to the institutions of the country. I know it, and I lament it; but I will not on that account impute to them improper motives. (Hear). He knows full well the advantage which he has over me, and he knows too that in any attack which he may make on me in the House of Lords, he will be warmly and cordially supported by them. (Cheers). With all these manifold advantages almost overwhelming, I fear him not (immense cheers); and I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he was pleased to term my criticisms. (Cheers). And yet, without being suspected of fear, may I hope that those criticisms may be rendered unnecessary? Many of his colleagues were my intimate associates in office, and many of them are my private and intimate friends. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, I believe to be an honest, straightforward states-

man, incapable of intrigue and treachery [the peculiar emphasis placed on the three last words by Lord Durham created a burst of feeling which it is impossible to describe]; and too clear and enlightened not to see the course which events are taking, and how absolutely necessary it is to comply with the general demand for reform and improvement. I therefore trust that his wisdom, firmness, and discretion will render all criticism unnecessary, and will leave only the grateful task of praise and acquiescence. (Cheers). And now to the charge itself. Impatience! The accusation is absurd, I may almost say monstrous. Where and when has it been exhibited? Not in the House of Commons surely, where the Government has received more continued and constant support than any that ever preceded it. Not in the country surely, for whatever we may have felt, till the last few weeks we have said nothing (cheers), and if at length our remonstrances have been made known, it was because we feared that our silence would be misconstrued and perverted. (Cheers). Another charge that has been brought against us is, that we wished for crude and undigested measures. Such a desire only existed in the imagination of the orator. (Cheers). Why should we wish for crude and undigested measures? First of all we want measures, next we want measures fully considered, and not subject to mutilation and compromise, the ill effects of which I pointed out at another meeting. (Cheers). And here let me observe, that when I alluded to the subject of compromise, I meant compromise with an enemy, not that fair concession which may and must occasionally take place with a friend. (Cheers). There is no real reformer but will yield his opinion on minor points to those who are actuated by the same principles with himself; but what I object to is the system of mutilating and compromising to gain an enemy who cannot be conciliated. I have already alluded to the difficulties in which the Government has been placed, and in which it gained the unflinching support of the House of Commons.

There is, however, one difficulty which I have not yet seen pointed out, and which is at the same time so peculiar that I must be permitted to call your attention to it. We have a liberal administration, professing liberal principles, supported by an immense liberal majority in the House of Commons, and that majority returned by a liberal constituency; and yet, with a Government so constituted, so maintained, and so supported, we have Ministers surrounded in every department by Tory subalterns. The patronage of the army and the church is still exercised by Tories for the benefit of Tories. (Cheers). All appointments by bishops, judges, magistrates, lord-lieutenants, are Tories. (Cheers). The diplomacy of the country is composed of nearly the same persons as it was in the time of my Lord Liverpool, and is entirely Tory. (Cheers). In short, all the inferior instruments through which the liberal measures of a liberal Government are to be accomplished are anti-liberal. (Cheers). How then is it possible that such a system can work harmoniously and beneficially to the best interests of the country? (Hear, hear). For rather would I have a Tory Government, acting with Tory agents, for then we should have our enemies before our faces, and not behind our backs, than a liberal Government, checked, thwarted, and undermined by what ought to be its main sources of efficiency. (Cheers). Am I not right then in saying that this is one of the chief difficulties by which the Government is surrounded? On whom, then, ought Ministers to rely? On the House of Commons, which has always stood by them, on the liberal constituency, which has returned that House of Commons; and, above all, on the people at large, who have before now carried them triumphantly through all their difficulties. (Cheers). And it is with a full conviction of the necessity of this reliance, and further with a full conviction of the gratitude which we owe to those who stood forward in support of the cause of their country, and who vindicated the safety of liberty, that I now come to the consideration of the

toast which has been assigned to me, and which I now hold in my hands. I am required by the stewards to propose a sentiment, in which, I most cordially concur, and if I have not come to it before, if I have detained you longer than was fitting, (loud cries of "No,") it was because I felt that I was bound to explain, and I trust that the explanation has been satisfactory (cheers), how matters really stood, and to prove that you were justified in honouring me as you have honoured me to-day. (Cheers). I have explained the opinions which I entertain on all great public questions, and thanking you for the kind reception you have given me, and feeling the utmost satisfaction in your concurrence in my view of public affairs, I now request you to drink this sentiment, which I adopt most gratefully, "May the recollection of the glorious struggle for reform during the last half century ever animate Britons in the demand for, and in the maintenance of, their rights." (Great cheering).

The CHAIRMAN said, that after the very brilliant and argumentative speech which they had just heard delivered by their noble guest, he could not well expect to claim their attention. At the same time, in proposing the toast which he was now about to give, he would take the liberty to offer to their consideration one or two observations. He conceived that he would not be considered as taxing their patience too much in doing so, when they were aware that the toast he rose to propose was "Earl Grey and the Reform Act." (Cheers). The noble Lord, their noble guest, had told them that day, that he claimed no merit to himself for the Reform Bill; that the merit of it belonged neither to him, nor to any other individual, but that the whole merit of that act was to be attributed to Earl Grey. (Hear, hear). Now, however they might differ from Earl Grey on some points, yet, when they considered that it was to that noble lord they were indebted for the Reform Act, a measure that placed the country in a situation to obtain all that is wanted, he was sure that they would agree with him in thinking that they owed a

debt of gratitude to Earl Grey which they could scarcely ever repay. (Cheers). He would just advert to one or two points in regard to the administration of that noble lord. That it achieved a great victory for the country in carrying the Reform Bill, all would admit. That after the passing of the Reform Bill it stood upon the clear principle that the Government should not be, as formerly, one of influence and corruption, but a Government of principle would be as readily granted. He was not, besides, blind to the difficulties which that Government had to contend against. Their noble guest had just alluded to some of them, and unfortunately those to which he had referred existed in as much strength to-day as they did three years ago. (Hear, hear). It always appeared to him that one great difficulty pervaded the proceedings of that Government, namely, an indecision as to coming to the point with their adversaries. (Hear, hear). Another great and self-created difficulty of that Government was, that they compromised with their enemies, knowing, as they must, all the time, that the greatest possible compromises they could make with such a view, would not advance them a single step, or gain for them the slightest real support in such quarters. (Cheers). There were portions, too, of that administration, that in themselves constituted substantial difficulties in the way of its effecting useful and general reforms, and whose separation from it well deserved to be a source of public confidence and congratulation. He did not of course allude to Earl Grey, but he alluded to those late members of the administration who had been happily relieved of their public duties (a laugh), who always had the profession of reform and of liberal principles on their lips, but who, when the time came for action, at once declared themselves the advocates of Tory principles. (Hear). The Government had a happy riddance of such men. (Cheers). Another difficulty that had attended Earl Grey's administration was, that having carried the Reform Act, and having been, in fact, carried into power on the should-

ers of the people, it appeared always to dread the confidence of the people (Hear, hear). Now, if a Government will but repose trust and confidence in a liberal and enlightened people, it will be respected by them, and no difficulties or dangers, of any kind, will stand in its way. (Cheers.) He hoped and trusted that the late infusion of liberal principles into the Cabinet, would justify the reformers in looking forward to better days. (Cheer-). The new members of the Cabinet were imbued with thoroughly liberal principles, and he hoped that they would see the fruits of their accession to office before many months had elapsed. He agreed with his noble Friend, that the sure way to make the representatives of the people do their duty, was for their constituents to look after them. (Hear, hear). He would now give them "Earl Grey and the Reform Act" (Great applause).

Mr. COLIV DUNLOP, who acted as croupier, proposed the next to ist, "The Repeal of the Septennial Act"; but owing to the distance from which he spoke, but little of what he said reached us. He contended that the Reform Bill should be only regarded as a means to an end; as a means for obtaining all those various measures of reform and improvement that the wants of the country demanded. There were many reforms which the people called for, and which they must have. They wanted free trade in corn. (Cheers.) They wanted a reform of the abuses of the church. They wanted a commutation of taxes, and an adaptation of them to the means of those who paid them. A reform, too, in the House of Lords must come soon. (Great cheering). He had mentioned to them some out of the long catalogue of reforms that still remained to be accomplished. A noble and learned Lord, who had lately been making a progress through Scotland, had talked much and often of what had been done in the last and in the preceding session of Parliament, and that learned individual, in fact, seemed so intimate, that because so much, according to his account, had been done in the two former sessions, little remained

to be done now. (Laughter, and cries of Hear.) Though the Parliament, since it had been reformed, had done a good deal of worth, a great deal more remained for it to get through. (Cheers.) If the Lord Chancellor had said that the House of Commons had already done too much; then, indeed, they could understand what he meant. He (Mr. Tolp) was afraid that he could not understand that noble Lord's words, except upon that principle, that he had made up his mind that as little reform should be granted as possible, and that even not until the most distant period. (Loud and general cries of Hear, hear.) They were assembled that day to express their gratitude to the noble Earl (Dunham) for his eminent services in the cause of the people. (Cheers). They were more especially met together to convey the testimony of their approbation to him for the great principle that he had publicly declared, at the dinner at Edinburgh, that not a single hour passes over his head without regret, that prolongs the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses. (Cheers). They were assembled there that day, to thank the noble Earl for the assertion of that principle. It was vain and idle for the Lord Chancellor to pretend that the former sessions of Parliament had done enough. The Government had wasted the time of the House of Commons, without doing that which the wants and necessities of the people required. (Loud cheers). Now the true way to make the Government do its duty, was to repeal the Septennial Act. (Cheers). It was in vain to expect the Government to do its duty, unless it was made dependent upon the representatives of the people; and it was vain to expect that they would do their duty if they did not consult the wishes and interests of their constituents, and the only mode to secure that consisted in having Parliaments hoken at short intervals.

The toast was drunk with great applause.

Mr. DOUGLAS (who, owing to the same cause, namely, the distance from which he spoke at the lower end of the room, was also indistinctly heard where

we sat) proposed the next toast, "The Liberty of the Press." Intending so the learned gentleman expatiated at some length, and in very eloquent terms, upon the mighty influence exercised, and the immense good effected by that powerful instrument of human enlightenment and improvement. The liberty of the press, he observed, was the best safeguard for the liberties of the people. In the evil days of boroughmongering domination the Government, in order, if possible, to keep down the just discontents of the people, laid cruel laws upon the press, and the money of the people was squandered in hiring literary prostitutes to revile and defame those men who had the talent and courage to assail the fastnesses of corruption. (Cheers). It was the peculiar province of the press to expose faithless statesmen and unprincipled politicians. The press animated the living to exertion, and did justice to the merits of the dead. In conclusion, he expressed the delight he felt at witnessing such a meeting assembled to do honour to a consistent patriot and honest politician. (Cheers).

(To be continued.)

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CRONSHEY, S., Putney, grocer.

FIELD, T., Mornington-place, Camberwell New-road, flour-factor.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNES, J., Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, carpenter.

COLEMAN, B. Y., Liverpool, watch-manufacturer.

DAKIN, H., High-street, Southwark, cheesemonger.

FARMER, G. W., Tavistock-street, Covent-garden, jeweller.

GODFREY, S., Bristol, jeweller.

GROVE, T., Great Surrey-street, tailor.

HOUGHTON, G., Hertford-street, Mayfair, saddler.

KERWOOD, J., Cassington, Oxfordshire, grocer.

MAUDE, T. W., White Birk, near Blackburn, Lancashire, dyer.

SPRING, W., Great Portland-street, Portland-place, plumber.

WADELIN, W. W., Wolverhampton, shoemanufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MERCER, W., Edinburgh, insurance-broker.

SMITH, J. T., Edinburgh, bookseller.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

INSOLVENTS.

JONES, T., Little Newport-street, Leicester-square, trimming-seller.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

LINES, A., Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

CLEWS, R. and J., Burslem, Staffordshire, manufacturers of earthenware.

COCK, J., Dartford, miller.

CRIPPS, J., Wiston, Gloucestershire, grocer.

DEWHURST, T., Manchester, bookseller.

DUFFELL, J., Bridge, Kent, grocer.

FRANKLAND, F., Oxford-street, carpet-warehouseman.

HATCH, W. H. P., Regent-street, boot-maker.

HALLILY, J., J. Brooke, J. Hallily, and J. Hallily, jun., Dewsbury, Yorkshire, woolen-manufacturers.

MATHWIN, E., F. F. and T., North Shields, chair-makers.

MICKLE, G., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.

PARMENTER, J., Melbourn, Cambridge-shire, linen-draper.

PATTISON, G. W., Cross-street, Islington, merchant.

PLUNKET, T., Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, grocer.

PUGH, G., Sheffield, laceman.

ROBERTS, H. J., James-street, Lisson-grove, victualler.

SMITH, W., Birmingham, victualler.

STANLEY, T., Leeds, manufacturer.

THEED, T., West-square, picture-dealer.

VERY, J., Regent-street, hosier.

VOUHOIR, F., Rue de Clery, Paris, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Nov. 17.—We have had a good supply of Wheat since this day week; fine qualities barely supported last Monday's prices, and all secondary sorts were 1s. per qr. cheaper, and the trade very dull.

Our arrivals of Barley the latter end of last week and this morning were large, and we note this article 1s. per qr. lower than last Monday. Malt heavy sale.

Having a few parcels of grey Peas up this morning, they did not support the extreme prices of last Monday by 1s. per quarter. Boiling Peas also rather cheaper, as the duty on foreign is coming down, and we may expect some importations from abroad. Beans full as dear.

We have had but few fresh arrivals of Oats since this day week, in consequence an advance of 6d. per quarter was obtained from necessitous buyers both Friday and to-day over last Monday's prices, but the trade was not brisk this morning. Our buyers are perhaps holding off in hopes of seeing our market better supplied. The course of the Oat trade must materially depend upon the extent of the deliveries of English Oats the end of next month and January.

Oats, Barley, Beans, and Peas under lock, inquired for at our quotations.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new	40s. to 45s.
Old	44s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 41s.
White	44s. to 46s.
Yorkshire, red	35s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberland & Berwick	40s. to 41s.
Fine white	44s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	41s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good	35s. to 37s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 34s.
Old	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling	30s. to 34s.
Mashing	34s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 65s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 37s.
Old	36s. to 41s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White, English	40s. to 42s.
Foreign	36s. to 42s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maple	42s. to 44s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	23s. to 25s.
Yorkshire, feed	23s. to 24s.
Black	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new	24s. to 27s.
Old	27s. to 34s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 23s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 27s.
Potato	26s. to 24s.
Old	27s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new	24s. to 26s.
Old	23s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 20s.
Black, new	18s. to 20s.
Foreign feed	24s. to 25s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	14s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
Cheeshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 17.

This day's supply of beasts, though not quite so numerous as was that of this day se'night, was fully equal to the demand, and, as to quality, for the time of the year, tolerably good. The supply of Sheep, Calves and Porkers, rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of prime meat, somewhat brisk; but with the middling and inferior kinds, dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About a fourth of the beasts were Short-horns; the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 50 Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to three of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Northfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,000 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Short-horns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Irish beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and other of our northern districts; about 300, chiefly Scots, with a few Short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 160, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Scotch and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, in about equal numbers of Sussex beasts, Devons, runts, and Irish beasts; from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the marshes, &c. near London.

THE FUNDS.

1 per Cent. }	1st.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. ann. }	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½

WE recommend to persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, *Hernia*, the *Trusses* of Mr. *Coles's* invention, of 3, Charing Cross, (Truss Maker to His Majesty's forces) from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence and simplicity of his Patent by the first practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in *Coles's Gazette*. It is gratifying to find that Mr. *Coles* has discovered a self-resisting motion totally distinct from all other plans, whereby the victims of this distressing malady are rescued from their sufferings. The *Gazette* (a single letter) will be sent, gratis, to any part of the world. Letters must be post paid.

Read the case of *W. Cobbett, Esq., M.P.*, published in *Boyle's Court Guide*.

His Majesty's Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. *Coles* for a dedicated Band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary, connected with one of our London Hospitals, whose case, to use his own expression, had baffled every medicine that was quick and every medicine that was not quack; has sent to Mr. *Coles* his written testimonial which may be seen at 3, Charing Cross, wherein he admits that Mr. *Coles's* Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease, and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. *Coles*. My Lord *Skelmersdale* had a Coachman who was suffering a martyrdom to the above complaint, declared, when he called to pay Mr. *Coles*, that ere he had worn *Coles's* Rheumatic Band five days, he was more free from pain than he had been in the preceding five years.

* * * The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY.

MORISON'S PILLS.

(To the Editor of the *Bradford Observer*).

Sir,—In your number of the 4th instant, I ventured to rectify the misrepresentation of your "Constant Reader," relative to the case of Webb at York; at which he expresses his surprise, and thinks it not a little singular that I should think proper to cavil at his remarks, whereas it seems to me still more singular that he should ever have felt disposed to make them. I cannot attribute them to any other than sinister motives; his remarks have been calculated to be of any service to the public, I should have been the last person either to contradict or cavil at them; but far from this, they were evidently designed to mislead the public and bias them against the most valuable medicine they are in possession of, viz., *Morison's Universal Vegetable Medicines*. My intention was to disabuse the public mind as to the effect which may have been produced from the strange and anomalous decision in the above-mentioned case, and I do not intend to retract anything of my former statement, that Webb did not assume the duties of a physician and

apothecary. I conceive the duty of a physician is to prescribe a medicine, and that of an apothecary to compound the same when prescribed; and it is generally the case that the part of administering devolves upon a nurse, in which capacity I consider Webb attested; if he had prescribed the ingredients or compounded the medicine in question, he would to all intents and purposes have assumed the duties of a medical man. As to his ignorance of the general effects of the pills in cases of small-pox, I merely need quote part of the evidence which your correspondent thinks I am so unfortunate in appealing to. "And Rumfit: I was ill in the small-pox five weeks ago; last Thursday, as a remedy, I took *Morison's Pills*; I commenced with eight or nine pills a day until the pox was at the height, and am now quite well."—"Thomas Fairbank: I was attacked with small-pox Christmas before last. I took *Morison's Pills*, and was quite recovered in six weeks. I took as many as thirty-five pills in one day, and generally took about twenty pills per day." Webb had obtained his knowledge from cases like these, and what better proof of the efficacy of the pills need be adduced? As to the state of the deceased after death, Mr. *Overton*, surgeon, said: "I have seen above a dozen cases of small-pox where the patients have been opened. Inflammation of the stomach is very common with persons who die of confluent small-pox. I have seen cases of small-pox where inflammation has taken place from the throat down to the intestines." Dr. *Belcome*, who was one of the witnesses for the prosecution, said: "If I were asked what the deceased died of, I should say of small-pox." These are a few of the many circumstances I could mention. As to gamboge the principal ingredient, there is one Mr. *King*, a chemist, in York, who asserts that there is little more than one-third of the gamboge stated by Mr. *West*, chemist, of Leeds. Your correspondent further states, Webb gave him some pills, and in a few hours he was a corpse, but does not mention that after Webb had given the pills one of the Ecclesiastical faculty was called in who gave him medicine, the propriety of which was never investigated—and why? because he had a diploma, or, in the strictest sense of the word, a licence to administer what he thought proper or improper with impunity. He proceeds, it is not he who has presumed to question the honest verdict of an English jury, on which he did not place particular emphasis, not knowing, perhaps, that four out of the twelve were in the majority, the very characters he seems to treat with contempt, most likely possessing as much physical knowledge as a "Constant Reader," who admits that there is no wonder that I should deem him void of all compassion. I beg your indulgence of my extended remarks, and remain, &c.

A LOVER OF JUSTICE.

Printed by William Cobbett, *Commons's Court*, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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No. X.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

LABOURER,

*Normandy Tithing, Parish of Ash,
Furnham, Surrey.*

Chester, 25. Nov. 1834.

MARSHALL,

I SHALL not write any more letters to you now. I came from Dublin into Wales between seven o'clock last night and two o'clock this morning, and I am come eighty miles to this city along a country, nine-tenths of which are solid rock; mountains, like three or four *St. Martha's Hills* put one upon t'other; and all rock. I never could have believed that I was in England, if I had not, in a little village about as big as *Ash*, seen that necessary appendage to rural justice, commonly called *THE STOCKS*, which is peculiar to the villages of old England. I was afraid the coach was carrying us away into some foreign parts; but the moment I saw the *STOCKS*, I knew that all was right.

And, now, MARSHALL, as I shall not write any more letters to you, you must beg Mr. DEAN to read to you the *LITTLE BOOK* that I mentioned to you in my last letter; then you will know the rights of it all from the beginning to the end. I should not have written that little book, if the half-drunk, half-mad Scotch vagabonds had not had the impudence and insolence to deny that the working people, when in distress, had a right to relief out of the

land. These vagabonds, having done this, it is now time to inquire what really was the right that the landlords had to the land at all. So that, if the landlords do not like the book, let them thank the Scotch vagabonds for it; and thank their own folly for having let loose the tongues and pens of these vagabonds.

But, MARSHALL, I have the pleasure to tell you, that I do not think that we shall hear much more of the impudence of these Scotch vagabonds: for, I hear from London that the pay is going to be taken from these vagabonds; and, if they don't get pay, they will not write long; however, we shall know all about this in a few days.

I hope that you are all well, and all your wives and children; and, in the hope of finding, when I come home, all the farm nice and clean,

I remain,

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Dublin, 21. Nov., 1834.

MY FRIENDS AND CONSTITUENTS,

THERE has arisen in our national affairs a state of things of a very interesting and important character, and which, in all human probability, will lead to events affecting, and deeply affecting, our liberties and our happiness. At such a time it must be one of the duties of a member of Parliament to offer his opinions to his constituents upon the subject generally, and particularly with regard to the manner in which he deems it right to act in this new state of things. In the discharge of this duty I now address myself to you.

The King has made a change in his servants; has turned one set out, and has taken another set in. If it be proper to maintain the kingly government, it is

also proper in us to allow that he not only possesses the right to do this, but that he ought to have the right to do it; for, if the House of Commons, or the people at large, were to appoint the servants of the King, there could be no such thing as responsibility anywhere. If the House of Commons were to choose the minister, he would be their servant. They would be the absolute sovereign; and a pretty sovereign we should have had in those who brought in and pushed on the Poor-law Bill. The Americans have taken all the precautions possible upon this subject; they have given as little power as possible to the President and the governors; but, for their own *safety's sake*, they have left the appointment of all executive officers to those chiefs of the several republics. Therefore, I deem it my duty scrupulously to abstain from any act which should seem to call in question the King's entire freedom to choose and appoint his own executive officers, knowing that I possess the right to call in question, in your behalf, any misconduct on the part of those officers; and, distinguished as you have made me, it is my duty also, to make my opinions, as to this matter, known as extensively as I can.

What were the motives of his Majesty for dismissing his late servants, it is impossible for me, at present, to say. But, if I had been King, I never would have retained a Ministry one hour, who thought proper to retain amongst them the man who had draggled the great seals, the insignia of royalty, from the Highlands of Scotland to the Isle of Wight; then back again to north Lincolnshire; and who had, in harangues from a public-house balcony at SALISBURY, and at another public-house, in the little village of FAREHAM, been pouring out, amidst masses of insufferable nonsense, his braggings about his friendship for me, and my friendship for him. Had there been no other reason than this, this would have been sufficient. The King had lived through the time of THURLOW, of LOUGHBOROUGH, of ELDON, of LYNDHURST. He had seen his father and his brother with Lord High Chan-

cellors, who, whatever might be their politics, had not run about the country in this wild manner; and it was not reasonable to expect that he should be able so far to master his natural desire to keep up the dignity of his throne, as not to be enraged upon hearing this man promise his associates at a dinner, that he would write to the King by that night's post, to tell him with what cheers his health had been drunk by about threescore of people.

However, be the King's motives what they might, he had a right to do that which he has done; and it is for us to take care to do our duty, to protect ourselves against any evil consequences that may arise from the change. The newspapers in London, which are the property of, and are managed by, persons living on public money allotted them by the Whigs, are naturally endeavouring to stir up the people, to do something or another, that shall force the Whigs back again to the King. The *Morning Chronicle*, which is said to be the property now of a little band, making part of those numerous hordes of commissioners, which the Whigs have stuck on upon our devoted backs. These pensioned and sinecure reptiles are naturally desperate at the prospect, and, indeed, the certainty of being deprived of their means of living luxuriously on our labour, while they have assisted to push on a law, intended to reduce us to live upon COARSER FOOD. They endeavour to alarm us with the sound of *soldiers* and *police*; and to make us believe that the Duke intends to establish a military government in England. I shall by-and-by show you, that the Duke could not do this, if he would, any more than I could pluck the sun from the sky. But, suppose we grant the *coarser-food* gentlemen, that the Duke has this foolish intention, how is the change for the worse? The Whigs, or, to give them their proper name, the COARSER-FOOD MINISTRY; and let this be their name; the "*coarser-food Ministry*" began their career by augmenting the number of the standing army, which, upon all occasions, they have employed with more

vigour than any of their predecessors. And, as to POLICE; why, just before the Parliament separated, MALBON, the head of the coarser-food Ministry, declared in his place, in the House of Lords, that it was his intention to establish a police in the villages; that is to say, what he called a "*rural police*." Besides this, was he not Secretary of State for the Home Department, when the spy POPAY was employed? Was it not proved, that he himself received written reports coming from that spy, of things that passed in private families, as well as at political and public meetings? Was it not proved before a committee of the House of Commons, that POPAY received extra pay for acting as a spy? and was it not proved that the money came from the office of this very Secretary of State? What more, then; what worse, then, are we to apprehend as to military and police?

But the Common Council of London, a set of as great oppressors as any in the kingdom, as MR. WILLIAM WILLIAMS has most amply proved: this set, and here and there a cluster of people that have been put in motion by the army of commissioners, are holding meetings to address the King, in which address they purpose to express a fear, "*that all reforms will now stop*." Why, their Lord Chancellor of the coarser-food Ministry has been flying about, from one end of the kingdom to the other, asserting, that he and his colleagues had gone *too fast* in the work of reforming; that they did *little*, it is true, during the last session of Parliament; and that, in the next, they should *do less*. We may console ourselves, then, on this score, I think. But, what have they done, or attempted to do? The only thing that they have attempted, in the way of church reform, has been, to pass a bill in the House of Commons for permitting *Dissenters to take degrees in the universities*; a thing of no sort of value at all to the great body of the Dissenters; of no value to any but a few rich men; and of very little value, even to them. The *church-rates*; the *marriage* rites and expenses; the *tithes*: these are the things

of value. The marriages they proposed a measure to adjust, so insolent that the Dissenters rejected it; and, indeed, it was perfidious, as well as insolent; for it would have subjected the Dissenters to rules which would have given to the Government the power of limiting the number of their places of worship, and, indirectly of choosing their ministers. With regard to the church-rates, they have done nothing, and declared their intention to do nothing; though it is as full as unjust to make Dissenters pay church-rates in England, as it was to make Catholics pay church-rates in Ireland; and, be it known, that they were not taken off in Ireland, until there must have been a hundred thousand men in arms to collect them any longer. With respect to the *tithes*, which is the great burden of all, they have talked of nothing but merely altering the *mode of payment*. If their scheme were to be adopted, a Dissenter would not be relieved from the payment of tithes. The regulation might prevent the parson having the power of coming and taking the tithe in kind, but he would still have as much to pay as he has to pay now; and, if he could not be called upon to render tithes in kind, he would be called upon to render them in money; and would not, therefore, be at all benefited by what this coarser-food Ministry proposed, or rather talked of, without any apparent intention of *doing even* that.

But, I do beseech the Dissenters to bear in mind the following undeniable fact; namely, that, collectively and individually, the coarser-food Ministry, including Lord GREY, have distinctly declared, that they would never agree to a *separation of church from state*; which is the great thing that the Dissenters prayed for, and that they want; and that, since the church is come into its present state, every churchman must want too, on grounds which I have heretofore fully stated to you. The separation of church from state takes away the maintenance of the church, except by voluntary contribution, and leaves the teachers of religion to be chosen by the parents of those who are to be taught.

Will the Duke's Ministry agree to this? I do not THINK they will: I do not think that, until urged on by more pressing events, they will yield to this separation of church from state. But I KNOW that the coarser-food Ministry will not yield to it; I might nearly say that I know that the Duke and his Ministry will not yield to it; but the coarser-food Ministry have positively told us, collectively and individually that they will *not* yield to it. What danger is there, then, that this change will produce any injury to the cause of church reform? And is it not clear, that all the talk of such reform on the part of the coarser-food Ministry, was intended merely to amuse the Dissenters, and to get their support to measures relative to other matters, deeply injurious to the people at large?

As to the church in Ireland, they have proposed, and caused to be passed, bill upon bill; they have voted a million of our money to be given to the parsons of Ireland, to keep them till tithes could be collected; and still they have done no one thing to remove the burden from the Catholics of Ireland, or to restore peace and tranquillity to that country, to supplant the endless broils and violences, arising out of the exactions of the Protestant established church. What, then, have the Dissenters to apprehend from this change? Above all men living, why should *they* be afraid of the change? I should like to know how it is possible, in the first place, that the WELLINGTON Ministry can *do less* for the Dissenters and Catholics, than the coarser-food Ministry did; and, in the next place, I would ask the Dissenters, whether those who repealed the Test and Corporation Acts, and who passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill, are *less likely* to abolish the connexion between church and state, than those who have done nothing for the Dissenters or Catholics, and who have positively declared, collectively and individually, that they will *maintain* the connexion of church and state.

Then, as to the nation in general, Dissenters, Churchmen, Catholics, and altogether; what are those "*reforms*"; what is that which is meant by the

"*carrying out of the Reform Bill,*" which is a favourite phrase of *pis-aller* PARKES and the rest of the horde of commissioners? Is the commission for inquiring into public charities, which has cost a hundred thousand pounds or more, and which has done nothing; is this one of the "*reforms*"? Is the corporation commission another "*means to an end*"? Yes; the means of enabling *roaring* RUSKIN, *pis-aller* PARKES, and a whole band of commissioners, to drink champagne, eat turtle, and loll on sofas, instead of drenching down bits of bullock's liver with small-beer, and curling their carcasses up upon a whisp of straw, which is the fare and the lodging that anything that they could honestly earn would supply. Is this thing; this insolent flinging away of our money, one of the "*reforms*" that *pis-aller* PARKES and his crew are afraid of seeing stopped? Certainly it is; and I trust it will be stopped. The fellows now acknowledge that they could do nothing effectually; that the corporations set them at defiance; and that there is no law to punish them for setting them at defiance. Why, then, were they appointed? Why were fifty or a hundred thousand pounds of our money to be thus squandered away for no purpose, except that of feeding *pis-aller* PARKES and his crew, while hundreds of thousands belonging to the families of weavers and labourers, who toil from morning till night, have not, upon an average, three pence a day each to exist on?

The hangers on of this coarser-food Ministry are insinuating, and, indeed, saying, that that part of the press which refuses to join in the howl of lamentation for the turning out of these Whigs, is corrupted. What! must I be corrupted because I do not howl; because I laugh, instead of howling, at the turning out of those, in the reprobating of whose deeds I have bestowed more time and labour, than I ever bestowed on any other subject in my life! Let me state *some* of the deeds of this coarser-food Ministry; let me set them down in the form of distinct propositions; and then let me ask, whether I

must be corrupted, because I do not howl at their disgrace. I say, then,

1. That they proposed and got passed the Coercion Bill for Ireland, which provided for the administration of justice by military officers instead of a judge and jury.
2. That they augmented the standing army, in time of peace.
3. That they sent out special commissions, by which upwards of three hundred countrymen were transported for rioting.
4. That they rejected the numerous petitions in favour of the poor Dorsetshire labourers.
5. That they armed and called out the Irish yeomanry.
6. That the NEW ROXBURRY affair took place in their time; and that nobody was punished for the slaughter on that occasion.
7. That they proposed and carried a vote of twenty millions of money, to be given to slaveholders to cease the commission of the deed of keeping their fellow-creatures in slavery.
8. That they rejected a proposition to put the landholders upon a level with the farmers and the tradesmen, with regard to the stamp taxes.
9. That they displaced a taxing man and gave him eight hundred a year for life to retire, in order to make a place for WOOD, emphatically called JOHN, and that this was no more than a sample of their proceedings in this respect.
10. That they opposed and set aside the Factory Bill of the considerate and humane Lord ASHLEY.
11. That they opposed the repeal of that act of the Six Acts, which related to cheap publications.
12. That under this act, they sent more than three hundred men to prison in one year, for selling cheap publications; a thing which their predecessors had never done at all, and under an act, which they, at the passing of it, had represented as hostile to every principle of English liberty.
13. That they opposed a motion for a

repeal of the Septennial Bill; and for the shortening of the duration of Parliaments.

14. That they surrounded themselves by bands of commissioners, of various descriptions, some of whom were merely students at law, the rest chiefly going under the name of barristers: and that they thus formed a sort of establishment of gossiping and tale-bearing supporters, haunting the coffee-houses and all the other places of public resort.
15. That they made a King's counsel of that HILL, who, as he himself confessed, "incautiously" made a statement about Mr. SMITH.
16. That having before them a report from a committee of the House of Commons, proving that the lands of England were daily becoming *less valuable, for want of sufficient labour being bestowed upon them*, they brought in and passed a bill for establishing a new colony, in a country called Australia, and passed, at the time, a law to enable the vestries of parishes to raise taxes on the whole of each parish, to defray the expense of sending away the labouring people out of England; and that they appointed the above-said King's counsellor, HILL, together with GROVE, CLAY, TORRLES, and WHITMORE, *commissioners* for the affairs of the said colony.
17. That they proposed no measure whatsoever to redress the crying grievance discovered and proved, by the committee who examined into, and reported upon, the allegations respecting the spy POPP, though it was proved before that committee, that the spy had received money for spying from the Secretary of State, through the commissioners.
18. That they opposed and set aside a motion for inquiring into the grounds for giving pensions to prodigious numbers of men, women, and children, on the pension list, alleging that it was "an-

delicate" and "*ungentlemanlike*" to make such inquiry.

19. That the House of Commons having agreed to a motion to repeal the half of the malt-tax, they proposed, and carried a motion for the RESCINDING OF THAT VOTE.

20. That they proposed, and passed, what they called the "POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL"; and that BROUGHAM, when he proposed the second reading in the House of Lords, asserted, *that the poor had no prescriptive right to relief*; and that *all legal provision for the poor was bad*, and that he proceeded upon the principles of MALTHUS, which were worthy of the admiration of the world.

These thing I know; these things I know of this coarser-food Ministry; and is there upon the face of the whole curth so base a wretch as I should be; so corrupt and villainous a betrayer of the trust which you have reposed in me, if I were not to do every thing in my power to prevent the possibility of these men ever again possessing the confidence of the King? and yet the bands of commissioners; those hungry bands; who, like the locusts of Egypt, threaten, not only to snatch the meals from our tables, but to devour up every thing in the shape of human food: those voracious bands accuse me, amongst others, of corruption, because I do not weep at an event that chokes them off from their cormorant repasts. Villains! They swallow up as much in a month, as the poor of a large county receive in the way of relief, in a year! Savage monsters! And am I to be called corrupt, because I do not weep at the prospect of seeing them brought down to that bodily labour; that least valuable of bodily labour, for which nature fitted them; and their desertion from which can be justly animadverted on only by the vagrant act, applied by an impartial justice of the peace!

But, have I forgotten Lord DURHAM?

Might not he be brought in? And so, by being infused into the body of the coarser-food Ministry, make it endura-

ble? In the first place, what power has he? what talent has he? what has he ever done? He said that we owed the Reform Bill to Lord GREY! I know that we owed it to the people; and that the ten-pound suffrage, in preference to the twenty-pound suffrage, we owed to my timely exposure of the whisperings of *pis-aller PARKES*, followed up immediately, as that exposure was, by the thundering petitions from GLASGOW, NEWCASTLE, LEEDS, MANCHESTER, and other great towns. Lord DURHAM, let it be recollected, most positively declared to the Dissenters, to their faces, that he was not for a separation of church from state; what, then, have the Dissenters, or any of us, to expect from him; or, rather, what should we have to expect, if he had any power, or any talent? neither of which he has; besides, what is the extent of his professions? Let us see. 1. To reform all acknowledged abuses in the church, whether in England or Ireland. 2. To give householder suffrage. 3. To give triennial Parliaments.

This is the extent of his professions. The first amounts to nothing at all: it is perfectly indefinite; for, *who* is to acknowledge the abuses? And, if not acknowledged by himself, I suppose, they are not to come within his definition. The Dissenters say, and I say, that the connexion between church and state is a great abuse. He says that that is no abuse. So that this profession amounts to nothing at all.

The second is by no means definite. It does not say, that *every man holding a house* is to have a vote; it does not say, that there are not rents and taxes to be considered; and, if the right to vote is to depend on these, in any degree whatsoever, it is not worth a straw. If it be householders, *paying scot and lot*, and thus shutting out all the hardest working people in the country as well as in towns, the thing may as well remain as it is. I have just sent to the press a little book, entitled, "*Cobbett's Legacy to Labourers*"; in which I have shown, that labour is not only property in itself, but that all other property must be founded on labour: and that

the labourer, or weaver, or carpenter, or smith, has a *clearer right*, founded on the property which he has in his labour, to vote at elections, than any landlord can have, founded on the property which he has in his estate. Why, then, talk about *householders*; why talk about a thing that has no *principle* to rest upon? The capacity to labour is a man's property, in whatever state of life he may be. Is it not infamously impudent to assert, that *pis-aller PARKER*, for instance, who swallows up out of the fruit of the labour of working men, as much as the whole earnings of seven or eight of them; and who gets into *house*" (what a shame!) by the means of such swallowings; is it not infamously impudent to assert, that he has a right to vote, while those seven or eight working men, out of the fruit of whose labour he lives, have no right to vote, which would be the case, under a law to the full extent of Lord DURHAM's professions if they happen to be single men.

With regard to triennial Parliaments, if we were *sure* that we could get them by supporting him, I would take them as part of our due; but annual Parliaments are our *right*; and, when we are stating our right, for them we must contend. I could very clearly show, as I have shown before, not only are annual Parliaments and universal suffrage the people's right, but that the *full enjoyment of them would be the security of all the orders and institutions of the country*. If Lord DURHAM could, indeed, come at once and give us householder suffrage and triennial Parliaments, I should say, let us take him; but as he does not bring us the most distant chance of his ever being able to give us any thing, why am I to give up a *principle*; why am I to give up the assertion, and the hope of justice, in order to grasp at this little beam of moonshine? In short, he brings us nothing; he can bring us nothing; he is worth nothing to the people, in such a state of things; and all the effect that can possibly be produced, by sticking him up, is to favour delusion in fools, and a lingering hope in the hungry dependents of the coarser-food Ministry.

Now, then, as to the Duke, who, the terrified tribe of commissioners would make us believe, is about to eat us up alive; or, as the Archbishop of Canterbury had it, in his prayer for protection against RUONAPARTZ, is about "to swallow us up quick"; to which passage in the prayer the Archbishop subjoined a note, to explain to the Supreme Being, to whom the prayer was addressed, that these words were the words of JUDAS MACCABEES, and not of JUDAS ISCARIOT: yes, these affrighted commissioners seem eager to persuade us, that the Duke will "swallow us up quick"; and they are crying aloud for help, from all quarters; for help, or, at least, for somebody to come to be swallowed first.

To be sure, as to certain substances, the Duke has a reasonably capacious swallow; but we had him for three years before, and he left us unswallowed. For my own part, I never had a pleasanter time in my life, which I spent, in great part, in telling his fortune, which I concluded by warning him, that his name would be rubbed out from the corners of the streets, and that his picture would come tumbling down from the sign-posts; and this I did, as he can testify, without ever looking in the palm of his hand. Before he was Minister I had never seen him, that I know of. I then went down to the House of Lords; and having seen his '*line of life*,' and heard him talk for about six minutes, I knew all that was to happen to him, as far as related to *that* Ministry. I shall now, please God, have an opportunity of surveying him more fully, and more at my ease; and about my own birth-day, which is the 9. of March, I shall be able to foretell all that will befall him. In the meanwhile, I am not at all frightened by the bugaboo conjured up by the commissioners. That which alarms the Woods, emphatically called JOHNS; the PARKESSES, the HILLS, the GAOSES, the WHITMOSES, and the TORRESSES, and he like, does not alarm me. I know what the Duke can do, and what he cannot do. I know that he cannot completely upset the local and domestic governments of England. Things which have

stood since the days of ALFRED are not going to be upset by him. We may hear loose talk, and impudent menaces, but sheriff, coroner, justice, constable, tithingman, quarter-sessions, judge, jury, vestry, overseer, churchwarden, court-baron, court-leet, hayward: these are not going to be upset by ten thousand heroes of Waterloo; and they must be upset before he can effect any thing more, by all the forces that he can muster, than a mere temporary strife, which must end in his own defeat; and *may end* in the overthrow of the *great* and more conspicuous and dignified institutions; but nothing that the Duke could invent, backed by the devil himself, could break up the governments established by ALFRED.

Far from me be it, to assert, or, indeed, to think, that he is such a fool as to imagine, that he can supplant these immortal governments by bands of police-dagger-men and spies. Indeed, I have no ground for believing that he would *wish* to do it. He can have no *interest* in doing it. He has a great estate; and a little reflection would convince him, that the "*centralizing*" system would soon deprive him of all solid security for that estate.

But there is *another thing* which would be a ring in the nose of the Duke, even if he were the furious and thoughtless and merciless person that the bands of commissioners now represent him to be, though BROUGHAM represented him as quite otherwise, in that article of the EDINBURGH REVIEW, which will stick to him like birdlime to the last moment of his being upon the stage; there is *another thing*; and that other thing cares no more for *military* government and *police* than sensible men care for the promises of Whigs; and that is, the BUSHEL OF WHEAT; in other words, thirty millions of interest of debt to be collected annually, and establishments costing twenty millions annually, to be maintained, with wheat at five shillings the Winchester bushel. This would be a ring in the nose of any mail-bull-like Minister, that even, the affrighted imagination of the commissioners; that even the raging appetites

of the HILLS, and the Woods, called JOHNS, and the PARKESSES, and the GROVES, and the TORRENSSES, could conjure up, wherewith to make us howl for the loss of the Whigs; and to this matter I beseech you, my constituents, to apply, attentively, your sound understandings.

You hear of the *distresses of agriculture*; but the words fall on your ears so often, that they make no impression. Taking this whole kingdom together, there are about twenty-two millions of souls; and, either directly or indirectly, the whole are dependent upon agriculture; and they must be so dependent, from the very nature of things. If, then, agriculture be in a state of distress, it must be a mass of distress altogether. But, taking only one class, I know it to be impossible that the landlords, including their mortgagees, can receive any thing at all from the land, for more than three years from this time, if these prices with the present taxes continue. So that the only question is, *whether these prices can be raised?*

I say that they cannot, without measures, of which, and the effect of which, I will speak presently; first, however, showing you that the prices cannot be raised without such measure. In every country prices must be high or low in proportion as the whole quantity of circulating money in that country be small or great, in proportion to the number and amount of purchases and sales in that country. If the number and amount of purchases and sales continue to be about the same, for several years consecutively, and if the quantity of money be diminished during that time, prices must fall. This has been the case now; because the quantity of money in circulation has been diminished. Well, then, can this quantity be augmented? It cannot, unless by the measure of which I am about to speak presently. And why can it not? It cannot, because the augmentation must be in paper money; and because in consequence of the law enabling every holder of paper money to go and demand gold for it, the issuers of it dare not augment the quantity, lest they should not have gold to answer

a demand for payment in gold. The banks cannot get more gold than they have now; because it is demanded by other countries; and because commerce will send it to those countries in spite of all human power, as long as it is more valuable there than it is here.

The great fall of prices which we at present experience, has been caused by the President of the United States of America, who, by the great sweep which he has made in the paper-money of that country, has drained away a large part of our gold; is continually drawing it away, and, as he is supported decidedly by the people against the banks, the drain upon this country for gold must continue. His measures have had the effect of sweeping away paper in Portugal, and in the Brazils; so that there is not the smallest chance of our recovering gold in sufficient quantity to augment the quantity of our currency. This would be of little consequence if we had no debt and no establishments; but we have them both; they continue to be the same in nominal annual amount; but when wheat is five shillings a bushel, the nation does, in fact, pay twice as much on account of them, as it did when wheat was at ten shillings a bushel; and thus it is, that the fundholders and the establishments beggar the landlords, the farmers, and all the creative classes of the community; and I assert, that this debt and these establishments cannot be sustained for three years longer with wheat at five shillings a bushel, even though there were a platoon of soldiers, or a band of police, stationed in every village in the kingdom.

This is the *ring in the nose*! The bull may roar, scrape the ground, and shake his menacing horns; but a mere touch at this ring brings him up as tame as a spaniel. But I have told you, that it is possible to *raise the price of the bushel of wheat*, and then, say you, the bull will be let loose again. Never fear! The only means that there are in this world of raising the price of the bushel of wheat, is an act of Parliament to issue one-pound notes, or smaller notes, and to make them a legal

tender. Why there should be any danger in doing this I have not time now to tell you; but, as you will clearly see, and that is what I want you to see, that here is the Duke wedged in between two difficulties, which must give rise to a state of things more than sufficient to induce any man in his senses to do every thing in his power to avoid bringing on him the effects of the hostility and the exasperation of the people. You will observe, that the Whigs were in this brace of difficulties, which they are leaving as a legacy to the Duke. For deliverance from them my chief reliance was on those difficulties; and now, without imputing any tyrannical intentions to the Duke, which I really have no right to do, I know that here is our security against all such intentions, be they entertained by whom they may; and that, in order to see a complete restoration of our rights as Englishmen, we have only to wait a little longer for the natural and inevitable effects of these causes; and then to do our duty faithfully to our King, our country, ourselves, and children.

There seems to be a doubt, you perceive, whether Sir ROBERT PEEL will join in the formation of this new Ministry. Without deeming this any thing of interest to us, I beg to submit to you the following observations. 1. That nothing would be so popular as the issuing of one-pound notes, and making them a legal tender. 2. That Sir ROBERT PEEL, who will, upon his arrival, perceive that the feelings of the public present no obstacle, will, nevertheless, object to this popular measure, he having so long contended for measures precisely opposite. 3. That this, and the situation of the currency generally, are very likely to deter him. 4. That there is no possible way of escaping out of the difficulties, other than that of acting upon the principles laid down in the Norfolk petition, which principles have been acted upon both in Portugal and Brazil. 5. That, however, this will be avoided now, until the last fearful extremity, purely to avoid a measure of justice and of wisdom, recommended

by me, who was the author of that memorable petition.

This, my friends, is the state of things amidst which we are placed. The commissioners have put every wheel in motion to excite our alarms, and to make us see bayonets and daggers and red coats and blue coats, coming pouring upon us from every alley and every lane, not seeming to reflect that we must know, that there can be no coats of any colour but what will be upon the backs of Englishmen. Who ever else they may frighten, I am sure they will not frighten you; and, indeed, they appear to be able to frighten nobody. Nobody stirs in consequence of their screams. They, 'ell us, that, at BIRMINGHAM (*pis-aller PARKES's* strong hold) "the Tories" are in motion to get a meeting expressive of pleasure at the ousting of the Whigs, and to *reprobate the Poor-law Bill*. Where then is Mr. THOMAS ARTWOOD and his colleagues, while these Tories are on foot? Do not they come forward and express sorrow for the loss of a Ministry, whom Mr. ARTWOOD himself called the "COARSER-FOOD MINISTRY"? Do not they come forward, to call upon the people to weep and wail, because power has been taken from a set of men, whose conduct filled them with such disgust, and whose foul proceedings rendered their laudable efforts so unavailing, that Mr. ARTWOOD expressed his doubts whether he should not resign his seat into the hands of his constituents.

Oh, no! The nation has the good sense to see that it has nothing to fear. It is rejoiced at any change that gives it a chance of escaping from the snake-like jaws of a centralizing, concentrating, amalgamating, accumulating, a *coarser-food* crew, who are, by little and little, sucking down all those institutions of the country, that our fathers left us for our protection. The defeat and fall of this crew, this sensible nation holds as a benefit: it is prepared to do its duty in every emergency, and to leave the rest to that God who protected our fathers, and gave them freedom and happiness for so many generations.

In the hope of seeing you soon, and of finding you all in good health,

I remain,

Your faithful friend

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

SIR ROBERT PEELE.

1. *Will he join the Duke?*
2. *Will the Duke go on without him?*
3. *If not, what will then take place?*

No one of these questions is to be answered *off hand*; and yet, though they must all be answered by *events*, in a few weeks, it is the part of prudence, for us to *discuss* them now, and to make up our minds with regard to them, without loss of time. I will, therefore, offer my *opinion* as to each, and state the *reasons* upon which such opinion is founded.

1. *Will Peel join the Duke?* The answer to this question will depend upon the view that he shall take of the state of things. If he look no farther than at the demonstrations of public feeling which are now exhibited; if he look no farther than the undeniable unpopularity of the *coarser-food* faction; if he look no farther, and take it for granted that this feeling towards the *coarser-food* men is an indication of a preference which they give to the Duke and his party; if he think that the House of Commons will participate with the people, in that mixture of abhorrence and contempt, which is now so manifest, and so generally felt towards the *coarser-food* faction, who have received that very proper appellation from Mr. THOMAS ARTWOOD; if he think that these form the every thing necessary to give him a smooth sea to sail on; if this be the view that he takes of the matter, he will join the Duke without hesitation, and will be First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

But, if he consider *why*, it is that the people exult at the turning out of the *coarser-food* people; *why* it is that they rejoice at any thing that inflicts disgrace upon them: if he consider, that their

present joy is founded, not at all, on any liking for their successors, nor on any confidence that they have in their good intentions; but, solely on the chance which the change gives them of getting more good and less evil, than have been dealt out to them by the *coarser-food* men, to whom are precisely fitted the words of the liturgy: "We have done those things which we ought not to have done, and have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and there is no health in us"; the word *health* meaning, in this place, goodness, uprightness, trust-worthiness. If Sir ROBERT PEEL duly consider this, he will hesitate long before he join the Duke; unless he be prepared to undo the things which the *coarser-food* men did to the dissatisfaction of the people, and to do the things which they refused to do, in spite of the supplications and the sufferings of the people, there being at the head of the former the *Poor-law Bill*, and at the head of the latter the *repeal of the cruel malt-tax*; if he be prepared; and, if he be wise, he is prepared, to do these things, then also he will join the Duke without hesitation.

I hold it to be impossible for any Ministry to stand in quiet for a month, without undoing the last terrible act of the *coarser food* men, which has already plunged the country into a state not to be looked at without the most fearful apprehensions. But there is another very weighty consideration for Sir ROBERT PEEL especially; namely, THE CURRENCY. According to all appearances, the United States of America will speedily come to a prohibition of the circulation of any bank-notes under twenty dollars. If that take place, the doom of our paper-money is sealed. We must lessen it in a very great degree; and that wheat, which is now sold at five shillings a bushel, will, as I predicted in my letter to TREMAY, published in 1818, come down to three and sixpence, if not to three shillings a bushel. I will not stop to descant on the ruin and confusion which this would produce; but I venture to say that society would be nearly, if not quite dis-

solved, before we should come to the three shillings, or even to the three and sixpence.

Now it is not given for human wit to devise, or for human means to enforce, any other than two ways of preventing this catastrophe: the one is a direct or indirect, and very large, *reduction of the interest of the debt*, which could not take place without a great reduction of pensions, places, sinecures, grants, allowances, and a very great reduction of the army. The other is an issue of one-pound notes, and making the paper-money a legal tender. The former of these would create a turmoil prodigious; while the latter, whatever might be the real operation of it on annuitants and mortgagees and the like, would be hailed with pleasure and gratitude by ninety-nine hundredths of the people, who will not at all calculate upon what are to be the ultimate and hereafter consequences.

Now, however Sir ROBERT PEEL might have been bothered out of his senses by the gabbling and under-headed HORNEAS and TIERNAYS, and RICARDOS and COPLESTONES of 1819, he is now fifteen years older than he was then; and he must see, or, at least, I think he must see, that there is no chance now left us, by the renowned and ever-to-be-praised President of America; that there is no chance now left us of escape from convulsive revolution, except by our pursuing one of those two courses. To be sure, as far as foregone speeches and professions go for any thing in such a case, he is pledged to pursue neither of them as tightly as man can be pledged. If, he, and it all depends upon this, if he be *too proud to acknowledge his errors* on this subject; then he cannot join the Duke; if he be not too proud for this, he will join him; because then, though his task will be difficult, there is the honour of overcoming the difficulty to tempt him to encounter it. And in this state I must leave this question to be decided by the judgment of the reader.

2. *Will the Duke go on without him?* I think he will, decidedly; and, if he should, and should go on with any thing

like success ; or whether he succeed or not, Sir ROBERT PEELE incurs a great risk of being accused of what no man likes to be accused of. He had a great hand in forming what is called the conservative party ; he *was* the leader of it ; he had as much hand as any man in producing the difficulties in which the Government and the King are now placed : he had a great deal more to do with this than the Duke has ever had : and we see clearly that all is left open to him ; that he may cut and carve for himself as to offices and power ; and that he may prescribe of himself the measures to be adopted. To decline, therefore, to assume a full share of the responsibility would certainly expose him to imputations which it must be very disagreeable to him to have to bear. In short, he must join, or he may march off *for ever* after Lord BROUGHAM.

The Duke, however, would in one respect be stronger without him : because the Duke, and those other persons whom he appears to have selected for the composition of his cabinet are by no means bound to any thing with regard to the debt and legal tender. It was the *coarser-food* men that were the teachers and prompters of Sir ROBERT PEELE as to these matters. These are now swept away ; and CANVING and wise HUSKISSON and wiser LIVERPOOL and "oracle" RICARDO and all that rubbish, were under ground long ago. To be sure Sir ROBERT PEELE has great speechifying talent ; is a great general in debates and divisions ; but Lord ALTHORP, without any talent at all of that sort, was a greater general than the Right Honourable Baronet ever will be. "It is not a question now," said CARNOT to PICKERNE, when the latter was leading the *Sans-culottes* into Holland ; "it is not a question now of *places fortes*, but of *caffres forts*." So likewise, it is not a question with us of intense speeches and brilliant repartees, but of cool calculations about *pounds, shillings, and pence*.

Therefore the Minister that will raise the bushel of wheat from five shillings to ten, or that will pull down the taxes

from fifty millions to twenty, though he stutter like a school-boy, and hum like a bumble-bee, will succeed with the people and with the House of Commons ; and may, if he will, enjoy power to the end of his natural life ; because out of these measures every other good would proceed ; and I do not joke at all, when I say, that to *set all the church bells ringing for the repeal of the malt-tax* would go further towards "*saving the church*" than all the declaring and all the petitioning and all the addressing that can be mustered up in all the *gyrnies* in the kingdom. In short, if I had to carry the thing on, I being placed in the situation that the Duke now is, I would rather make the attempt without Sir ROBERT PEELE than with him : and, as the Duke is a man of sense, I think, that, at any rate, he will not abandon his enterprise merely on account of the refusal of Sir ROBERT PEELE to join him, while, without any violence committed on any of the ancient and highly valued institutions of the country, he has the power to do all that the people want done,

3. *If the Duke will not go on without him, and if he will not join the Duke, what will then take place?* Why then "CHAOS will be very nearly come again." My prophecy will be fulfilled to the letter ; namely, that no man will touch the concern who does not stand in need of the necessaries of life. A sense of common danger, however, will make somebody or other gather about the King ; and there will be a coalescing ; a mixty-maxty of principles, of opinions, of projects, and of expedients ; change will succeed change ; till, at last, no one will know what is meant to be done ; no one will know what to expect ; "sufficient unto the day will be the evil thereof" ; till, in the end, the country will raise itself ; shake off the load that oppresses it ; right itself again ; and, I trust, restore to King and people all that they have lost. These, upon these questions, are the opinions of

WM. COBBETT.

THE SWAMPER.

IN the year 1806, about the time that Fox, Lord Grey, and the rest of the Whigs, got into place, there came up a smack from BERWICK, or LEITH, loaded with Edinburgh Reviewers, amongst whom were HORNER, of bullion-committee memory, and the SWAMPER. HORNER *boomed* to Lord GLENVILLE, and the SWAMPER *boomed* and got his mouth to the ear of Fox. In about a week after they had landed at WHITEHALL stairs, a Mr. EWING, who was a partner in the great affair of SIMON TAYLOR in JAMAICA, and who was a very sensible and far-seeing man, told me one day, that these Whigs would certainly ruin the West India colonies; "for," said he, "there is a fellow of the name of BROUGHAM, a bothering, enterprising, lawyer, who has got his nose close under the ear of Fox. He sees how WILBERFORCE has got into vogue; and he, to a certainty, will endeavour to profit from the success of WILBERFORCE; though he cares no more about the negroes than about the dirt under his shoes." Then he asked me to endeavour to counteract the workings of this fellow, concluding with saying (I never shall forget his words), "for God's sake, COMBE, keep your eye upon that BROUGHAM." And for these twenty-eight years have I kept my eye upon him pretty steadily: I watched his twistings and windings about the Westminster pledges in 1814; I saw how nicely he worked it in 1817, protesting against the horrible bills of that year; at the same time that he blackened the characters of those whom it was sought to put down by those bills! I watched him in 1819, while the Six Acts were passing; heard his vehement tirades against the acts, but observed the horrid description which he gave of the characters and the writings of those, to suppress whose writings the acts were alone intended, amounting to a complete justification of the necessity of doing that which he was affecting to condemn; I watched him, in 1827, laying on with all his sharp-cutting words, Mr.

HUME, who called upon CANNING to repeal one of those acts, the object of which was to prevent cheap publications: I watched him in 1819, declaring himself ready to justify the principles of MALTHUS to their fullest extent, which principles he, at last, prevails upon ALTHAM and GREY to act upon. I watched him in 1827, at the death of CANNING, satirizing Lord Grey because he kept aloof from coming into power with RUSSEL, whom BROUGHAM then praised; I watched him in 1830, galloping over the county of York, bawling out "*cheap bread*"; I saw him at SHERFIELD getting up upon a high place, with great numbers of people around him, taking off his hat, and swinging it over his head, and exclaiming "*cheap bread*" as the beginning of his harangue; I saw him at YORK a grave churchman; at LEEDS a reformer; at RIFON, or some other town, a saint; and at DAWESBURY, I saw him alternately in all the characters; and every where also, with his tongue loaded with expressions in favour of "*humanity*," but humanity only when to be exercised towards the blacks.

He now assumed a new character; spoke no longer as a partisan, but as a dictator. Who can have forgotten his threats in the House of Commons (made while the Grey Ministry was forming) to introduce a most extensive parliamentary reform, let *who would be Minister*, he having nothing to do with any Ministry; but having at the same time been offered the post of Attorney-General! In a few days we found him the Lord High Chancellor. His language about reform became excessively moderate. His conduct during the passing of that bill must be in the recollection of every one; and it will require another opportunity, and a reference to books, to detail minutely his conduct since his elevation; suffice it to say, that such minute account would show that, including the last article in the *Edinburgh Review*, written in praise of the Duke of WELLINGTON, he has afforded proof upon proof indubitable, that he has always been ready to continue his services to his "*gracious mas-*

ter," in whatever company these services might be required to be performed; and that if his services be now dispensed with, it is the fault of any one but himself.

But, the character in which he has been viewed with the most curiosity by me, has always been that of a SWAMPER. Seeing the circumstances in which the country was placed, and knowing a pretty deal of that crowd of persons who are generally denominated "public men"; acquainted, besides, with the credulity of the people, and the ease with which their confidence was obtained by noisy professions: having a knowledge of all these, I saw the likelihood of his obtaining power in the state; and this became much more a matter of certainty, when I witnessed his trip to St. OMER, and his memorable conduct in the case of the Queen. But I was quite sure, that if ever he did obtain power, it would be fatal, if not to the whole frame of government itself, to every one that should be connected with him. I said this positively at the time of CANNING's death; and I had told Lord GREY, in 1823, in a letter addressed to him in the *Register*, that he must keep clear of BROUGHAM, or that he would swamp him. I have repeated this prediction three or four times since that: I repeated it to Lord GREY in about two or three months after he came into power. Within this month I have told Lord ALTHOUSE, in the *Register*, that if he did not swamp BROUGHAM, BROUGHAM would swamp him and all his colleagues; and now, with unanimous voice, the nation says, that he has swamped the Ministry.

The two things that lie like lumps of lead upon the Whigs, are the Poor-law Bill, and the squandering of twenty millions; and both these they owe entirely to the pertinacious jawing of this man. However, so manifold have been his sayings and doings, calculated to bring them down, and so barefacedly bidding for a preservation of his place, that it is manifest to all the world, that it was impossible to keep in being any Ministry to which he belongs; there he

stands now, the cause of the swamping and the SWAMPER. His talent was always the mere talent of talking; and never was a truer description of character than that given him by Mr. PETER FINNERTY, who used to say, that "he was all jaw and no judgment."

METROPOLITAN TODDLE!

WHEN a newspaper is so much declined in sale as hardly to be able to reel along, it unites itself with some other newspaper, in somewhat the *stille* state: thus it was with the "*True Britain*" and the "*Sun*," the "*British Press*" and the "*Traveller*"; and then the "*Globe*" being in a very feeble state, "*toddled*" up to them. Sometimes there is a "toddle" of five or six, or ten. Now and then one dies entirely; but by that time another comes and joins the "*toddle*": so that this toddling work is always going on. It may seem rather unneighbourly for one member of Parliament to represent others as being upon the "*toddle*"; but I have just (Tuesday evening) read in the *Morning Herald*, a joint address of the "*Metropolitan members*," as they call themselves, Dr. LUSHINGTON, Mr. Alderman WOOD, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. GROTE, Mr. CLAY, Mr. TENNYSON, Mr. WILLIAM BROUGHAM, Mr. DUNCOMBE, Mr. HAWES, and Mr. HUMPHRY. This address is to "*their constituency*," which, of itself, is a new word. They tell the "*constituency*," that some of them think that the late Ministers did *right*, and some of them think they did *wrong*; but that all of them think that the King has done *wrong* in choosing those whom he has chosen to fill their places; which is pretty modest in men who did not feel bold enough to let the people know distinctly what *each of them* thought; and did not dare say a word till they had "*toddled up*" together into a bunch of half a score! They tell the constituency also, that, "*at this season*," when they have no opportunity of speaking in Parliament, this is the *only* way that they have of making their senti-

ments known to the constituency! Is dead! What! could they not have called them together, and each of them spoken to his *own* constituency? Could not each, *for himself*, have addressed his own *constituency* in the newspapers? Oh, no! every one of them was afraid to do this: every one was also afraid to put his name singly to a bit of paper! Hence this TODDLE, by the means of which all say as much as they dare to say, at the very worst; and no one can be accused *singly* of having said any part of it! Besides which, it leaves them *every* one at liberty to take whichever side he finds most advantageous, whenever things shall be ripe to enable him to determine that point.

GREAT PUBLIC DINNER TO MR. COBBETT.

(From the Morning Register.)

The friends and admirers of the distinguished and patriotic member for Oldham entertained him on Monday at a sumptuous public dinner, which was given at Radley's Hotel, Commercial Buildings. We were happy to observe amongst the persons present many individuals, who, although differing from Mr. Cobbett as to some of his views upon political subjects, took this opportunity of paying to talent and to honesty a mark of respect, the more to be esteemed as coming from political opponents. Nearly three hundred gentlemen sat down to table, amongst whom we observed, beside the distinguished guest, Lieutenant-General Sir George Cockburn, K.C.B., who presided: W. F. Finn, Esq., M.P., vice-president; Christopher Fitzsimon, Esq., M.P.; D. Ronayne, Esq., M.P.; and F. O'Meara, Richard O'Gorman, Edward Power, John Smith, James Power, of Roebuck, Terence T. Dolan, William Ford, Richard Scott, J. M'Enery, T. Nugent, Thomas Reynolds, John Redmond, James Power, and Edmund Smithwick, Esqrs.

Upon the cloth being removed, the following toasts were proposed from the chair:—

"The King—long may he reign."

"The Royal Family."

Sir G. COCKBURN: Gentlemen, I have now to propose the health of our guest, William Cobbett, and before I do so I must beg leave to state that I am happy to have this favourable opportunity of paying respect to a man who, in my opinion, well deserves it. (Hear). I believe most persons in this room know how cruelly he has been persecuted; but I doubt if the mass of the nation have any idea of it. His crimes were, a genuine love of liberty, and his labours in support of the true English constitution; at least these were considered as most heavy sins by all who lived on the taxes, by corruption, and oppression of the people. (Hear). I most positively declare (to use a word often misused) that I consider Mr. Cobbett, so perfectly *loyal*, and so attached to the kingly government and English constitution in its purity, that, though some may laugh, he might call his *Register* the Loyal, or the Royal (if you will) *Register*. Then, as to the aristocracy, and even the church, I assert no man is a stronger advocate for their constitutional rights, and for the constitutional balances which they give, than Mr. Cobbett. But his crime with those orders is his desire to keep them within proper and constitutional bounds. He objects, as we all do, to the nobility, who, not content with large estates and a beneficial political power in the state, when properly used, endeavour to fill the Commons' House with their creatures—and who, *whenever they can attack and take away* the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, never fail to do so, and quite as much as they infringe on the rights of the people—and who take a most unjust share in all the appointments and offices under the crown: in short, in the navy, in the army, in the church, and in all civil departments, they grasp at every, even the lowest post. (Cheers). Then, as to the church, Mr. Cobbett well knows that the question is not the same in England and Ireland; and though, I fear, the higher orders of the English and Irish clergy would really broil him

on his gridiron if they could, yet I can assure them he is not an enemy to the church, though he is a very decided one to its abuses. (Cheers). In respect to Mr. Cobbett's labours in the cause of reform, and his endeavours to better the hard lot of all the working classes, I need not expatiate on what no one can deny. I shall conclude by saying that what I admire as much as any thing in his character is his ardent love of country, and his desire to see England, Ireland, and Scotland, as they ought to be. (Cheers). He is as anxious as any man for the glory, and renown, and prosperity of England; and knowing, or at all events firmly believing, that so long as the debt and paper-money exist England cannot take her proper station amongst nations, but has to submit to degradations which every true Englishman must regret, he labours to remove the causes of it. Yet, this is the man who has been persecuted, so punished, and so plundered, merely for being an enemy to profligacy and corruption. (Cheers). The injustice and the injuries he has experienced would be sufficient to drive most men from their allegiance, and make them renounce a country where they were so ill-treated; and yet, though Mr. Cobbett was obliged to fly to America, to avoid the dungeon prepared for him, and into which he would have been introduced—not for any crime, but under the *habeas corpus* suspension act—still he never gave up his country. He did not become a citizen of America, though so well received there, and so ill-treated in his own country—no, he refused. (Cheers). But, let me tell you, others, other Englishmen—and some of them now sit in Parliament—were not ashamed to serve two masters, and become subjects of two different countries that might be in hostility to each other. (Hear). I may appear to have spoken strongly in support of the King's just rights. I believe Mr. Cobbett is of my opinion in this. I have no fear of an English sovereign abusing his legal power. I fear our oligarchy much more; but we have three safety valves—namely, the power of the Commons

over the supplies, the mutiny-bill, and public opinion. I certainly differ with Mr. Cobbett on a few points, though he may be right and I wrong; but my maxim through life has been liberty of conscience and opinion on all matters, whether religious, political, or other subjects. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I give you the health of—

“William Cobbett.”—(Loud cheers).

Mr. COBBETT, M.P., ascended the table, in order that he might be the better seen by the entire assembly. He was greeted with enthusiastic cheers, which were continued for several minutes. As soon as they had subsided, he thus proceeded: Gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the great honour now done me. (Cheers). I am very proud of it; in the first place as a mark of your regard for me. I set more value on it, however, as it will convey to a very considerable number of the most energetic men in England; it will convey to them the fact that a great number of persons in Ireland, and you they will conclude are the representatives of a great many of them, feel a regard for me, and therefore feel a regard for them. (Hear, hear, and cheers). This ought to be a great object with us all, to reconcile, if they are not already reconciled, but also to unite cordially, in heart and in soul, the general mass of the people of the two countries. (Cheers). For more than three hundred years, I might safely say for five hundred, the main object of the Government in England and in Ireland has been this; its main object has been to keep the people of the two countries separated. They are a little separated by water, but they wished to keep them separated in feeling as much as they possibly could. (Hear). They have stimulated them to hate, and, if it were possible, mutually to despise each other. (Hear, hear, hear). Have you forgotten that famous scheme of Castle-reach, and which has been acted upon, that of interchanging the militias of the two countries? (Hear, hear, hear). Never was any Machiavelian policy more likely to succeed than that; to bring the Irish militia into England

with their prejudices and their passions excited against Englishmen, and to do them wrong, and to bring the English militia into Ireland to avenge whatever wrong was done, and thus keep up a perpetual hatred between the two people while those who governed both should rule them as slaves, and both be used as instruments against each other. (Hear, hear, and cheers). In my answer to the address which I had the honour of receiving from the gentlemen of Dublin, I stated some such sentiment as this; that the object of my visit here was to see the real state of the people of Ireland, to convey to the people of England a description of the misery here, as far as I could observe it; and to awaken the compassion of those that never a suffering being sought for in vain; to awaken such a feeling for their fellow-subjects in Ireland, and, as far as it was in my power, to unite the two people, who have a common interest, against the common enemy. (Cheers). The gallant general who has done us the honour of presiding here this evening has mentioned something of my opinions of government, and of my conduct in America. (Hear). Now, there were two periods in which I was in the United States. I shall mention the first period, and what took place then, and I have never mentioned it until now. I will mention it now, because this is probably the last time, at least for a considerable period, that I shall again address so large a body of Irishmen. I have not touched upon the subject until this time, and the circumstance I am going to mention I have not stated before now. You may recollect, gentlemen, that upon my landing in this country, some newspapers (I am told, for I never read them) endeavoured to excite a prejudice against me, because, in the year 1793, 1794, or perhaps so far back as 1796, I had a great quarrel with and hostility to men part of whom had fled from Ireland to America. Forty years were not too long for these persons to recollect. I thought, at least I should expect, that what had since transpired, my conduct towards Ireland since that time, my op-

posing, where I could oppose, whatever might be to her injury, should at least have obliterated what occurred then. But, instead of that, what has since been done is forgotten, and the malignity of those persons would go so far back in the endeavour to excite hostility against me. (Hear, hear). Now, I have no apology to offer for that conduct, even though it did harm to certain parties at that time. I know this, that if I were placed in similar circumstances, and I being now as I was then, and having the same views and opinions, I would just do the same again. The case was thus: I was in Philadelphia. Only two years and a half before that I was in the army, with a red coat on my back, and knowing no more of politics than that glass there; I had not heard of what was passing in Ireland, of the persecution, of the unjust persecution, of the tyranny inflicted upon Ireland. I knew no more of all that than the man in the moon. But, I was an Englishman, and I was in the country of enemies, the French revolution had broken out, the American people were friendly to the people of France, they had a hatred for England, the Irish who had come over to America joined them. Considering the way in which they had been treated in Ireland by Englishmen (although I did not know it at the time) it was very reasonable that they should love the Americans; for, who is it that has sense in his skull who does not love the enemy of his enemy? (Cheers). I should observe, that at this time all the youth of Philadelphia, and nine-tenths of the men too, mounted the French cockade. An English ship, the *Ganges*, was lying there, beside her was a French frigate. The English sailors were caught in a situation by the crew of the frigate in which they could be attacked, and they were used in an unmerciful manner, in a way in which an Englishman would not use any body, nor an Irishman either. (Hear). I was indignant at the treatment they received. I should state that England was so much disliked, that not a single man but myself dare to speak of another Englishman with applause; it was in that situa-

tion that I took up the cause of Englishmen as a national quarrel. Every man who spoke against England I regarded as a personal enemy to be combated with. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I might generally observe that there were Englishmen there at that time who thought proper to become citizens of the United States. I do not now allude to those who were driven from Ireland, who were persecuted in this place, and in whom it was not only a right to become citizens, but to fight for the country that received them. I now allude to others, and I sit in the same House of Parliament by the side of opulent gentlemen, who took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and I do not know but they hoisted the French cockade also; things that I never did, although several members of Congress advised me to do it. "It will do you no harm to take it, Cobbett," they said to me. My answer was, "It would perhaps do me no harm with any one but myself; it would not please my own sentiments and feelings; I was born an Englishman; my character and my creed are those of the English people; I belong to England; I cannot have two countries; and I will not take the oath of allegiance to America, be the consequences what they may." (Hear and cheers). I should, however, observe here, that when I landed in this city, the honourable Gentleman who is now our chairman, and a very great honour he has done me by being in the chair, (hear and loud cheers), it was stated by a newspaper, and it is impossible that the statement could have come from any other than a base hireling, apostate, and renegade; (hear and cheers); upon my landing here, the gallant General came into Dublin with me, and one of these renegades asked him was he not ashamed to do that, he being a near relative of Mr. Hamilton Rowan, whom they calumniated as well as me: for they asked the honourable Chairman did he not know that Mr. Rowan had on one occasion come to me with a cudgel in one hand and a purse containing fifty guineas in the other, and desiring me to take my choice between abusing him or accepting the money, and that I had quietly pocketed the latter. I am glad that this statement was made, for the honourable Gentleman here asked Mr. Rowan if that was the fact, and Mr. Rowan declared it was the most monstrous lie that ever was invented. [General Cockburn here interrupted Mr. Cobbett, by saying, "Mr. Rowan declared that a few days before his death." This interruption was received with loud cheers]. He told that which was the truth. I recollect the circumstance very well. Mr. Rowan came to me along with another gentleman, and it was with this request, not to make any publications about him, lest it should injure his family in Ireland. I expressed my sorrow if I did him or any one from Ireland injury by what I published. I assured him that I would never do it again, and if possible I would repair any injury I might have done. (Cheers). He thanked me very much, and after a conversation for about half an hour or an hour he parted from me. This occurred in Philadelphia, and this was the affair out of which a renegade ruffian twisted a calumny with which to upbraid the friend and relation of Mr. Rowan. (Hear). But this shows the deepest malignity, and I never could believe that such could be manifested for nothing. I do not know the person, I bless God for it, who wrote this. I have never seen him, I am sure, in my life-time; he must be some base mercenary villain, whose motives are such as those that actuate the persons who are the enemies of us all. (Cheers). They are the enemies of us who wish to have our proper rights and privileges and fair justice done to us. (Cheers). Now, the Chairman has said something of my opinions of government. I have always professed to be a friend and supporter of that government, and if I could it would be perpetual, which consists of King, Lords, and Commons, with those corrections which our Chairman has mentioned. I am no blind adorer of an aristocracy or a king. I know that William Guelph, as a man, is nothing more than William Cobbett.

(Hear, hear, and continued cheering). It is, as a man, it is as an individual endowed as a representative of the people to keep the peace, and in whose name the laws are administered, that we respect him as King. It is framed in the coronation oath that the king of these kingdoms derives his right from the laws, and the assent of the people. (Hear, and cheers). Therefore it is that we are not to look to the personal character of such an individual too scrupulously. The wisdom of our laws requires that there should be a king, that he should be king for life, and that his heirs should come after him. (Hear, hear). The laws do not require us to believe that as a mortal man he is any better than any one of us. (Hear, hear). Now I should wish always to see that form of government preserved, and I tell you why I do so: I do not perceive that any other mode of government is better. Look to the United States, for instance; they have there twenty distinct republics, besides the general congress in which they sit. The particular government in more of these republics than one have more audaciously infringed upon the laws and upon property than could be done by any king of England, with the most tyrannical ministry that ever existed in England. (Hear, hear). Therefore, do not suppose I am at all particular about the designation of a government; it is not the name I am anxious about, but the effect of the thing. (Hear). I remember what was done by a governor of Philadelphia, and one anecdote will suffice, for I could tell a hundred of them. This man was chief justice. Here it is a very mischievous thing to have corrupt men administering affairs; but to have a chief justice seeking to be a governor is not a state of things that I should wish for. There must be something very disgraceful and wrong in a man going circuit two or three years in the very same state in which he wished to be governor. You would, I can tell you, have a better chance in taking as your governor a blunder-headed fellow by descent. (Loud cheers and laughter). The chief justice wanted to be go-

vernor, and he was canvassing for six years, as the office is always held for nine. He was then elected governor, but he did not consider himself safe, as he may be turned out at the end of three years, and might be re-elected for the two other terms. Soon after he had been elected as governor, two men of the name of M'Allister, who had great influence in the state, and had caused him to be elected by a vast majority, being able to turn the majority in his favour. (Hear, hear, hear) These two men had committed what the law there calls murder in the first degree, and which is still there punishable by death. To avoid that punishment, they have classified homicide into the first, second, and third degree. The first, wilful, savage, cruel, unprovoked, premeditated, bloody, and foul murder. These two men were proved to have been guilty of the fact; there was hardly any denial of the fact, and they were condemned to die; I do not remember exactly in what number of days. Before the next morning after they had forfeited their lives, the chief justice, this governor, sent them a free pardon, and they were taken out of jail! That was a very shameful thing; that was done in a country in a state of peace; there was no convulsion, no rebellion, no pretence or danger of agitation with the smallest reason. He, for the purpose of preserving those who had been useful instruments in his election, sent a pardon to men convicted of that horrible crime, before they had been twenty-four hours condemned. There is an aristocracy too in America, a great deal worse than our nobility or aristocracy, at least so say the Americans; for they say they have an accursed aristocracy, infinitely worse than that of Great Britain. I do not say that our aristocracy is bad; they say that ours is bad, but theirs is a worse one. (Cheers and laughter). If this were merely asserted in newspaper paragraphs, or upon hearsay, I would not repeat it; but, gentlemen, it is published in a book printed in America, and which I have published since. (Hear). If gentlemen will look into that book they will see there the

report made by the legislative assembly to the House in Pennsylvania, and also that made to the assembled states at New York. In these two reports they state that the worst of all aristocracy is a money-aristocracy arising out of the use of bank paper. They add that America is cursed with such an aristocracy. (Hear, hear). It does not signify what you call it, whether the name be nobility or not, it is the thing and the fact we have to care for; and though the evils be manifold, and the consequences dreadful, I believe that never was greater misery inflicted upon a people than such a class can inflict. In America they say they are cursed by a monied aristocracy; we, unhappily, are cursed by both. If I were to choose between the two aristocracies, I would say that, in my humble opinion, the nobility, or the *nick-named* aristocracy, is the more harmless of the two. (Laughter) The monied aristocracy are hard-hearted, and a still greater curse than the other, and they constitute the class that the people should dislike the most. However, we are not talking of changing the government. We do not seek for that. What we are talking of now, what we want is, that they should unmake what they have made. They call, and have called, me a revolutionist, and an innovator, and as one desirous of overthrowing the established institutions. How many thousands of times have I been charged with a wish to overthrow established institutions? I have written at least one hundred volumes, and I defy any man to produce a single sentence in which I propose to do away or impair any thing that can be properly called an institution of the country. I have everlastingly laboured to return to the institutions of the country, that which they have been destroying the whole of that time. Do they pretend that "loans" and "stock," and "eight hundred millions of debt," are institutions of the country? Do they pretend that the "game-laws," by which they can transport a peasant for looking after partridges and pheasants, are an institution of the country, when the common law says that they are

animals which can be taken by any one? (Cheers). Do they pretend that Mr. Peel's new Felony Bill, which makes it a crime punishable by death to take apples from a tree, is an institution of the country, when the law of the country for twelve hundred years only allowed an action for damages for taking apples? It did no more than allow an action for trespass, instead of authorizing magistrates to send a poor man to jail without any trial at all. I did complain, and will oppose such acts as these as being opposed to the institutions of the country. (Hear). Do they mean to say that Sturges Bourne's bill is one of the institutions of the country, which gives a plurality of votes to the rich man, and takes a vote from the poor man: which authorizes the hiring of strangers to administer relief, instead of intrusting it to natives of the parish, which was the law of the land for three hundred years? (Cries of hear, hear). They destroy the institutions of the country; it is not I but they who destroy them, and they would tear me to pieces because I want them to come back to our ancient institutions, and to give the people of England the laws of their forefathers. They have always accused me of trying to overthrow the institutions of the country, because I prayed for parliamentary reform. That was the answer to my petitions; that was their accusation. Do we want innovation? (Hear, hear, hear). We want no innovation; that is not what we call for, but for them to put an end to all innovation. (Hear) We had annual Parliaments down to "the glorious revolution." We had then a Parliament for three years. Then it was said, "now the thing is complete: now all things are settled and secure; and we will continue to have Parliaments for three years." They had a Parliament for three years; they passed a law by which Parliaments should be elected every three years; the law provided that *ipso facto* there should be a new Parliament at the end of three years: they did elect a Parliament for three years, and that Parliament so elected passed

the Septennial Bill, and then elected themselves for four years longer. (Hear). And now, because we want to have that Septennial Bill done away with, because we desire to come back to the ancient institutions of the country, they call us "innovators"! (Cheers). The impudence of people of that kind for the last thirty years is beyond any thing which pen or tongue can describe. (Hear and cheers). I trust that we are not doomed much longer to hear that species of insolent language, which they have been in the habit of making so much use of. I keep you, I am afraid, too long. (No, no). But I wish to make one or two observations which have occurred to me from my visit to Ireland. Since I came here I have felt that those who plead the cause of Ireland stop short of the mark. (Hear, hear, hear). They have much of insolence to curb, and though, to be sure, many Irish members have at times resented the insults offered to their country, yet I do not think they have gone far enough in doing so. Had I been impressed as I am now with the truth as to the real condition of this country: had I known half the injustice that is done to it, I should have felt utterly unworthy of the manner in which the excellent people of Oldham had selected me to represent them, if I had not said fifty times more than I have said on behalf of the people of Ireland. (Cheers). We think more of what comes from a fellow swelled up with pompous consequence, when he rises as the representative of the great county of York. Why, if I had known then what I know now, I would say to such a person, You forget the county of Cork, which is worth more, a great deal more, than the county of York, as a piece of dominion, it is worth twice the county of York; and yet Cork has but eight members, while York, a great portion of which is fed by Cork, has thirty-seven representatives. (Cheers). There is no such great disproportion between the population of the two counties. Then look at all the productions of one county out of its own bosom; its fertile lands; its fine situation; all that comes from the labour of the health bestowed upon, while, in Yorkshire more than one half of them are fed from Ireland. (Hear, hear). Mr. Cobbett then alluded to the fact which he before mentioned in his repeal speech, as to 349,000 persons in England having as many representatives as 8,000,000 in Ireland, of one English county differing but very little in the amount of population from Mayo, having twenty-four members, while Mayo had but two. (Cheers). As an Englishman, he said he was anxious to see additional members returned from Ireland, because he considered it would be the means of serving England, by introducing into the House men more under the influence of popular opinion than those who came from small bodies of men. He also referred to the injustice done to Scotland, in giving her only fifty-three members to a population of two millions and a half, and instanced four Scotch towns having to select one member, while Thetford in England returned two. He advised them to continue sending their petitions, and not to be afraid of wearying the English people with them, while he hoped the members would do their duty. The honourable member thus concluded: Again I thank you for the reception you have given me. (Cheers). I hope my visit here may be attended with benefit to this country. (Hear, hear). I shall now sit down, hoping that you will lose nothing by the recent changes in the Ministry. (Hear, loud cheers, and laughter). That awful circumstance will not, I hope, prevent the grass from growing, or the pigs from fattening. (Laughter). I trust that they were not the breath in our nostrils; and I really believe that you will do as well without them as with them. (Cheers and laughter). I have to congratulate you that they have got their dismissal from the King. (Continued cheers and laughter). Mr. Cobbett then concluded by warmly eulogising the character of the Chairman, for his manly and straightforward conduct upon all occasions.

General Cockburn: I shall not at present inflict upon you a speech; but

I shall simply content myself with thanking you for the honour which you have done me : and before I sit down I shall give you—

"The people, the foundation of all power." (Great cheers).

Mr. LAWLESS having been called upon, returned thanks.

The next toast given from the chair was—

"Daniel O'Connell." (Tremendous cheering).

Mr. COBBETT : Gentlemen I beg to be permitted to say a few words in reference to the toast which has been just proposed. You have been pleased to think favourably of what you deem my services in the House of Commons (Hear and cheers). I solemnly declare to you that I never should have had the courage or the heart to rise up in that House, and to do those things which have met with your approval, were it not for the generous support which I received from the Irish members, but particularly from Mr. O'Connell. I shall mention, amongst other gentlemen, whose names I do not at present recollect, my honourable friend to the right (Mr. Roynayne), my honourable friend to the left (Mr. Fitzsimon), the gentleman who so efficiently discharges the duties of vice-president here this evening (Mr. Finn), Mr. O'Connell's sons, and Mr. Edward Ruthven ; but above all, I received that support from O'Connell without which I should have been inefficient. He was my instructor, for I had neither skill of my own, nor experience of the proceedings of that house. I should not have ventured without his assistance to undertake some of those things which with it I have since accomplished. (Cheers). Of the many circumstances I have met with in Ireland to give me pleasure, that which gives me most is in perceiving that the people know how to estimate the services which O'Connell has rendered to his country. (Continued cheering). I say this emphatically, for the vile renegades of the London press, who sneer at him and me, have charged me with an intention of rivalling him. It would be folly, madness, childishness

to think of rivalling O'Connell in anything, but particularly in the affections of the people of Ireland. (Cheers). Some people, who wish to mislead and create a prejudice against Mr. O'Connell, have loudly exclaimed against so much power and influence being centered in one man. This is my answer to them, "Gentlemen, nothing was ever yet accomplished without a head." (Cheers). The people of Ireland have done wisely, and it is like creditable to their hearts and heads in placing unlimited confidence in such a man, without diving minutely into his acts, and carping at each trifling error in his conduct ; he deserves it at their hands, for no man ever before made such sacrifices, or ever achieved so much (Hear, hear, hear). They take him in the gross, (laughter and cheers) ; and perceiving that their bitterest enemies would cut his throat as well as theirs, and that they feared him more than God or devil, they naturally say, "This man must be our friend, who is hated by them. Not only gratitude, but self-preservation, dictates that we should all stand firmly by him." (Cheers). These are my sentiments, and the cheers which echo them are alike a compliment to both. You have received me more warmly than I could have anticipated, and with the usual characteristics of Irishmen ; I may say you have gone beyond the work, for you have attached more importance to my services than they deserved. I declare to you, upon my honour, that I should not have received those distinguished marks of your regard and esteem with half the pleasure with which I hail them in association with him. (Loud cheering).

"The President of the United States."

There were very general calls for Mr. Cobbett, and that gentleman at length rose to speak to the toast. You know that Jackson is by far the greatest man in this wretched world. He was the son of a poor Irish emigrant, who was cleared off the ground by the right of dominion which has been ever exercised by the landlord in this unfortunate country ; and having been thrown destitute upon the world, with a wife and

infant child, he emigrated to the Canadas. The President was born a year after, and the father died when his two sons had attained the age of fourteen or fifteen. The mother recollected the treatment which she and her deceased husband had received from the tyrant in her native land, and when the American war broke out, she took her boys to camp, saying "Fight, my boys and God Almighty bless you. They want to treat you as they have treated your father and me." The two young men were taken prisoners, and placed in charge of a British officer, who, amongst other servile offices, required the President's brother to clean his boots. The lad refused, and the officer drew his sword and killed him on the spot. The future President was directed to do that, the refusal of which had cost his brother his life. He firmly declined obedience, and the uplifted sword of the officer would have cloven his skull, but that he interposed his hand to save himself, which retains the mark to this day. He has since attained celebrity by his warlike achievements, and by the defeat of the British army at New Orleans. But he was now to wage war against the secret influence of those who were unable to conquer him in the field. The American banks are endeavouring to perpetuate that monopoly by which he had himself suffered so much; and when the wise and brave President refused to sign their charter, they set themselves to work to prevent his re-election, and employed the money which had been allocated to pay off the interest of the national debt to purchase the writers for the press, and array them against him. Jackson was, notwithstanding, elected, and the war has been going on between him and this band of monopolising robbers. (Laughter, and loud cheers). The people, as it was to have been expected, took part with their President: for it is not to the wealthy or the proud that love of country exclusively belongs. (Hear, hear). Jackson has, besides, other claims on your regard. He has invariably shown more kindness and attention to Irishmen than to the people of any

other country; and they have risen to a degree of importance and wealth under his administration which they have never before enjoyed. Nothing, I am sure, would give the President more delight, or be more calculated to cheer him on his course, than your approbation of his conduct. (Cheers).

"A cordial alliance between the reformers of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Whittle, the editor of the *Tribune*, returned thanks.

Sir G. COCKBURN: Gentlemen, the next toast on the list is "The Repeal of the Union." (Loud cheers). Before I give it, I shall, with your permission, make some observations on that important subject. At the time the measure was brought forward, I was opposed to it as much as any individual could be, and gave it as much opposition as any man, not in Parliament, could offer; but our country was sold (for sold it was) I confess; I flattered myself that England would change her system, and see that it was her interest to govern Ireland justly and mercifully, that our numerous grievances would have been redressed, and that we might, after centuries of mismanagement and party violence, become a prosperous and happy country. All such hopes and expectations have been disappointed. I see poverty and misery increasing, crime advancing, of course. A country blessed by Providence with a good climate, fine soil, excellent harbours, and numerous advantages, so terribly mismanaged, so discontented (which is a natural consequence), still kept in such discord by political and religious animosity and violence, that it is clear we have gained nothing by the legislative union, but the contrary; and our absentees have so increased, that almost two-thirds of the produce of the soil is taken out of Ireland, and spent by them abroad, without any return. Surely this is most injurious to Ireland. But, besides the loss in money, there is the loss in example; for were these men to reside, as they ought, they must spend money and give employment, and every hundred pounds spent by an individual, causes the laying out of 200 more, and thus our

people would acquire habits of order and comfort from the example of others, and also have the protection which a resident gentry would give. Even Catholic emancipation, which we were told when the Union took place might be granted without danger, was deferred till it could no longer be refused, and instead of being received as a favour or an act of justice, was looked on as one of pure necessity and expediency. (Hear, hear). Gentlemen, I love truth; and, notwithstanding all I have said, I must say, that between hopes of better treatment from England, and seeing many difficulties in the way of repeal, my opinion was not as some say, that once the act of Union became law, we were bound to love as well as obey it (we must obey); but I think we are bound to consider the subject well, and in all its bearings, before we seek repeal, after admission and submission for thirty-four years to this Union. I, therefore, gave the subject my best consideration, and the result was, that seeing great and many difficulties in the way of repeal, I hesitated. But I have now made up my mind, and am of opinion, that Ireland never can have justice, or her wants and grievances attended to, nor can she be other than an enslaved province, till we have a parliament of our own for at least all local and purely Irish concerns and interests. (Loud cheers). I am aware that the very sound of the word repeal alarms many; and far be it from me to bear any hostility towards such of those (and they are many) as honestly and conscientiously oppose it. (Hear and cheers). Violence never made converts, and be assured you will not carry repeal by violence, by force, or agrarian outrage. We, who think repeal would be beneficial to the sister countries (for sisters they are, and I hope I shall live to see them really united in affection), should proceed with caution. (Hear, hear). We should show our English fellow-subjects and brethren, the benefit of repeal to both; discuss the subject rationally, and without passion prove the policy of it. There are many persons, as you well know, and even judges of the land, who bitterly opposed the

Union. (Hear, hear). I hope they would not so far forget all decency as to hang or imprison a man for wishing and seeking its repeal; but I seriously advise you not to put yourselves in their power. It is by petition and through members of Parliament that you should proceed. I have already so fully gone into the subjects of repeal, in three letters published about twenty months ago in the *Dublin Evening Post*, and latterly (about three months ago) in five letters on the present critical state of Great Britain and Ireland, that I shall beg to refer you to those letters, which will take up more of your time. But I assure you an English friend, who lives in Wakefield, formerly an unionist, lately wrote to me, that those letters changed his opinion, and made him a repealer. (Cheers). The enemies of repeal now say, what we want is a separation and not repeal. I will not insult your understanding by supposing it, nor do I believe any rational person has any such idea. The attempt would occasion infinite mischief, and would not only fail, but would render the Union irrevocable; and if separation was the object, and could be carried, it would be the total ruins of both countries. Nature has united us; but the Union should be a just one; the present is a mockery. I should be sorry to say any thing offensive to any party; but it appears to me to have been merely an act to abolish the Irish Parliament, and send twenty-four peers and one hundred Irish commoners to the English Parliament, most of them hitherto extremely corrupt men. Our College-green Parliament certainly was far from being pure, and the Lords, as a court of appeal, were despised. The very first cause (the Ely) referred to them after they got appellant jurisdiction, was marked by iniquity, and was made a ministerial question of as much as a money bill, and I believe, I may add was most unjustly decided. All this brought the Parliament into contempt, and might have been done purposely as a proposed end. (Hear, hear). However bad all this was, I ask is all perfect in another place? It is my opinion that

before very long there will be a dissolution of all the unions, and that England, Scotland, and Ireland, will have their own and separate Parliaments for all local purposes, and, as in America, congress or head Parliament, for the general and great interests of the state (Hear, and cheers). The immense business now to be done by the United Parliament, as many members here present can tell you, is so very great that all is hurry and confusion. The local business of England, of Scotland, of Ireland—the colonial, and the affairs with foreign states—all press, so that scarcely anything is or can be well done. Acts on acts—then others to explain and amend; in short, it is almost impossible to get through any business properly. And now for an instance as to Ireland. We have an act called the Petty Sessions Act. I as a magistrate had many opportunities of finding that it was miserably deficient. I drew up an act myself to amend it; and, knowing that nothing of the kind had any chance of passing, unless approved of by what are called the law officers of the crown, I brought it to Lord Plunkett. He approved of it; and to do him justice, said he would give it to the Solicitor General to bring it in. Circumstances, however, happened that made it impossible for him to do so. Next year I gave it to our county Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Meath. He undertook it. At first it was too early in the session; next, some of the clauses were objected to. I answered, strike them out, but pass the material ones not objected to. However nothing was done, and another session passed. This year I gave it to our county member, Mr. Evans. At first it was too early; next the House was so occupied it could not be brought forward, and then it was too late. But Mr. Evans sent it to Mr. Littleton, the Irish Secretary, in hopes that he would support it. The answer he got was that he was so overpowered with his

at it. This is the way we are told. I fear I have delayed you too long; but I shall now conclude, with the words of Sir Jonah Barrington, in a work pub-

lished by him just before his death, and dedicated to Lord Plunkett: "More than thirty summers have now passed by since that disastrous measure called a Union extinguished at one blow the pride, the prosperity, and the independence of the Irish nation; a measure which, instead of consolidating the strength and resources of the empire, as expressed from the throne of the viceroy, has, through its morbid operation, paralysed the resources of Ireland, whilst England is exhausting her own strength, squandering her own treasures, and dipping her own constitution, to uphold a measure effected by corruption, and maintained by oppression: a measure which, pretending to tranquillize, has, in fact, excited more hostile, and I fear more interminable disgust than had ever before existed between the two nations, and has banished from both that mutual and invigorating attachment which was daily augmenting under the continuance of the federative connexion. The protecting body of the country gentlemen have evacuated Ireland, and in their stead we now find official clerks, griping agents, and haughty functionaries; and the resident aristocracy of Ireland, if not quite extinguished, is daily diminishing." I give you,

"The Repeat of the Legislative Union."

Mr. Thomas Reynolds was loudly upon, and spoke at great length.

There were several other patriotic toasts given, which elicited speeches which we regret our space will not afford us room for; and the company did not separate until a late hour.

LORD DURHAM.

ESTIVAL TO THE EARL

OF DURHAM.

After the Times.

closed from p. 107.

and then gave the health

of Lord Durham and the other

of Lord Durham who had no

meeting with their company.

My returned thanks. It

was quite an unexpected honour which

the meeting had conferred upon him as it would be seen from the list of toasts that his brother, Lord Kinnaird had been expected to be present, who would have expressed, in much better terms than he could, the feelings which such an occasion was calculated to excite. It was an honour which one so young as he was could hardly have anticipated, to have his name associated with Lord Durham, and to have received such a flattering mark of distinction from so large an assemblage of his countrymen; of his countrymen who had done themselves so much credit by the reception they had so recently given to Earl Grey in Edinburgh, and by the magnificent manner in which they had that day, in an assemblage on the Green of not less than 150,000, welcomed the Earl of Durham, another honest and consistent statesman, to the city of Glasgow. (Cheers). With such an example of rewarded merit before him, it would be his proud ambition to follow in the footsteps of such a man. He regretted that many noble lords of liberal principles were not there. (Hear, hear). He regretted still more that some noble lords of the Tory faction were not present, as they would have learned a lesson that could not be easily forgotten. (Cheers and laughter). He begged to propose "The Health of the Chairman," whom he might justly call the offspring of reform. (Cheers).

The CHAIRMAN returned thanks. He had done but little in the cause of reform, but he trusted that upon all occasions they would find him honest in that cause. (Cheers). Whatever his demerits might be, he hoped that they would never have occasion to blame him for want of consistency or honesty. He hoped that the members of the House of Commons in the ensuing session would, by their votes, exhibit more sympathy for the people, and a greater determination to promote the general benefit of the country than they had hitherto done. (General cries of "Hear, hear").

The CHAIRMAN then proposed the health of "The Countess of Durham," who, in addition to the claims which

she had on their respect and regard, as being the wife of Lord Durham, super-added that of being the daughter of Earl Grey.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

The Earl of DURHAM returned thanks. Nothing but severe illness would have prevented the lady, whose health they had so kindly toasted, from being present on that occasion. He had, however, the consolation of thinking, that if the Countess of Durham could not be present, another member of his family was there, to be gratified in beholding the reception he experienced from the people of Glasgow; his daughter was present. (Great cheering).

Lady — Lambton, who was seated in the gallery, here rose and gracefully acknowledged the compliments of the assembly.

The Earl of DURHAM, in continuation, said, that he was most happy that his daughter had been afforded such an opportunity of making an acquaintance with the ladies of Glasgow.

(A considerable interruption here occurred in consequence of the noisy and riotous conduct of a single individual at one of the extremities of the room. He was finally, after some difficulty, excluded from the room).

The Earl of DURHAM, silence having been obtained, again rose to propose a toast. Before doing so he begged most seriously to call their attention to what was due to the character of their proceedings. It seemed pretty clear to him that the interruption which they had just experienced had come from the enemy's camp. (Hear, hear). They had it in their power, if they chose to defeat it. If such an interruption should occur again, let them keep the strictest silence, but point out the individual who occasioned it. (Cheers). As one of the youngest burgesses of Glasgow, he had now to propose the following toast, 'The Lord Provost and Magistrates, and Prosperity to the City of Glasgow.'

Baillie GILMOUR, in the absence of the Lord Provost, returned thanks.

The CHAIRMAN then gave "The

Duke of Hamilton, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Lanark."

Mr. SPIERS in proposing "the Memory of Charles James Fox," said, it has been hinted to me that the toast have the honour of being intrusted with is not popular with all reformers of the present day. If this be the fact, I can find no good reason for it. I know no any patriot of modern or even olden times, who has fought more ardently for the cause of freedom, and to whom of course, we are more deeply indebted than the man of the people C. J. Fox (Loud cheers). Whoever studies the history of these troublous times in which Mr. Fox acted so distinguished a part, will, I am sure, discover ample ground for admiration. ((Cheers). For a long course of time we shall find him ever at his post, assailing, with all the powers of a mighty mind, the indignation of an outraged patriot, and the fervid eloquence of truth, those disgraceful and flagitious measures which characterized the unfortunate reign of the third George. Does not his strenuous opposition to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the use of special warrants, and other infringements of personal liberty, deserve our warmest gratitude (Cheers). Do we not find him denouncing, on the soundest principles, the unjust war against the infant liberties of France? (cheers); a war undertaken, not for any rational object, but to support despotism on the continent of Europe, and crush liberty at home. Deeply imbued with the truest principles of the rights of man, he advocated religious as well as civil freedom, and afforded his powerful aid to the Irish Catholics. (Cheers). Not the least of his services I shall particularize. Can we, successful reformers, ever forget that he supported Mr. Grey's motion for such a reform in the Commons House as, if successful, would have placed 400 members in that House elected by the suffrage of householders? (Cheers). But, great as the exertions of Mr. Fox in the cause of freedom were, we ought not to measure our gratitude to him by the good he was able to effect; we ought to be thankful for what he attempted, though

in vain. He lived in perilous times; unmitigated Toryism bore the sway; a great portion the nation was deceived by a depreciation of the currency; the remainder, coerced by a mercenary and licentious soldiery, did not; as in our days, rise with irresistible power to support the advocates of their rights. (Cheers). The Sovereign was a Tory, and the people unrepresented. I have said too little; I should say the King was a narrow-minded bigot, a bigot in his heart; and the misnamed House of Commons was filled by the minions of greedy and grasping oligarchy. In those days, had any man done or said as much as I believe every individual in this room has done and said, aye, or the tenth part of it, he would have been subjected to the tender mercies of packed juries and political judges. (Cheers). I own my greatest surprise is, that Fox had the courage to persevere so long as he did, nor would he have continued to hope, almost in spite of conviction, had he not, with prescience peculiar to great minds, felt he sowed good seed, which, one day or another, sooner or later, would produce a glorious harvest of happiness and freedom in the land. (Loud cheers). Had liberty been extinct in every other breast, it would have been cherished only with the greater care in his. I shall no longer detain you, but trust, as reformers, you will remember, that, during the short time he was in power, he abolished that infamous traffic in human flesh, the slave trade, and was the only minister of the Crown who ever, at a public meeting, toasted the Sovereignty of the People. Tremendous cheering.)

Mr. WALLACE, M.P., proposed the next toast, "The Reform of the English and Irish Municipal Corporations." He congratulated them on having obtained a man in whom they could confide, a rallying point, such as the Earl of Durham. That noble lord was right in saying that they should look to the conduct of their representatives. It had been said by Mr. Abercromby, at Edinburgh, that the present House of Commons was such as the country had never seen before. He (Mr. Wallace)

would say, that it was the most subversive House of Commons that ever existed. (Some cheers and some marks of dissent). If there was a place where persons voted by proxy without hearing any of the arguments, was it not plain that such a place required reform? (Hear, hear). If there was another place where little Parliaments were held in the afternoon, and where men were told in effect, to vote by proxy, though they declared their votes *viva voce*, did it not require reform? (Yes, yes). Such were the Houses of Lords and Commons, and both required reform in that respect. Scotland had done honour to Earl Grey for passing the Reform Bill, and now it was doing honour to Lord Durham upon the same high public grounds. Why were England and Ireland backward in such a cause? Because they had not had a reform of their municipal corporations. But they, too, were coming forward to join in this great manifestation of public feeling. It was only that day that a deputation arrived from the great northern capital of Ireland Belfast, to invite the noble lord to a dinner there. The flame had reached England, too, and Newcastle was about to do its duty. (Cheers).

The Earl of Durham, in proposing the next toast, "The French People, the extension and consolidation of their liberties, and the increase of their friendly relations with the British Nation," said he would request their silent attention for a very few moments. He very much feared that he should not be able for the task, after the exertions he had gone through in the course of the day unless they would preserve silence. He had just a few words to address to them as a preface to the toast that had been placed in his hands. It was a toast that particularly interested them, indeed he did not know that any toast that had been given that night was of more importance to the interests and prosperity of Glasgow, and of Scotland at large, than which he was now about to propose. He would just state a few facts in illustration of the sentiments which that toast contained. He had had, of late, many opportunities of com-

municating, not merely with the Sovereign and the higher classes in France, but also with the middle classes in that country; and it was impossible for him to describe the extraordinary change that had taken place in their sentiments respecting the English people. They might all recollect that during the period of the unfortunate war that was waged between the two countries, it was the interest of the great conqueror and despot who then swayed the destinies of France to excite a feeling against the British people in the minds of the people of France, in order to carry on his operations with success. On the other side too many and successful attempts were made to persuade the people of this country that the French people were naturally, and essentially, as indeed they were at the time, in fact, the enemies of this country. But the events that had within the last few years occurred in France, tending, as they did, to the establishment and consolidation of the liberties of Frenchmen, had produced an extraordinary change in the sentiments of the people of France as regarded this country. Numbers of Frenchmen had expressed to him (Lord Durham) the strongest sentiments of affection and goodwill towards this country. Many members of the National Guard of France had come to him to express the delight with which they viewed the increased intercourse between the two countries, and their firm conviction, that if England and France remain united, it will not be in the power of any power or powers in Europe to disturb the general peace. He (Lord Durham) fully coincided in that opinion as to the mutual advantages which both countries would reap from an intimate and friendly intercourse with each other. If he had not general ground for maintaining that opinion he would, even upon the merely selfish principles of commercial advantage, be an advocate for it. How came it that there was so little commerce between England and France? Let them for a moment look at the disproportion between the commerce of England and France, and the commerce

in a distant country, the Brazils; the produce of England exported to France amounted to only half a million, while the produce of England exported to the Brazils amounted to 4,500,000*l.* (Hear, hear). The one country was 25 miles off, the other 3,000. The two countries, France and England, were united, not perhaps exactly united, but at any rate they had extensive relations in their laws and liberties, and institutions. The dearest objects that he (Lord Durham) would have at his heart, if he had any concern in the administration of the affairs of this country, (cheers, and cries of "You ought,"), would be to make that intimate dependence of those two countries so certain that war would be absolutely impossible. (Loud cheers). He regretted to say, that on such a subject they could expect nothing from the French Government, nor indeed from the French Chamber of Deputies, a large proportion of the members of which are proprietors of monopolies. But if they were thus prevented from doing their duty to the people, the people of France will not long endure a system so injurious to their real interests. The whole of the South of France and of the outports have united together to obtain free trade, and in the next session of the French Parliament, instead of five or six members only being found to be the advocates for free trade, he was sure that there would be a large number. From an individual actively employed at this moment in obtaining information on the subject, he meant Dr. Bowring, he had lately received the gratifying intelligence that such a party will be raised in France in favour of free commercial intercourse, that it will be impossible for the Government to continue the present system, and to plunder the people of France as it had done. (Hear, hear). The people of France had no notion of the extent to which their pockets were taxed to support the present monopoly system. If the sentiments of so humble an individual could by any means reach them, he would just describe to them what they pay for those monopolies. For the support of one

monopoly alone, the iron monopoly, they had to pay 1,600,000*l.*, being the difference between what the article costs in France and what it could be purchased for in England. Surely that single fact, if the French people were thoroughly aware of it, should open their eyes to the baneful effects of this system. The fact was, that the people of France had to pay upwards of 16,000,000*l.* sterling for the support of the present monopoly system. Such facts, if known among them, could not fail to produce a good effect. The system of prohibitions was not of the least use, except to produce smuggling. It was proved that in one article alone, the consumption of which amounted to 1,000,000*l.*, 700,000*l.* of it was smuggled. The noble Lord then referred to the evidence of M. St. Cricq, one of the French Ministers, and who was himself an extensive manufacturer of pottery, to show that notwithstanding a protecting duty of 100 per cent. the manufacture could not flourish in France. Why then should there not be a free commercial intercourse between the two countries? It was obviously for the advantage of both. If we sent to France the manufactures of Glasgow, we should take from them their wines and other articles of consumption for the growth of which that country would be particularly favourable. He trusted to see that intercourse established. It would be the sure means of preventing a recurrence of the destroying scourge of war between England and France. The two countries had but one common object, and he hoped to see them always united in the closest bonds of intimacy and friendship. (Cheers).

Mr. GILLOX, M.P., proposed the next toast: "Ireland; may her liberties be restored and her grievances redressed." He congratulated them on meeting at such a moment a noble lord who deeply regretted every moment which passed over the head of wrongs unredressed, and who repudiated the clipping and compromising of measures which, however it might please the Tories, was only disgusting to real reformers. (Great cheers). Such meetings as that would

show, in the first place, that the reformed Parliament had not realized the expectations of the people (Cheers). It would teach a great lesson to public men, to those who possessed public honour and political consistency, which alone fitted men to sway the councils of this great empire. (Hear, hear). The toast which he had to propose was one that strongly appealed to their feelings. For centuries Ireland had been misgoverned; for centuries she had been ground down by a selfish faction, that had now shown itself in its proper colours, and had almost hoisted the flag of rebellion: for centuries Ireland had groaned under the domination of a sinecure and anti-national church. (Cheers). In the history of the reformed Parliament, short as it was, could be traced a sample of the misgovernment of Ireland. He trusted, however, that the day was gone by for such a mode of treating Ireland, and that the time was at length come when justice would be done to that fine country.

A number of toasts remained to be drunk when our express left Glasgow at midnight.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

SMALL, A. D., Napsbury, Hertfordshire, dealer in cattle.

BANKRUPTS.

BROOKS, W., New-street-square, Fetter-lane, lamp-manufacturer.

BURNARD, M. E., Bideford, Devonshire, dealer.

CRONSHAY, S., High-street, Putney, grocer.

DAVIES, T. and W., Liverpool, merchants.

ETCHES, E. and H., Hythe, Kent, linen-draper.

FIELD, T., Mornington-place, Camberwell New-road, flour-factor.

HIDSON, T., Yardley, Worcestershire, and Birmingham, factor.

LAMERT, A., Church-street, Spitalfields, preparer and vendor of patent medicines.

MILLER, J., Red Lion-passag, Red Lion-square, tavern-keeper.

NIX, S., and W. J. Grissell, Queen-street, Cheapside, wine-merchants.

ROBINSON, J., Manchester, wine-merchant.

SAWYER, G. B., Leicester-square, builder.

SMEHAM, A., Taunton, Somersetshire, inn-keeper.

SOLOMONSON, S., Union-court, Broad-st., bill-broker.

SPENCER, T., Church-street, Bethnal-green, shoe-manufacturer.

WARD, T., Liverpool, hatter.

WISE, W., Manchester, and St. Margaret, Westminster, picture-merchant.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

BANKRUPTS.

CARSON, J. B., Liverpool, wool-merchant.

CHRIST, J. G., Cooper's-row, Tower-row, Tower-hill, merchant.

HARWOOD, J., Over Darwin, Lancashire, cotton cloth-manufacturer.

LAYTON, J. W., Kew, coal and corn-merchant.

MARDELL, P., Liverpool, shipwright.

ROANTREE, W., Long-acre, coach builder.

SPOTSWOOD, M. G., Darlington, m^{er}-cer.

SOUTER, R. A., Colchester, book-seller.

TAYLOR, T., 101c-street, carpet-warehouseman.

THATCHER, T., Fleet-street, florist.

LONDON MARKETS

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, NOV. 21 — We have had large arrivals of Wheat, Flour, and Barley coastways since this day week. The Wheat trade was very heavy both Friday and to-day, and fine qualities sold 1s. per qt., and secondary sorts 2s. per qr. cheaper than last Monday, and Ship Flour 2s. to 3s. per sack lower. It is to the increasing supply of Flour coastways we attribute the present check in Wheat.

Malting Barley 1s., Boiling Peas 1s. to 2s., and Beans 1s. per qr. cheaper than this day week. We have had some arrivals of foreign Peas and malting Barley, which have dumped the sales of these articles. In prices of hog Peas and grinding Barley no alteration.

We continue with scarcely an arrival of English Oats, but the supply of Scotch since this day week, has been liberal; we have also had three or four large cargoes of this article (which came north about) from Ireland, but the bulk of the supply on the way from that country is kept back by contrary winds. We experienced a steady sale for this article to day at last Monday's prices. Oats, Barley, Beans, and Peas under lock, find buyers at our quotation.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new	40s. to 44s.
Old	41s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 41s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	40s. to 44s.
Fine white	41s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	41s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	32s. to 42s.

Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling	30s. to 34s.
Mashing	34s. to 37s.
Chevalier	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 65s.
Beans, Tick, new	31s. to 37s.
Old	36s. to 41s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 42s.
Pear, White, English	34s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maple	42s. to 45s.
Oats, Poland	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	20s. to 24s.
Yorkshire feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new	25s. to 27s.
Old	27s. to 31s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 28s.
Old	24s. to 27s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Old	27s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	24s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 20s.
Black, new	19s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	24s. to 25s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble Gloucester	18s. to 68s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, November 24.

This day's supply of Beasts was great; the supply of Sheep and Calves rather limited; of Porkers moderately good. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull; with Beef and Veal at a depression of 2d. per stone; with Mutton and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

About two-fifths of the Beasts were Short-horns; the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 50 Town's-end Cows, 20 Sussex Beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leices-

ters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Leicesters, Ryelands, horned and polled Norfolk, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,500 of the Beasts, fully a third of which were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts and Irish Beasts, with about 150 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts; about 300, chiefly Scots, with a few Devons and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, about 130, in about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 50, about two-fifths of which were Sussex Beasts, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Runts, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and most of the remainder, including the Town's end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent.	Fr.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Ans. Ann.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½

MORISON'S PILLS.

Cure of great Swelling in the Bowels.

FOR MR. GEORGE KING.

SIR,—I beg you will receive my sincerest thanks (as being the instrument in the hand of the Almighty, from whom all blessings flow) for the great assistance I received by your instructions and advice during the time I was undergoing a course of Mr. Morison's inestimable Medicine for my most alarming disorder. As the power of the Universal Medicines was fully exemplified in my case, I have thought it proper to detail a few of the particulars for the benefit of my fellow-creatures similarly afflicted.

About the Christmas time 1832, a swelling commenced in my bowels, which increased from time to time to such an alarming extent, that I became exceedingly fearful of the consequences of my disorder. I applied for medical advice, and got many various medicines administered; but nothing I could procure from Doctors had the least effect in carrying off or reducing the protuberance of the intestines. I then applied for admission into the Luverness Infirmary, in the beginning of the month of May 1833, and remained there nearly six weeks. By that time, I found that the M. D.'s attending that institution were as unable to effect any thing for my relief as those to whom I had applied formerly, and of course

I left the Healing of the great virtue of Morrison's Pills, I determined upon giving them a trial. In this turn of mind, I accordingly called upon you, purchased a quantity, and received your instructions how to use them. I persevered with these, and got more when they were done; and in less than four weeks' time, I was in sound health, my swelling all gone, and I have enjoyed the highest state of health ever since.

If you think proper, publish this, and much oblige,

Yours most respectfully,

ALLX. RASER, Ploughman,

Baltimore, 23. Nov, 1833.

CURES OF ASTHMA AND SMALL-POX.

MR. PROBERT.

Sir,—I feel in duty bound to state my cure by "Morrison's Pills" alone. Having heard that Mr. Webb, an agent of Morrison's, stands charged on the coroner's request for manslaughter, my firm opinion is, they cannot injure any one. In any case, or at any time. I was dreadfully afflicted with asthma for sixteen years, which gradually grew worse and worse, although I had much medical advice, but all to no purpose. I had given up all hopes of ever being any better, and the last six weeks before I began to take the pills, I had not been able to lie down in bed. I was obliged to have some of my family to attend to me the whole of the time, but hearing of the many wonderful cures performed by Morrison's Pills, which I determined to give a trial, I sent and purchased some of Mr. Riley, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, one of Mr. Probert's agents. I began taking them according to the printed directions, and rose up to twelve at per doses which I took twice a day, all No 2's; twelve in the morning and twelve in the evening. I am thankful to say, by God's blessing, and the use of Morrison's Pills alone, I was enabled, in a fortnight, to follow my regular employment. I believe if I had not taken the pills, I could not have survived much longer; but I am happy to say, I have enjoyed good health ever since. A short time after my recovery, my daughter was taken very ill, which proved to be the small-pox. I immediately administered the pills; gave her ten No 1, and in the evening I gave her fifteen No 2 pills. I continued giving her twenty-five pills a day for nine days. My wife was very careful in keeping her warm, which we found to be of great use. After the ninth day, she began to mend fast. As she gathered strength, we gradually decreased the dose, and ever since that time she has enjoyed perfect health; and since the time of my daughter's recovery, I have not used any other medicine in my family but Morrison's Pills, as I believe them to be the best medicine in the world. I remain, sir, yours truly obliged,

CHARLES FLOYD

Christiana Floyd } Witnesses.
Elizabeth Floyd }

Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 12. July, 1834.

RHEUMATISM.

HIS Majesty's Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a medicated Band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary, connected with one of our London Hospitals, whose case, to use his own expression, had baffled every medicine that was quack and every medicine that was not quack, has sent to Mr. Coles his written testimonial which may be seen at 3, Charing Cross, wherein he admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease, and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. My Lord Skelmersdale had a Coachman, who had suffered many years under the above complaint, declared, when he called to pay Mr. Coles, that ere he had worn Coles's Rheumatic Band five days, he was more free from pain than he had been in the preceding five years.

The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY.

We recommend to persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's invention, of 3, Charing Cross, (Truss Maker to His Majesty's Lord's), from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence and simplicity of his Patent by the first practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. It is gratifying to find that Mr. Coles has discovered a self-resisting motion totally distinct from all other plans, whereby the victims of this distressing malady are rescued from their sufferings. The Gazette (a single letter) will be sent, gratis, to any part of the world. Letters must be post paid. Read the case of W. Cobbett, Esq, M.P., published in Boyle's Court Guide.

THIRD PATENT FOR THE PERRYIAN PEN

INDIA-RUBBER-SPRING PEN,	} s. d.
superior in flexibility to the Quill,	
nine, with holder.	} 2 6
FOUNTAIN PEN, warranted to Write	} s. d.
MORE than FIFTY lines with ONE	
dip of INK, nine, with holder.	} 3 0

All the other sorts of the PERRYIAN PENS at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion square, London.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court, and published by him at 11, Bolt court, Fleet street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO
MR. HUME.

Oldham, 3. December, 1834.

SIR,—I have read your address to the electors of Middlesex, and I think it right thus publicly to address you on the subject. I have not time to notice every part of your letter; but I gather from it that, however the thing may be disguised by the confusion of ideas, you call upon your constituents to join you in censuring the King, for placing in the hands of one man, temporarily, more high offices in the state than one.

Now, then, in 1806, the Whigs brought in, and passed, an act to enable one man to be First Lord of the Treasury, and auditor of the Treasury accounts; a thing in the face of the law of the land, as well as of reason and public utility; and that, too, not for a short time, but, as it might have been, for the life of that man. If you could swallow that camel, surely you can make shift to get down this gnat.

You will say, and truly, I believe, that you were not in Parliament in 1806; but you were in 1821 and 1822. Every one that knows any thing of the nature of our Government, knows that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the great responsible officer. The Treasury, the Admiralty, and commissions, but the Secretary of State is the responsible person for all that the King does. Now, then, sir, in 1821, all the three Secretaries were in Ireland with the King; and Lord LIVERPOOL was left in charge of the three Secretary of State-

ships. In 1822, Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was for the time, while the King was gone to Scotland, Secretary of State for all the three departments; and remember, that the state in which he was at the time was afterwards proved before a jury in Kent!

Yet, sir, not one word did you ever say about these things, though you were in Parliament then, as well as you are now. Now, however, you will suffer no such doings: now you tell us, that if the King can do this for a week, he can do it for a month, he can do it for a year, he can do it for ever; and you would frighten us half to death with the names of *Dictator*, *more-than-prime Minister*, and all sorts of hideous names.

It has been asked, why the King was in such haste? Why, what was he to do, if he meant to continue to be King? He found, from Lord MELBOURNE, that the whole band meant to stick in, Chancellor and all. He had seen the great seal dragged along to John O'Grout's house to the south of the Isle of Wight; he had seen the "keeper of his conscience" telling his boozing companions that he would write to him to tell him how they had drunk his health; he had seen that there were but a few steps farther to go, before the people would believe that he was in a pot-house playing at cribbage for his crown; he had seen, or, at least, you and I had, with our own eyes, something worse than this; for we had seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the House was sitting on the clauses of a bill, dancing backward and forward to obtain the assent, or dissent (as to amendments proposed by us); dancing backward and forward to *SPURGES BOURNE*, *SENIOR*, and penny-a-line *CHADWICK*, whom he had perched up under the gallery, in the House itself! And there were we, "his Majesty's faithful Commons," deciding according to the "YEA" or "NAY" of *SENIOR*,

penny-a-line CHADWICK, and STURGES BOURNE!

Why; God ———! But what was the King to do, *if he had a mind to continue King?* All the plagues of Egypt would not be equal to this plague. And But I must break off for the present, and

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WM. COBBET.

P.S. I shall show, in another letter, that you yourself have been one of the *swampers* of your friends.

MANIFESTO

AGAINST THE

WHIG DEPRAVITY. †

The origin of the Whigs.

Their deeds before the "Glorious Revolution."

Their deeds at that time.

Their deeds from that time to 1793.

Their deeds then and in 1806-7.

Their deeds from that time to 1830.

Their deeds during the last four years.

Their deeds in America now.

God forgive me! but, somehow or other, I *always* hated this faction, even to their very name. I hated them before I knew any particulars about them. It was not wickedness in me; for I had no *interest* in the matter; they had never done anything to me: indeed, I had no *reason* to guide me: it was a sort of instinct, such as that which makes a horse uneasy, if you carry blood or garbage into a stable. Time, however, has shown, that instinct was *right*; reason, experience, and a knowledge of facts, have proved, that in-

stinct had been a good guide in this case; and this *will* be manifest to every one who shall be pleased to read the following statement as to a few of the deeds of this depraved faction.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WHIGS.

—The name of Whig was given to the faction some little time before they put King Charles the First to death; the word signifying *butter-milk, in a rosy, sour, sinking state*. Well would it have been for England, Scotland, and Ireland, if the faction had had no qualities but these! It has these, to be sure; but, it has, in addition, the voracity of the cormorant, the ferociousness of the tiger, and perfidy of the crocodile.

THE DEEDS OF THE WHIGS BEFORE THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION."

—Having cut the King's head off on a charge, that he had *endeavour'd* to oppress the people, they first released all the *landholders* from duties, which were due from *their estates* to the nation, and which the Kings had always applied to the carrying on of the Government. But, they *wanted* money, partly to carry on the Government and partly for *pocket-money*. And, how did they get it? Why, took it from THE PEOPLE; not at the point of the bayonet, indeed; but, in the true Whig way; that is, by fraudulent, sly, underhand means. Every landed estate was held, at that time, on *condition* that the holder should render certain dues to the King. The estates had all belonged to the nation; but they had been given to individuals on these conditions; and, by the means of these dues, the kings had always carried on the Government without taxing the people. But, these execrable villains of Whigs, when they had killed the King, released all the landowners from these dues; and laid the burden upon the backs of the people! Reader! do you like the *excise laws*? Do you like the duties upon malt, hops, soap, tobacco, tea, paper, and other things? Do you think that it must have been the devil that first invented them? You are wrong, if you do. It was these execrable villains of Whigs. They released the lands from the dues which they owed to the nation,

and they laid on an excise duty, first on beer, cider, and perry; the next year, on wine, tobacco, sugar, and a great number of other articles, not excepting FLESH! When CHARLES the Second was restored, some of these duties were kept on; and, at last, they amount, as we know very well, to seventeen millions a year, and upwards. If we reckon the monopolies arising out of them, they amount to nearly thirty millions a year, paid almost wholly by the industrious parts of the community. The infernal system was brought to perfection by Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, the notorious Whig Minister; and it is this great curse which now afflicts the nation more than all other things put together. Here you see the industrious people were robbed for the purpose of favouring the aristocracy. It was thus that the Whigs began; and you will find that it has been a principle of action never lost sight of, or ceased to be adhered to, from the deed, the base deed, of robbing, of which I am now speaking, down to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, brought in, pushed along, and carried through by the coarser-tongued Ministry.

AT THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" this detestable faction having brought in a foreigner to be King; having got from him immense grants of public lands, and finding the people hankering after the old English King, laid the scheme of a Bank, and a national debt, began making loans and paper-money; went to war with the amount of these loans, in order to keep out the old King and his family, who, if they had come back, would, to a certainty, have made the Whigs disgorge. Thus began the loans, paper-money, and the debt, which debt, at last, costs us thirty millions a year in interest; costs us another fifteen millions a year in establishments necessary to support the debt; costs us as much more in monopolies, arising out of the taxes; takes, in short, full one-half of every man's earnings from him; and produces nine-tenths of all the crime and all the misery that we behold.

THEIR DEEDS FROM THE

"GLORIOUS REVOLUTION" TO 1793.—We know what the Riot Act is: we know what dreadful punishments have been inflicted under that act. That act was brought in, and carried through, by the Whigs, in 1717, under pretence that the people were mutinous, and wanted to overturn the Government. They certainly did want to overturn the Government of the Whigs. But, in the same year, they did another thing, which troubles us to this very hour. At their "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION," a bargain was made with the people: it was one of the conditions upon which they took the Dutch King, that a NEW PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE CALLED EVERY THREE YEARS; this was a solemn bargain between the King, brought in by the Whigs, and the people; between that King and the people of England. The people swallowed him with great difficulty; but with the oil of three years Parliaments they contrived to get him down into their stomachs. Accordingly, there was a new Parliament once in three years; but, in 1717, the Whigs, in a Parliament which had been chosen to sit for three years, brought in, pushed through, and passed, a law to enable that same Parliament to sit for seven years, and to enable every future Parliament to sit for seven years if the King chose it! The world had never heard of any thing to equal this before; and it never will again, except in the conduct of this detestable faction; who, observe, in their nick-named Reform Bill, have taken care not to shorten the duration of Parliaments. They expressly said that they left that subject open for future discussion. During the two last sessions they have resisted every attempt to shorten the duration; and thus, that which this faction did a hundred and seventeen years ago, still remains to plague and to curse the country. From the time of passing the Septennial Bill, up to the year 1793, they were at work, making and smearing rotten boroughs; and, in short, acting upon their old character whenever they had an opportunity. In 1793 the French war began; and who were the real authors of that

war? Not PITT and DUNDAS, who were decidedly against it. MARKESS the expenditure; as to speculations, and correspondence (now called the Duke de Bassano), which correspondence the reader will find in the *Annual Register*, proves clearly that PITT was against the war: and most anxiously desired not to be pushed into it. At this time, the late Lord SPENCER, the late Lord FITZWILLIAM, the late Duke of PORTLAND, the three greatest leaders of the Whigs, quitted the side on which they had long been; offered to join with PITT for war, and against him, if against war; and so turn him out of his place, unless he would go to war. This does not clear PITT, who, by-the-by, was a Whig himself, in fact; but it shows, that even in this terribly mischievous undertaking the Whigs had the greatest hand. During the war they might have overthrown the system twenty times; but they took very good care never to give it serious disturbance.

THEIR DEEDS IN 1806-7.—These deeds already prove that they had never been sincere in their opposition to the war; for, though they had a fair offer to make peace, and might have prevented the three hundred millions of debt which was afterwards contracted, they pushed on the war with more vigour and expense than ever; and got into an additional war for Hanover, swearing by all that was good, that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire. Well, but now they were in power. Did they now make that parliamentary reform which they had for thirty years been talking about, and moving and petitioning about? A choice band of them, with Lord GREY at their head, had taken the name of "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE." Well, the "*friends of the people*" were now in power. Did they make the reform that they had petitioned for so pressing? Did they propose, or even talk of, such a thing? Drunk or sober, did the word ever come from their lips? Never! They had been talking of *retrenchment* and *economy*: they made greater and more scandalous additions to the pension-list, than had ever been made in three times the space by any

former Minister; and, as to abuses in the expenditure; as to speculations, and malversations, they booted down, or laughed to scorn, every one who mentioned such matters. Besides all which, it was they who first issued those outrageous Orders in Council, which created what were called the "*paper-blockades*," which finally produced the disastrous and terribly expensive war against the United States. At last they were driven out by the effect of their scandalous conduct with regard to the poor Princess of Wales: they were caught in their own trap, tossed out by PERCEVAL, to be hunted upon the cry of "*no popery*," when, in fact, the true cause of their ejection was the threat of PERCEVAL to publish the book about the Princess. But, I must not here omit to notice the desperate efforts which they made to retain their places; and I beg the reader to pay attention to what I am going to say. They brought in a bill, in the House of Commons (Lord GREY was the actor), to make a sort of Catholic emancipation; but nothing like so large a measure as that of the Duke of WELLINGTON and PEREL. The bill had been read a second time, having for it a very large majority, when, all at once, Lord GREY came and moved for leave to *withdraw the bill!* Withdraw it! for what! Why, the King insisted upon its being withdrawn; or, upon turning them out. The bill was withdrawn; but that did not keep them in; for, the King then insisted upon their *signing a paper*, that they would never attempt to do the like again! I dare say that they would have done this; but they well knew that even this would not save them; and, therefore, they refused. Indeed, if this had failed, nothing could have got them out but an "*incendiary fire*."

THEIR DEEDS FROM 1807 TO 1830.—A pretty long spell for them to be hungering and thirsting after the good things of WHITEHALL. I should begin by noticing their profound financial proceedings in the bullion committee, but shall skip over those for the present, and come to their conduct

in 1814 and 1815, relative to matters of Whigs took the lead, with COKE and war. Always as full of ignorance as of WESTERN at their head; and, finally, greediness, they pledged themselves to with soldiers drawn up round the House, PERCEVAL, in 1811-12, that, if the with- they passed the Corn Bill, thinking drawing of the ORDERS IN COUNCIL, that, by the means of that bill they which was then about to take place, should (always acting upon the principle of the primitive Whigs) make the that if that did not satisfy the Americans, they would *join in support of a war against them*. The fools never seem to have perceived, from first to last, been carrying on. Here, however, what was the great ground of complaint with America. The ground of complaint was the impressment of their own seamen on board of their ships on the high seas, by our naval officers. They complained, indeed, of the ORDERS IN COUNCIL; but that was a mere trifle compared to the other, as the fools might have seen in the declaration of war made by the Congress, and which the reader will find in my *History of George the Fourth*. Thus their tongues were tied during the whole of the war against America, which it is very likely, however, they wished to succeed; and, indeed, I believe this, for the reasons which I have given in relating the anecdote about old TIERNEY, in the *History of George the Fourth*. And, good God! who can forget their meanness, their baseness, their clapping of hands for CASILEREACH, their foul-mouthed abuse of BUONAPARTE, their volunteer-votes of money to be heaped upon WELLINGTON; their crying aloud for more troops, more subsidies, to crush "the tyrant of the earth," on his return from ELBA? Who can forget their creeping round the heels of the Tories; and, when kicked away, creeping up again and again? Who can forget their voting *thirty-four millions of money*, by acclamation, for the army alone, in the one single year of 1815? One sickens at the thought of such men daring to call themselves Englishmen! Well, now they had got peace with all the world, a glorious peace, and a riddance of the museums at PARIS. But now, what was their next exploit? The CORN BILL. There was the "reckoning" to pay; and the bushel of wheat was becoming provokingly low in price. Forth stepped both sides upon this occasion; but the Whigs took the lead, with COKE and WESTERN at their head; and, finally, with soldiers drawn up round the House, they passed the Corn Bill, thinking that, by the means of that bill they should (always acting upon the principle of the primitive Whigs) make the industrious part of the community pay the expenses of the war that they had been carrying on. Here, however, Satan deceived them again. They told their farmers, that the Corn Bill would always keep wheat up at the price of *ten shillings a bushel* at the least; and thus they got the rents out of the poor fellows' pockets, and got them to contract new leases. Now I do not impute roguery to them in this case, their foolishness being so well known to me, and it being well known to all the world, how even cunning men are blinded by greediness. To be sure, I made it as clear as daylight, that, for any length of time, no fool-begotten thing, called a Corn Bill, could keep up the price of corn. However, the contrary was completely sucked down by the nation at large; on went the bill, until the year 1823; when, with the bill in full force, and without a handful of wheat having been brought into the country for three whole years, down came the bushel of wheat to five shillings, instead of that remunerating ten shillings which the Corn Bill was to ensure to the farmers! Thus, then, this famous measure, by which they intended to throw all the burden of the war upon the working people, took not one farthing from their own shoulders, while it brought down upon their heads, and brings down upon them yet, helter-skelter, thick and three-fold, torrents of censure from the lips and the pens of that same working people, who, not unjustly taking the will for the deed, accuse them of having laid a "tax upon bread." Shall I stop, or shall I go on? Well, then, we must now go to the proceedings in matters of FINANCE and CURRENCY; where, I think, shall find materials wherewith to wipe up their characters as statesmen. They are very willing to fall in with the gibes about PERCEVAL'S BILL; and, in the

Morning Chronicle, the other day, the COMMISSIONERS of the coarser-food Ministry called the author of that bill **PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL**: in imitation of the ass, you know, who wanted to be caressed by his master after the manner of his rival, the spaniel. But expunging aside, for the present we will pass over the incomparable baseness of caressing Sir ROBERT PEEL upon that occasion, and now turning upon him with that ridicule which was so well merited from me; passing, for the present, over this evidence of indescribable Whig baseness, let us come to the true history of that most destructive bill, which I have no scruple to declare, and which I have fifty times declared, to have been a thousand times more the work of the Whigs than it was the work of the Tories, ever including Sir ROBERT PEEL himself. In 1810 and 1811, a committee, called the Bullion Committee, having "*the lamented*" BERNWICK-SNACK-MAN, HORNER, as its chairman; having the "*mistaken-man*," HUSKISSON; having CANNING; having a great majority of Whigs upon it, reported that a law ought to be passed to compel the Bank to pay in gold, *in two years from that time*; in the midst of war, observe, and with an expenditure surpassing seventy millions a year, twenty millions of which or thereabouts, were raised by a loan! No set of men afflicted with *ordinary* insanity, afflicted with insanity not aggravated by copious draughts of laudanum and brandy, could, for one moment, deem such a measure to be of possible execution. In answer to this report, I wrote what I may fairly call my celebrated book, "**PAPER AGAINST GOLD**." A book may, without any boasting, be called celebrated, when fifty thousand copies have been printed and sold in its native country, and fifty thousand more in America; and when its contents are daily quoted in that foreign country, as arguments in a great and most important dispute. Day-light never was clearer than the proof which I there produced of the insanity of the proposition contained in that Whig bullion report. Yet it is not less clear that that very re-

port was the real foundation of the mischievous measure of 1819. In 1818 the Whigs again pressed the Ministry to act upon that report. TIERNEY, the acknowledged leader of their party in the House of Commons, urged it with all his might and with all his party at his back, and *reproached* the Ministry for not adopting measures to return to the ancient currency of the country: and representing the nation as in a state of acknowledged bankruptcy until such measures should be adopted. *Now comes the blame due to Sir ROBERT PEEL*. Not blame for having been misled by the report of the bullion committee; he could not then have experience sufficient to arm him against that report, notwithstanding the grossness of its absurdity. It was a subject, abstruse in itself, requiring, to be clearly understood, much more time than he had ever had to spare. Then, it came to him with such a mass of *authority*; defended by CANNING; by HUSKISSON; by RICARDO; HORNER for a chairman; TIERNEY to applaud it; Lords KING and HOLLAND, in the other House, shouting to the skies. Not blame because he believed in the doctrines of this report; not blame even because he did not read "*Paper against Gold*"; but blame, *great blame*, due to him, for not reading *my letter to TIERNEY of 1818*; and greater blame to him still, if he did read it. Because, if he did not read it, it was sheer groundless prejudice, or inveterate superciliousness; and, if he did read it, his proceeding after that must have been obstinacy wholly inexcusable; and the "*want of knowledge*" on such matters, which was all that I imputed to him, was the very mildest of all possible descriptions that could be applied to the case; and, though I knew then, as well as I know now, and have always known, that the dunder-headed, presumptuous, and greedy Whigs were the real authors of the measure, there would not have been common-sense in proposing to censure a mob of shuffling politicians. *The author of the bill* was the only man that I could pitch upon; who was the proper man, too, for the further reason, that he

possessed greater talent than any body else of either party, and manifestly would have the united factions at his back. However, small, indeed, is the share of the tremendous mischief that falls to him, compared with that which belongs to the Whigs! TIERNEY, ABERCROMBY, RICARDO; but TIERNEY, who spoke for the whole faction, lamented, that the dear "HORNER had not lived to see his great work accomplished, instead of setting off for the abodes of the blessed, just at a time when events had prepared for him this imperishable wreath of laurel; and that he, TIERNEY, while he was delighted at the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman, refrained from bestowing a full measure of praise upon it, being aware that honourable members well knew that the measure was his own. Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT said, that the measure did the right honourable gentleman the greatest honour, and that his name would descend to posterity coupled with that of this celebrated bill." If I had not known Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT to be a very sincere man, exactly the reverse of all the actors in his faction, I should have thought him to be jeering here. The name of the bill has, indeed, got thus far in the way of posterity, associated with the name of "PEEL"; and I dare say, that this gentleman wishes most heartily that he could get the two things separated for ever. When the year 1822 came, the Whigs bellowed more loudly than any body else for one-pound notes; and one of their party, PASCO GRENFELL, suggested the propriety of making the one-pound notes a legal tender; in which my Lord VAN seemed kindly to acquiesce; but I, crying out, "Ah, Pasco! Pasco! sayest thou so, Pasco!" frightened VAN off; and he came and said, that he could not assent to that. In February, 1824, when "*Prospect*," ROBINSON, afterwards GODRICH, and now RIVON (how they do change their names!), came to the House, and boasted of the surprising happiness of the country, owing to the wisdom of Parliament; when he vaunted of the gratitude

of the people for the blessings poured forth upon them in such abundant streams, "from the portals of an ancient constitutional monarchy"; and when he expressed his kind compassion for the disturbed intellects of those deluded men, who thought that such a Parliament wanted reforming, his voice was thrown in cheers from both sides of the House, and TIERNEY and BROUGHAM and HUME, as representatives of the whole faction, expressed their joy, but now claimed the merit of the one-pound notes. When taken aback in 1825 and 1826, they exclaimed against the issue of one-pound notes; cordially lent their hand to abolish them again; and up to this day their dunder-headed and absurd notions upon the matter threatened us, if they had remained in power, with some blunder as ridiculous and more perilous than any of the former; a specimen of which they gave us in the session before last, in their legal-tender and joint-stock banking scheme. I now come to 1827, when the faction was all put in motion by the hopes of wriggling and wedging into place along with CANNING. Sir ROBERT PEEL put to Canning the question: What will you do with the *Test and Corporation Acts*? "I will not repeal them," said CANNING, "nor touch them." What will you do with *Catholic Emancipation*? Not meddle with it, said CANNING. What will you do with *parliamentary reform*? "Oppose it, in whatever shape or degree it may come before us, as long as I have a seat in this House." Yet, BROUGHAM, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and all the band of Whigs, except Lord GRAY, declared their intention to support him; and were all ready to share in the places and emoluments as fast as he could take them in; and it was in his time that Lord DUNHAM got the promise of his title. After this they shuffled along, like a street cripple upon a bowl-dish, seeming to have nothing but their tongues left them; and thus they went on till the blaze of reform drove out the Duke in the month of November, 1830.

THEIR DEEDS DURING THE

LAST FOUR YEARS.—These need no be written about: they are fresh in the memories of us all. They will always be known by the name of the coarser-food Ministry. The read-coat-court-of-justice bill; the coarser-food bill; the rescinding of the vote for a part repeal of the malt-tax; the Factory Bill; the twenty millions given to the slave-owners; the bands of botheration-commissioners; the everlasting trickery about the stamp-duties; their contemptuous treatment of the questions relative to the shortening of Parliaments and the ballot; their rejection of all inquiry into the pensions; their conduct with regard to POPAY and the spying work; but, above all things, the unfortunate labourers of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Berkshire: these are written in our memories, there to remain while life shall us last.

THEIR DEEDS IN AMERICA NOW.—It is a very curious thing, that the depraved villains, who are combating the just measures of the President of the United States, have taken the name of *Whigs*. The two parties used, in my time, to be called *Federalists* and *Democrats*; but now the horrible paper-money scoundrels call themselves "*Whigs*." It really does seem that the depravity of this faction is so powerful that it draws to itself every infamous thing from every part of the world. But do observe how this faction has always gone on. Wherever there is a chief magistrate, whose functions naturally make him a protector of the people, the *Whigs* always strike at him first, and then at the people; as robbers first knock down the guard and then proceed to rob the coach. It was thus in the time of the STUARTS; and so it would have been now, but the King gave them no time. In America it is just thus. The infamous aristocracy of money, or, rather, of rags, first aimed a deadly blow at the President; and then immediately at the people. The people have had the good sense to stand by their chief magistrate, in which respect we shall follow their example. It is truly curious, that these ruffians in America should have taken the name of *Whigs*

all at once; and it is still more curious how exactly they imitate in their manners, and in their objects, our *Whigs*. They proceed, in the first place by wheedling, and when they have got the victim in their grasp, by ferocious cruelty, they scoff at all the settled laws and institutions of the country, and have really adopted a system of centralization and concentration, just like what was going on here. They had begun to propose lots of commissioners; new sorts of juries; and innovations of every description. The working people, which is the main mass of the nation, had the sense to discover that all this meant robbery of them; plunder of their wages; a *coarser sort of food* for them; and they have aroused themselves and blown the whole scheme into air, having given, as far as their country is concerned, a death-blow to the coarser-food faction.

WM. COBBETT.

*Done at Manchester, this 30. day
of Nov. 1834.*

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

WILL this take place?—Not NOW, if the Duke is a good politician; for, if he were to dissolve the Parliament *now*, the prevalent opinion would be, that he meant to ride with those long purs which the *Whigs* swear he has strapped on his boots; and, in short, it would be roundly asserted by the *Whigs* that he meant to repeal the Reform Bill itself, and drive us back again to the rotten boroughs. To entertain a thought of this he must first take down double draughts of laudanum and brandy; and, therefore, to give his enemies such a handle would be doing himself a mischief for nothing; without the possibility of advantage on the other side.

THIS wise course is, to call the Parliament together; and in a speech from the King, very full of that kindness towards his people, and winking a little at any irregular acts that some of them may have committed, and containing recommendations to the Parliament to

proceed cautiously, but in earnest, in any reforms that they may have to suggest to him, or to adopt themselves. Then for the Ministers to take occasion to recommend to the Parliament a repeal of the Poor-law Bill, and of the malt-tax, together with such other things as might appear necessary to the ease and happiness of the people.

If the Duke do this, he will have no need to dissolve the Parliament; or, if he think proper to do it, he may do it with perfect security. There *must be church reform*. The stanchest friends of the church herself allow this. The peace of the country absolutely demands it. It must be; and, if the propositions be *frank*; fully stated, at once; the people will be satisfied: at least, they will be pleased to be fully allowed to discuss the subject fairly by their representatives. The two measures of repeal that I have mentioned would quiet all but about half a million of the whole of the people of England and Wales; and, if the Duke wishes to have a quiet time of it, he will adopt these two measures of repeal.

THE SWAMPER.

Oldham, 2. Dec., 1834.

I WAS sure that the SWAMPER would *come down*; that, somehow or another, he would bring so much mischief and so much shame upon everything that he would have anything to do with, that it would be impossible for him not to be *put down*, unless he should so far get possessed of power as to plunge everything into confusion. The King, by the prompt and resolute exercise of his authority, has prevented this latter; and the SWAMPER has been put down, when the confusion was only *beginning*. Thus far, and thus completely, was my thirty years' prophecy regarding him fulfilled; it is seven years since I actually called him the SWAMPER. He is *down*; but little did I think that he really would, literally verify the hyperbolical description of the poet; namely, find in the "*lowest deep*" a LOWER DEEP." One

would have thought that the dragging the seals from John O'Groat's house to SHANKLIN in the Isle of Wight: the episode at SALISBURY, and the incident at FAREHAM; one would have thought that a Lord High Chancellor of England; the successor in office of FORTESCUE, Sir THOMAS MORE, and all the long train of great lawyers and dignified statesmen, performing these pranks, palavering at one and the same time, the King and the giddiest part of his people; one would have thought that this was the "*lowest deep*"; and so it was deemed by all men with steady heads upon their shoulders; yet the bawlings and ravings in the Court of Chancery about giving up the great seals were certainly a "*lower deep*"! What! could there be something lower than this? Yes; ordered to surrender the great seals into the hands, *not of the King*; not to any great officer of state even; but one of about four hundred and fifty *generals* that the King has in his army! Can there be a "*lower deep*," than this? Surely this must be the *lowest of the low*! This must be under the bed of the pool of degradation. If there be anything lower than this it must be in the bottomless-pit itself. Even that we have; for, after all this; after being dismissed from his office; after being ordered to deliver the great seals to a *general*, a mere equerry of the King; after having been thus driven from the councils; and even the presence of the King, he afterwards begs from that same King the post of *Chief Baron of the Exchequer*; which that same King amidst the plaudits of his subjects, refuses him! To crown the whole, away he goes into a *foreign land*, leaving behind him the POOR-LAW BILL, while those newspapers, who were the trumpeters of his wisdom and science, are now engaged in reviling his opponents for their want of compassion in ridiculing his capers, and in describing the *state of his mind*! To feel compassion for him, who has had the audacity to declare openly, in this England, that a legal provision, *even for the aged and infirm*, ought not to exist; to feel compassion for that man, be his state

what it may, is to show a want of compassion for all the poor and destitute part of the human race. Oh, no! let us, on the contrary, remember; and well remember, all his unmerciful sayings; and all the means that he used to extirpate compassion from the English breast. Let us look into the word of God, and there learn how such a man ought to be looked upon and treated; let us look at the denunciations against the oppressors of the poor. Amongst the denunciations against those who "turn aside the poor from their RIGHT," is this: That they shall be driven about here and there; that they shall "make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city" and "wander up and down for meat, and growl" at not being satisfied. What sort of noise BROUGHAM may make in future, I do not know; but, if the newspapers speak truth, he has begun to *wander*, at any rate; for they say that he is gone to *France*. Gone, I suppose, to discover some "*coarser food*" than potatoes and salt! Some mess, made of sour sorrel, and chopped-up stuff along with a little pot liquor or skimmings that we use as *cart-grease*. However, of this species of *emigration* I highly approve. No matter whither he goes; and if Commissioners GROTE and CLAY and WHITMORE and TORRENS were to join, and apply their own persons, wherewith to put their principles in practice, nobody would take much offence at it. Let him join the stock-jobbing vagabonds in France, and bring to perfection the system of centralization, concentration, accumulation, and amalgamation; let him do this in France, with all my heart; but let us take care that he never again have the power of chopping up our laws and insulting our understandings. He said that, if his poor-law project were not adopted, he himself might become a "*Westmoreland pauper*." His project will never succeed; but it is quite within the scope of possibility that his prophecy may be verified; and that he may yet have to bless, instead of curse, the humane and righteous laws of England.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Oldham, 2. December, 1834.

It is possible that, long before this reaches the press, the question, whether Sir ROBERT PEEL will, or will not, join the Duke, may have been settled. However, in this state of uncertainty as to the effect, I venture to hazard an opinion that the Duke, by using the easy means which he has in his hands, may safely go on without Sir ROBERT PEEL. It is not a matter of DEBATING; it is a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. The Duke has in his hands the power, the complete power, of giving the country satisfaction, such as will enable it to wait with patience and with gratitude, without doing any thing to shake any institution, without giving the smallest degree of offence to any description of persons whatsoever. He can repeal the horrible Poor-law Bill, which has set the whole country in a fry; which cannot be executed; and the bare knowledge of the existence of which troubles the peace of every dwelling in the kingdom. I have, in my long political life, witnessed a great many causes of public irritation; but never did I witness one equal to this in the producing of curses loud and deep.

The Duke can repeal the malt-tax, and along with it the hop-tax, which latter yields scarcely one clear penny to the Treasury, while it costs millions to the industrious people. These two taxes together bring about five millions clear into the Treasury; and they *cost the people fifteen millions* at the least, which I have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial person; and, as far as the malt-tax is concerned, I have proved it in the House of Commons, where I received nothing in contradiction to my statements. But, the monstrous monopolies necessarily created by these, mischievous as they are in their effects, are ten thousand times more mischievous in their power of destroying the good manners and the good morals of the working people; and this I also proved in the House of Commons, in a manner that produced conviction on the mind of every gentleman that heard me.

Let the Duke do these two things, and let him plainly say, that he will give a *candid hearing* to all demands of changes to be made in church and state; that he will by no means prevent full and ample discussion on every point: let him do these things, there will be debating talent, quite enough always at his service; because the people, sensibly feeling the good that has been done them, will take that as an earnest of more good, and will patiently wait for the further good; having a great deal too much sense to expect that such a mass of evils should be overcome in a day.

The question will arise: what is to be done on the subject of taxes, in consequence of a repeal of the malt-tax? The talk about a property-tax may or may not grow into a measure; but, let what else may take place, one of these things must take place; the wheat must be raised to eight or ten shillings a bushel; the interest of the debt must be lowered, directly or indirectly; or there must be one-pound notes and legal tender. If any man, looking at America, looking at Portugal, looking at the Brazils, looking at Spain, looking at India, thinks that the first of these three can be accomplished, he must have taken such large draughts of laudanum and brandy as to fit him only for a strait-waistcoat, or for flight out of the country. In short, the first of these three is impossible. With regard to the other two, the last would be most popular and pleasant, while the reduction of the interest of the debt would be exceedingly troublesome; but one or the other *must* come, and, therefore, if Sir ROBERT PEEL be resolved not to resort to either, he certainly will not join the Duke. Some people have been surprised, that Lord ALTHORP, who had a command of the House of Commons in complete, should, during all this rumpus, never have been even named by any body. It would seem as if the death of his father had killed him, too; and that he had been buried in the same grave. Else, what prevented him from becoming First Lord of the Treasury, and of selecting some man to fill his place in the House

of Commons? The truth is, that this would have been done, but he knew well, that there must be either reduction of the interest of the debt, or legal tender and one-pound notes; and, Providence having tendered him the means of escaping from the thing, so disagreeable to do, he availed himself of the tender, free from all blame on that account; and left to MELBOURNE and BRIDGEMAN to get out of the scrape as they could.

How they did get out of it, we have seen; and the question is, will Sir ROBERT PEEL get into it? The answer to this question will depend not upon his liking or disliking of so painful a task; for dislike it he must; but it will depend on the view which he shall take with regard to the consequences to *his own character*, if he refuse to encounter the task. He must not say that he had no hand in *causing* the difficulty; that the difficulty was created by *others*; and that, therefore, he is not bound to encounter it. He must not say this. Besides, he must not plead that he is committed against both these measures, because then he puts his *consistency* (as it is called) at a higher value than his duty to the King, and his duty to the country also. Then how is he to put this high value upon his consistency, when we think of the test and corporation laws, and of the Catholic emancipation? The word *consistency*, as it has been applied to my conduct, would, if acted upon, ruin any nation upon the face of the earth. True consistency means, always adhering to your object, that object being the good of those with whose well-being you are charged.

Therefore, if Sir ROBERT PEEL set up this plea, it will not answer his purpose; and, if he persevere in it, how will he stand? By the Tories he will be charged with recoiling from his duty to the King and the country, from the fear of danger to himself; by the Whigs he will be rejected, because, by embracing him, they would, if possible, add a little deeper dye to their character for insincerity and perfidy; by the Radicals he would be held in scorn and contempt. So that, if he make a just estimate of

the consequences of his keeping aloof from the Duke ; if he state the account of danger to himself fairly, he will find the balance greatly in favour of his joining the Duke ; that is to say, he will find that there is much less danger in joining than in keeping aloof.

It is evident that neither he nor any other Minister will have much peace of his life, unless he go on with *real* reforms instead of the sham reforms that the Whigs were trying to play off upon the nation ; but, can it be possible, that the Tories have not seen by this time, that the safety of the great institutions of the country, particularly the *peerage*, will absolutely demand an *extension of the suffrage to the working people* ? Can they be so blind still as not to perceive that the only friends that they have upon this earth, are the working people ? Were they all deaf and blind, a few months ago, when the *Morning Chronicle* had a distinct proposition on the part of its masters, the Whigs, TO REFORM THE HOUSE OF LORDS, and when it asserted that the "CONSTITUENCY" must of necessity, as well as of right, now have the sole power of governing the country. Are they so blind as not to see that this ten-pound suffrage must inevitably tend to destroy all hereditary right and power ? Could the young lords, who sat away to my right in the House of Commons hear the cheers that were everlastingly ready to burst forth, every time that a word was dropped hostile to hereditary right and privilege, and not clearly see that the titles must soon fall under a MONIED ARISTOCRACY, unless they speedily resorted to the help of the working men for defence against the *élite* of the ten-pounders ? Can the Tories be yet so blind as not to see that the danger to the privileged orders is not from the working people, who envy them not ; but who, as naturally as the sparks fly upwards, seek shelter under them from the grasping and grinding aristocracy of money ? Can they be so blind yet as not to see that it is not from the working people that they have to apprehend danger ; but from the envyings and contrivings of the accu-

mulators of wealth, who regard nothing as not proper to be destroyed, which stands in the way of that accumulation ? Can they have forgotten that it was, in fact, the usurers, the money-mongers, that overset the Government of France ? And what do they now behold, even in the United States of America ? The legislative assemblies every where complaining of the inroads and the oppressions of an "ARISTOCRACY OF MONEY." Do they not hear a committee of the Assembly of New York declaring that this aristocracy is the worst that ever existed in the world ? Do they not hear a committee of the Senate of Pennsylvania, reporting almost in the same words ? Do they not hear, in reports from committees of all the legislative assemblies in the country, a representation that all public spirit, all love of liberty, all impartial justice, all virtue, all genius, all admiration of valour, are falling down before the influence of this base aristocracy of money ? And, do they not see this base and infamous aristocracy actually assailing the chief magistrate of the republic ; using their wealth, and even the public treasures, to prevent him from doing justice to the people ? And do they not see the *working people* rally round him, and defend him against this base and rebellious combination ? There there is *universal suffrage* ; and, if there were not ; if it were a suffrage like ours, the constitution would have been destroyed, and the people's liberties along with it ; and there must have been a bloody fight and a total revolution. If the President had been weak enough to yield to this base aristocracy of money, as our House of Lords has been in the passing of this POOR-LAW BILL, the government of America would have been totally destroyed. If our peers retrace their steps with regard to this measure ; then, in the struggle which is approaching, and which must come before it be long, the people will stand by the peers against Mammon ; if the steps be not retraced, Mammon will succeed.

Sir ROBERT PEEL will have to consider this matter well ; and, upon

a careful calculation of the advantages and disadvantages, he will come to a decision. His wise course is to join the Duke: this is what he should do, if I were as he is in all respects. *Prudence* is a very good thing and so good is it, that men ought always to be prudent; but then comes the question, what is prudence in a certain case, and what is not prudence; and as BURKE says, there may be cases when, to run the greatest risks is demanded by prudence; that is to say, in a case where to stand still, where to attempt nothing, must necessarily be followed by more fatal consequences than failure itself. Such appears to me to be now the case that presents itself to Sir ROBERT PEEL, who *may* possibly be injured in character by joining the Duke: but who *must* be destroyed in character (as a politician, I mean), if he do not join the Duke.

MANCHESTER ADDRESS.

IN another part of the *Register* will be seen the proceedings at MANCHESTER, on the 27. of November; and the reader may be sure that he there sees expressed, the sentiments not only of MANCHESTER, but of all the towns round about it, containing altogether, pretty nearly, or quite, *a million of people*. MANCHESTER *proper* contains two hundred thousand. I am here amongst another fifty thousand, at only seven miles distant; there are ten other hives of men, all within twelve or fourteen miles of MANCHESTER: here is this whole body expressing satisfaction at the turning out of the Whigs; and placing the horrible Poor-law Bill in the front of their list of crimes. Great pains have been taken to represent this declaration of opinion in Lancashire entirely to *my influence*. The facts are these. The meeting at MANCHESTER was called while I was in DUBLIN, and when I set out from DUBLIN, on the evening of the Monday, I did not know when it was to be held. I was on board the steam-boat at KINGSTOWN, to go to LIVERPOOL; but finding that there was a

HOLYHEAD boat alongside, I went into that; got into a coach, and went to BANGOR; came along by another coach through ST. ASAPH to CHESTER; slept at CHESTER that night; got into MANCHESTER about Wednesday noon, instead of getting there early on Tuesday morning, as I might have done, had I come by LIVERPOOL. This did not show any great desire to hasten to MANCHESTER, at any rate. Upon my arrival I saw some friends, of course, directly; I learnt from them that a meeting was going to be held the next day; and, of course, they heard my opinion as to what ought to be done at that meeting. Of course also I lent them my assistance as far as they required it. But I found the streets of the town placarded with my letter to the King: I found it flying about the streets in hand-bills; and I found my friends at MANCHESTER perfectly concurring with me in the sentiments of that letter; so that my presence at MANCHESTER was not at all necessary to produce that effect which has given so much annoyance to the bands of commissioners in London. However, the commissioners, in the midst of their rabid effusions about my influence having produced this effect, seem to overlook the conclusion to which that assertion necessarily leads.

I most heartily detest the Whigs; I look upon them as the worst men that ever were in power; I look upon their Poor-law Bill especially as meriting everlasting execration; and, if it be rue, that this million of people are under my influence as to political matters it follows, that here are assembled together, in one district of country, about a twelfth part of the whole of that population of England and Wales who *execrate the Whigs!* A consoling reflection for *pis-aller PARKES*, FRANKLAND LEWIS, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and the rest of the bands of commissioners.

LIVERPOOL-MEETING.

VERY different was the conduct of this meeting from that of the meeting at MANCHESTER. At the latter immense hive of industry all was good order;

every one was patiently heard out. Amongst the jobbers and no-nation creatures in that hole of monstrous corruption and bribery, LIVERPOOL, the meeting, not a quarter part of the numbers of those assembled at MANCHESTER, was packed by all the filthy means made use of at the elections in that town. Mr. THOMAS SMITH and Dr. COLLINS men well known for their excellent character, and their public spirit, were put to silence by a clamorous cry, and a pretended vote, of the meeting. But who were the grand operators of the day? Old OTTISWELL WOOD, and his son WILLIAM, an attorney; the father and brother of WOOD, emphatically called JOHN, to whom the Whigs gave a pice of sixteen hundred pounds a year, and who will now, in all human probability, lose that place, notwithstanding his usefulness in cases like that of Mr. SHEIL. Another of the getters-up of this meeting was a BAINES; one of the BAINESs, editor of a newspaper at LIVERPOOL, brother of a subaltern statesman gone out with MACAULAY, with a salary, perhaps of a thousand or two, pounds a year, a place given him by the SWAMPEN; who was put in for Yorkshire, in great part through the instrumentality of the newspaper of BAINES the father. A PRESCOOT was another great actor in this case; a relation by marriage of roaring RUSHION; Then, there figured the RATHERBUNs, related by marriage to MACAULAY, who is gone to India with ten thousand a year, and who may be recalled in a month. Mr. SMITH and Dr. COLLINS may, therefore, console themselves; and the country may be perfectly satisfied, that it was a mere packed crew, assembled for the purpose of expressing their regret at the loss of their power of plundering the people.

BIRMINGHAM MEETING.

HERE, too, a mumbling, thumbling resolution having the word "*regret*," in it, but really predicating nothing, was passed by a meeting in a room in the town of BIRMINGHAM, having for their chairman a Mr. PHIPSON, of whom I

have never heard before. The resolution was proposed by a Mr. HENRY SMITH, and seconded by Mr. G. F. MUNTZ; this resolution will be found in another part of the *Register*; but of what description this meeting was, and of what worth its resolution and "*regret*," the reader will perceive, when he is informed, that *neither of the two honest and able representatives of that borough would attend this meeting*; but still more will the reader gather from the able and excellent letter, which Mr. THOMAS AITWOOD sent to be read to this meeting. I beg the reader's attention to every word in this letter. Mr. AITWOOD knew the ruffians well. He was not to be carried to a meeting like this by the intriguers of *mis-aller PARKERS*, and the like, out of which intriguers this meeting certainly sprang. If, indeed, the people of BIRMINGHAM had been fairly called together as the people of MANCHESTER were, at the requisition of their own representative, Mr. PHILIPS, who came in person and avowed his sentiments; then, indeed, we should have heard the voice of this great and important and public-spirited town; and that voice would have had great weight in the country; as it is, the meeting and the resolution altogether are things to be despised; and we are to look to Mr. AITWOOD as speaking the voice of that great town. It is curious that Mr. EDMONDS, who spoke in favour of the resolution, observed that it was a question of *quantity*; that both parties administered ARSENIC; but there was a great difference between a grain and an ounce. The Poor-law Bill is a pretty good dose; but, at any rate, I would not, if I had been Mr. EDMONDS, have expressed my regret at the King having taken from our lips even one grain of the deadly poison. "*Laudanum and brandy*," "*laudanum and brandy*," Mr. EDMONDS! That's the stuff, that you ought to have regretted the departure of, if you must needs, for the life of you, express any regret at all.

MR. AITWOOD'S LETTER.

London, 27. Nov., 1834.

My dear sir,—I was desirous of an-

swering your letter fully, which I have now done in the shape of a letter to my constituents, which I send you herewith, and which I beg you will do me the favour to read to the meeting at the Town-hall to-morrow, and to get published in the *Birmingham Journal*, of Saturday next. If you should not attend the meeting at the Town-hall, pray get my letter read there by Mr. Muntz, Mr. Hadley, Mr. Salt, or some other of my friends, who will do it justly. It is a duty which I owe to the meeting, as constituting a large and respectable part of my constituents, to explain my sentiments and feelings at this great crisis. The two factions have cursed England long. May God grant that the people may now break in between them, and establish the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of their country for ever!

With regard to the Political Union, my favourite and cherished engine of political power and of national safety, I fear that we cannot efficiently set it in motion. We must have finances in our hands, and we must know a little more of Lord Durham. If the public spirit of the people should be awake, let them give proof of it by contributing their subscriptions, and by placing the "sinews of war" in our hands. Without these in hand it is folly for us to attempt to move.

With sincere wishes for your health and happiness I remain

My dear sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

THOMAS ATTWOOD.

George Edmonds, Esq.

"To the electors and inhabitants of the Borough of Birmingham.

London, 27. Nov., 1834.

"My dear friends and fellow townsmen,

"In the month of May last year, we held a great meeting for the purpose of petitioning our gracious King to dismiss the Whig Ministers from his councils. Our experience of the Ministers was then short since the Reform of the Parliament had been effected, but it was quite sufficient to satisfy us, that if possible they were worse enemies of the liberty and prosperity of the people, than

even their arrogant, sordid, and unfeeling predecessors. They had given us 'slavery for Ireland, and poverty for England.' They had given us 'internal misery and foreign shame.' They had made a mockery of the sufferings of the people, and hardened their hearts against the prayers of the poor. They had refused to inquire into the distresses of the industrious classes. They had refused to abolish that atrocious measure of fraud, cruelty, tyranny, and plunder, called Peel's Bill; which has for so many years been doubling the wealth of the rich, and doubling at the same time the burdens of the poor, which has palsied the strength of England, and humbled her in the face of her enemies, and is at this moment drinking up, as it were, the very heart's blood of the people. It was, therefore, that we petitioned for the dismissal of the Whigs. They might have taken warning from the tremendous spectacle of popular power, patriotism, and determination, which the men of Birmingham, and of the Midland district, then exhibited. But they regarded us not. They were too busy in dividing the spoil of an oppressed and defrauded nation to have leisure to watch the gathering of the clouds, and to hear the mutterings of the thunder, which to other eyes, and to other ears, would have given ample warning of the coming storm. Well then, my friends, what has been the conduct of the Whigs since our last great meeting on Newhall-hill? Has it not been marked by fraud, trickery, cruelty, tyranny, and delusion? I have stood by their side like a faithful sentinel of the people. I have warned them at every step to fall back upon their ancient professions, and again and again I have urged them, by standing firm upon their ancient principles, to recover their lost place in the affections of the people. I might as well have preached to the winds of Heaven. I spoke of the distress of the people. They smiled in affected contempt. They would listen to nothing unless the dagger and the firebrand were gleaming before their eyes. I demanded the necessary measures to give prosperity at home, and

honour abroad. I reminded them that they had suffered Poland to fall, when the lifting of a finger would have saved her. Unhappy, heroic, betrayed, and deserted Poland!! I urged them to save Constantinople, that magnificent and most important political point, which, to England, is worth a hundred Gibaltars; and in the hands of the barbarous and encroaching Russians is worse than 'pistol at her breast.' What answer did I get from the feeble and cunning, but wretched Whigs? They laughed; and, amid the jeers of their servile supporters, they gravely remarked, that 'really it was the first time they had ever heard that Constantinople was in danger!!' Mark, my friends, at that very moment the Russian armies were in possession of Scutari; and Scutari is Constantinople!!

"But when the Whig Ministers were thus driven up in a corner, they had a very favourite answer to me, which I have heard them make use of three or four times. They gravely assured the House, amid shouts of applause, that 'I wanted war with Russia, because it would produce paper-money for myself, and good orders for arms for my constituents!'

"It is in this way that Turkey and Poland have been sacrificed, countries which England might have saved yesterday by the lifting up of a finger, but which she will have to redeem to-morrow, at the expense of an ocean of blood and treasure.

"No bolder or wiser policy has been pursued towards nations nearer England. The free states of Germany have been delivered up, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Austrian and Russian despots; and Switzerland, that poor but heroic nation, respected by Castlereagh in the treaty of Vienna, has at last been compelled to bend her venerated head under the same iron yoke.

"And what has been the conduct of the Whigs at home? Let the Coercion Bill in Ireland answer. Let the Dorchester labourers answer. Let the Calthorpe-street juries answer. Let the malt-tax; let the prosecutions of the press; let the unrepealed Six Acts; the

unrepealed trespass law; the unrepealed game laws; above all things, let the cruel and sordid new poor-law answer. A host of delinquencies have marked the Whigs throughout their whole Ministerial career. Weeds and weeds alone have grown in their garden; and if, by any accident, the people have ever been led to expect to gather good fruit from such a soil, their wheat has suddenly and cruelly been turned into tares. There are good men among the Whigs, but they have been overpowered and borne down by the bad. These, my friends, are my charges against the Whig Ministers. In May, 1832, I cordially assisted in forcing them back into power. They betrayed my confidence and yours. I will never assist in serving them again, unless I hold them bound in black and white, to do justice to the people; to arrest the robbery and destruction of Peel's bill; to vindicate the honour of England in Turkey and in Poland; to repeal the New Poor-law Act; to repeal the malt-tax and the corn laws; to repeal the Septennial Act; to extend and confirm the reform act; to correct the abuses of the church, and to redress the grievances of the Dissenters; and last, not least, to redress the wrongs and the sufferings of unhappy and long-misgoverned Ireland. The Ministers who will accomplish these great works are the Ministers for me. I trust that no Ministers will rule in England who will not accomplish them.

"In the meanwhile, my friends, we have one satisfaction to reflect upon. Whoever may be Minister, whether Parliament is dissolved or not, will have to conciliate the affections of the people, and to make larger concessions to the public interest and the public will. The late Ministers relied upon a servile and subservient House of Commons, and they set the people at defiance. The new Ministers will most certainly have a refractory and impracticable House of Commons to deal with. Their weakness will be the strength of the people; and they can only hope to govern by conciliating the favour of the people. It is thus to be expected that through the discords of the two factions, which

have so long misgoverned England, the liberty and prosperity of the people will be advanced.

"To me, my friends, it appears that the Earl of Durham ought to be placed at the head of the King's administration. In the Duke of Wellington I have no confidence; I fear his arbitrary habits, and his utter ignorance of the wrongs, and miseries, and discontent of the people. Of one thing I am quite sure, which is this, neither the Duke of Wellington nor the Earl of Durham, nor any other Minister whom the King may select, can possibly prevent a terrible revolution in England, unless Peel's bill be repealed, and the great question of the currency be settled upon such just, honest, and efficient principles as will restore and secure independence and prosperity to the industrious classes. It is of no use to give the people the shadow of liberty without the substance. It is not liberty but tyranny of the blackest kind which prevails, when the industrious classes are defrauded of their profits and capital, and when hundreds of thousands of honest and worthy men have little better prospects before them than the melancholy choice between the jail, the workhouse, and the grave. The workmen in some few instances now do well; but in all such cases they draw their welfare from the destruction of the capital of their employers. This is the unhappy position of our country at present; it must be rectified. It can only be rectified through Mr. Cobbett's plan of an 'equitable adjustment of the national debt and of all taxes, rents, and contracts; or through the abolition or the adjustment of the standard of value, that immense principle which pervades and governs all.' I fully agree with Mr. Cobbett in his admirable letter in the *True Sun* of the 25. inst., that 'the former of these would create a turmoil prodigious, while the latter, whatever might be the real operation of it on annuitants and mortgagees, and the like, would be hailed with pleasure and gratitude by ninety-nine hundredths of the people.' Mr. Cobbett adds, 'who will not at all calculate as to what will be the ultimate

and hereafter consequences.' Gentlemen, I know 'the ultimate and hereafter consequences,' and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if the standard of value is adjusted honestly and efficiently, the child in the cradle will never live to hear the voice of discontent in England.

"Friends and fellow-townsmen,—As I told you at Mr. Beardsworth's, on the 15. of September last, I am not desirous of continuing a representative of the people in Parliament. If I could see an opportunity of giving liberty, prosperity, and glory to my country, I should not hesitate to lend my humble assistance to this great and just and holy work. At present I see but little opportunity of doing good to you or to your country, unless I embark in the clash of factions, and steer a devious and uncertain course. This I have never done; this I never will do. If I can see the means of honestly promoting your liberty and welfare, and that of your country, I am ready to serve you. But if I am to meet again such a Ministry, and such a Parliament as the last, I care not how soon I receive from you a mandate to retire.

"Friends and fellow-townsmen,—In my humble judgment, great days are dawning upon England; days of great interest and great glory, perhaps of great agony and great crime. If these latter dismal anticipations should be realized, all that I have to recommend to you is to repeat my old exhortation, 'Hold fast to the Throne.' The throne is the common unity of the nation. The people of England may there find a common rallying point, where all rights and all interests may be held secure. But if the throne should fall, a wild scene of chaos, and anarchy, and blood, and ruin, is inevitable.

"So long as the throne is secure, all passions and all interests may be conciliated and united there. There will be no civil war. Under the shadow of the King's throne, the people, by the peaceful and significant display of their will, may at all times ensure justice, liberty, security, and prosperity for all.

"My friends,—The times are out of

joint.' I recommend to you moderation, caution, consideration, and prudence, in every thing that you do.

"I am, my friends,

"Your faithful representative,

"THOMAS ARTHWOOD."

At a meeting of the electors of the borough of Birmingham, held at the Town-hall on Friday, summoned by a requisition, very numerous, signed, and which had been previously posted in the town, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Moved by Mr. Henry Smith, and seconded by Mr. G. F. Muntz,

1. That this meeting is, impressed with feelings of deep regret at the transference of his Majesty's confidence from the late administration to a party which has been uniformly distinguished by its resistance to all measures of national improvement, by its avowed sympathies with the cause of despotism throughout the whole of Europe, and by its contemptuous disregard of the popular spirit and free institutions of their own country. Whilst we disavow interference with any exercise of the royal prerogative, we deem it a paramount duty to state, that in our opinion the recent precipitate change in his Majesty's council is fraught with evil the most disastrous to every interest, social and commercial. Requiring, as we do, such extensive alterations of the present ecclesiastical establishment as not merely just, but the interests of religion imperiously demand, together with such a revision of our municipal system as may be in accordance with the advancing intelligence of the people, the maintenance of honourable peace abroad, economy at home, the avoidance of all laws by which commerce is restricted, manufactures impeded, or full impartial justice withheld from any class in the United Kingdom. We feel that we should look in vain for such blessings from a party which has ever fostered those abuses under which the nation staggered nearly to dissolution, nor will we be deluded by their specious pretences of a liberal spirit, acting on which would be an exhibition of politi-

cal profligacy so unexampled as to deprive them of respect as private, or confidence as public men. We, therefore, deem it our bounden duty immediately to take such steps as shall bring into action those powers with which the Reform Bill has invested us, and appoint a committee for the purpose of securing, in case of a dissolution of Parliament, such representatives for this borough and the northern division of the county of Warwick, as shall promote the measures, on the acquisition of which we are deliberately and unalterably determined.

Moved by the Rev. T. M. McDonnell and seconded by Mr. Wm. Beale,

2. That the following gentlemen form a committee, with power to add to their number, for the purpose stated in the foregoing resolution.

[Here follow the names of nearly 100 of the principal electors.]

Moved by Mr. Edmonds and seconded by Mr. James James,

3. That the resolutions of this day be inserted in the three Birmingham papers, the *Morning Chronicle*, *Courier*, and *Globe*, the *Sun*, and *True Sun*, and such other papers as the meeting may think fit.

WILLIAM PHIPSON, Chairman.

Mr. Henry Smith having been placed in the chair,

4. That the best thanks of this meeting be given to William Phipson, Esq., for his independent, conciliatory, and decisive conduct this day.

HENRY SMITH.

IMPORTANT MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

The most important meeting ever held in this town since the famous one in May, 1832, for stopping the supplies, took place on Thursday last, being convened for the purpose of petitioning his Majesty on the present alarming crisis. In the first instance, a requisition had been presented to the boroughreeve and constables, signed by 350 persons, to call a meeting, but they had refused, on the grounds stated in the advertisement

in our last, and therefore the meeting was convened by the requisitionists, to be held in the Manor Court-room, Brown-street. Eleven o'clock was the hour fixed upon, and by that time, such was the interest felt on the subject; that the room, which will hold about 1,300 persons, was nearly filled. Among the gentlemen occupying the upper end of the room, we observed G. W. Wood Esq., M.P. for this division of the county, Mark Philips, Esq., M.P. for the borough, Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P. for Salford, Mr. C. J. S. Walker, Mr. T. Harbottle, Mr. A. Kay, Dr. Johns, and Mr. T. Potter. Before the business commenced, Mr. Cobbett (who arrived in town on the preceding day, on his return from Ireland, and has been stopping at the Albion Hotel) was announced, and made his appearance, in company with his colleague Mr. John Fielden, Mr. T. Fielden, Mr. Croft, and others. He was received with enthusiastic cheers, and shook hands with Mr. Philips, Mr. T. Potter, and other gentlemen on the platform. The fine old man looked as well as we ever saw him look, and was in excellent spirits. He appeared much delighted with the cordiality of his reception. In a few minutes Mr. C. J. S. Walker was called to the chair, and at this time, the room being nearly full, a cry of adjournment was raised, and continued for a short time.

The CHAIRMAN, silence having been restored, then proceeded to open the business, and in the first place read the requisition, &c. He then proceeded to say that the last time he had the honour of filling the chair at a public meeting in Manchester, was under circumstances nearly similar to the present. It was in 1832, when the famous petition for stopping the supplies was agreed to. At that time, by their firmness and unanimity, the people of Manchester had prevented the Duke of Wellington from taking office; and he trusted that the exhibition of the same qualities would be made on this occasion, so as to induce the Duke to relinquish office, or to carry out the great principles of reform. (Hear). They had been told,

indeed, that they had no right to interfere in this matter. Now it was true that the King had an undoubted right to dismiss one set of servants and to choose another, as he pleased; but it was equally their right as Englishmen to express their approbation or disapprobation of what was done. (Hear). Now, they were not only justified in interfering, but they were, in his opinion, imperatively called upon to make known to his Majesty their sentiments. (Hear). They were told to wait until they knew what the Duke would do; but they were content to judge of that by what he had done. To be sure the Duke had granted Catholic emancipation, and had once promised fair to become a reformer; but since that he had made a dead stop, and had told the people of England that the rotten borough system was the most perfect system of representation that could be desired. (Hear). It was possible that a temporary stop might be put to reform by the recent events; but he could never think that the people, after using the exertions they did to wring the Reform Bill from an unwilling oligarchy, that they would rest satisfied until a complete and efficient reform had been effected in all our institutions. [The Chairman here read an extract from a pamphlet put forth by his own father, a zealous and fearless reformer of the last generation, in 1793, which was to the effect that no hazard of person or property should ever deter him from advocating the rights of the people.] That was no idle boast of his revered parent. It was well known that he had periled both; and he (the speaker) was ready and willing to follow his example if necessary. (Loud cheers). He concluded by recommending firmness and moderation, and by expressing a hope that every gentleman would be allowed a fair hearing.

At this moment, the room being crowded, and very warm, Mr. Whyatt asked whether they were to be pent up in that room, or adjourn and have an open-air meeting. Loud cries to adjourn were raised, and the Chairman expressed a perfect readiness to adjourn

if that were the wish of the meeting, but added that he believed there were no preparations for an adjournment. Some persons also suggested that the windows should be open, to let in the air. After some further talk and confusion, Mr. Whyatt said he should withdraw his motion, as there were no hustings prepared. Partial silence being obtained,

MARK PHILIPS, Esq., M.P. for the borough, came forward, and was received with loud applause. He said it was impossible for those accustomed to take an interest in passing affairs to view the present crisis with indifference. He was not come there to pronounce a funeral oration over the remains of the departed administration (hear); but this he would say, that he believed the men who had held office for the last two years had had difficulties to encounter of no trifling character (cheers and hisses); and he must confess that recent occurrences had shown the difficulties to be infinitely greater than he had before conceived them to be. With regard to the acts of that administration much difference of opinion existed. He considered that when they were called to take office they held great cards, but he was bound to admit that they had at least played their cards ill, (hear), and had greatly disappointed the just and reasonable expectations of the reformers. But as regarded the last, the untried administration, (Lord Melbourne's), he must say that they had his approbation of their conduct. He hesitated not to confess that he had great confidence in them. He saw among them men whose previous conduct, whose political career and character so far, afforded something like a guarantee that they were the advocates of measures unlike the milk-and-water policy of their predecessors. He would take upon himself to say that this administration were prepared, he would even go so far as to say that they had in print, and ready for distribution among the members, as soon as the next session of Parliament should have arrived, a measure of church reform which was not of those puny dimensions which some

previous measures had been; and that they were prepared, at an early period of the next session, as soon as the report of the commissioners could be laid before them, to submit to the House a searching and efficient measure of municipal reform. To do them justice, he was willing to give them credit for good intentions, and for a sincere desire to pacify Ireland; and he firmly believed that they were wishful to promote economy and peace. (Cries of Hear, and No, no). He had hoped to support them in the next session of Parliament in their measures, instead of, as heretofore, being compelled so frequently to vote in opposition to the Government. Well, but the untried Government had been dismissed. It was not for him to say at whose instigation, but dismissed they had been, without explanation as to the cause. The Tory press, to be sure, had declared that Lord Melbourne had set forth to the King the difficulties which the Government then laboured under. He (Mr. Philips) would take upon himself to say that this was a base and a treacherous falsehood. (Hear). The Government had taken measures to supply the place of Lord Althorp, and they had made no statement of any difficulties, in their communications with his Majesty. [A band of music was here heard in the streets; the cry for an adjournment was again raised, and it was some time before the hon. Member was able to proceed. Seeing these interruptions, the hon. Member asked if it was his pleasure of the meeting to adjourn, as in that case he would be glad to move the adjournment. Mr. Wroe also addressed the meeting on the subject of an adjournment, and said, that unless accommodation were prepared outside of the speakers, &c., the inconvenience would be as great as at present experienced. Mr. W. here left the room, to make inquiries as to the possibility of an adjournment, and Mr. Philips resumed.] He stated these facts, leaving the meeting to draw their own conclusions from them. But now they came to talk of the Duke, who, like another "admirable Chrichton," had recently

been fulfilling the duties of every department of the state, and wanted nothing to complete the full measure of his glory, but the lawn sleeves and mitre of his Grace of Canterbury, the primate of all England; he would then, indeed, be at once the head of the church and the state. (Hear). The Duke must indeed be a bold man; he was willing to grant that he was a brave man, and he would say that he had been a fortunate man; but he must also be a bold man to undertake the control of affairs at this crisis. He had been already once routed by the reformers; and he (the speaker) suspected that he would still find the reformers to be of sterner stuff, and presenting a more uncompromising front, than the French had shown at Waterloo. (Hear). Could they expect reform from the man who had declared reform to be unnecessary? (Hear). Could they believe that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland were to be maintained, unless the Government were prepared to do justice to Ireland; and he would put it to this meeting to say, whether the Duke was the man to render justice? (Cries of No, no). Had not the Duke declared such meetings as that which he, the speaker, then had the honour to address; had he not declared such meetings farces? (Hear). Would he grant such a measure of municipal reform as would enable the inhabitants of that town to elect in a proper manner their own magistrates, and their own municipal officers, who would call them together in their own town-hall when required so to do, instead of subjecting them to the caprice or the party spirit of those whom he would designate as the mere nominees of the lord of the manor's steward? (Loud cheers). Did they expect that the Duke of Wellington would so reform the system of taxation, as to relieve the productive industry of this country? (No, no). Did they think the Duke likely to carry out those principles which would promote the peace of Europe; or were the views he entertained on the foreign policy of the country likely to maintain our commercial prosperity? (Hear). Would he promote education, and so far promote the welfare and happiness of the people? (Hear). Would he remove the stamp-tax on newspapers? (A cry of—"Have the Whigs done that?") It was said that the Duke intended to dissolve Parliament. Knowing his (the speaker's) sentiments respecting the duration of Parliaments, the meeting would not think that he could find fault with this, especially as the elections and the character of the House of Commons were now in the hands of the people. Let the people but remain true to the principles they professed two years ago, and success against the Duke was certain. (Hear). They knew what they had to expect from the Tories. They would leave no means untried,—bribery, corruption, intimidation, and threat, would all be used to stave off that reform which had—he hoped but for a moment—been dashed from us. He could not but contemplate the present crisis with great alarm. He feared that Ireland would suffer immeasurably from the re-attainment of office of the Tories; that our foreign policy would be subverted, and the liberties of Spain, Portugal, and even France itself, put in jeopardy. [At this moment there was considerable noise and confusion, as the cry for an adjournment was renewed, and several persons were endeavouring to speak on the subject at once. In the midst of it Mr. Potter exclaimed, "Don't lend yourselves to the Tories by creating confusion." Mr. Prentice here mounted the table, having been along with Mr. Wroe to make inquiries respecting the adjournment. He said it was true there were a number of gentlemen outside who were unable to gain admittance; the only place they could adjourn to was Stevenson-square (in Lever-street), but even there the meeting would be liable to interruption, as the square was continually traversed by carts. Mr. Phillips was here able to resume his address]. He would not detain the meeting above a couple of minutes longer, when he would himself move the adjournment if they deemed it necessary. (Hear). He urged the meeting, as they valued the principles of reform, as they cherished a love for everything that was good and

great in the institutions of our country, to observe the utmost possible unanimity in the contest in which they were about to engage. He would press upon their attention the sound advice of Lord Durham, to be unanimous in heart and hand. The Philistines were upon them; but it only required one determined and vigorous effort to shake them off for ever. (Hear).

As the call for an adjournment became louder and more general, the chairman now interfered, and said that if it was the pleasure of that meeting to adjourn he would consent to it immediately, as he had no objection to meet his fellow-townsmen in any place or situation; but he was not quite certain that such was the general wish. It was true there were a number of gentlemen present who wished for a division among them. (Cheers and hisses). He wanted to know why, if it were intended that the proceedings in that room should be heard, a band of music was allowed to be playing in the street. (The band before spoken of was at this time playing very loudly). Who brought that band here? (A cry of "The Tories!"). The motion for an adjournment was here moved by Mr. Philips, seconded by Mr. Prentice, and was carried unanimously, upon which the meeting repaired to Stevenson-square.

It was exactly twelve o'clock when the adjournment took place. Upon arriving at the appointed site, we found a commodious hustings erected in Mr. Kearsley's timber-yard, exactly opposite the Leeds and Halifax Commercial Inn. The crowd by this time had become very large—upwards of 10,000 persons according to the ordinary newspaper calculation; but certainly there were nearly 8,000 at one time, a fact upon which we can speak pretty confidently, from the calculations which we and others were enabled to make. Mr. Cobbett accompanied the multitude to the place, and sat behind the speakers during a great part of the proceedings. Mr. Walker having again taken the chair,

Mr. Philips resumed his address. He repeated the advice given by Lord

Durham, respecting unanimity, of heart and hand. Let them exert themselves to pull down the Duke of Wellington from his bad pre-eminence and afterwards, none dared to refuse those reforms to which the country were duly entitled, as the consequences of the Reform Bill. Whoever his Majesty might call to his councils,—whether Lord Durham or Lord Melbourne,—that individual must proceed steadily in the march of reform, without turning on one side, that so we might have secured to us the full benefit of those measures which the people had been so long and so nobly struggling for.—The hon. member concluded by moving the resolution, which was to the effect that the present critical state of affairs demanded for the people of Manchester the public expression of their sentiments, and also that an address be presented to the King, entreating his Majesty to intrust the administration of the government to those statesmen only whose known principles would be an assurance to the country for the carrying forward of those beneficial measures which the people had a right to expect as the fruits of the Reform Bill, and who would remove every acknowledged abuse in church and state.

Mr. CHARLES HINDLEY, of Dukinfield, came forward to second the resolution. He expressed his pleasure at witnessing so large a meeting, on such an occasion. They had met for no party purpose; they had not met to call upon the King to reinstate the Whigs or to dismiss the Tories. They took a much higher ground; the ground of pure and exalted patriotism. There were no doubt men of worth and honesty to be found among all parties; but he should rejoice when the time should come that the Government would be intrusted to men without reference to the party to which they should belong; for party struggles and disputes had been the source of much injury to the people at large. He repeated, they came not there to praise the Whigs. He did consider that when that party took the reins, they ought to have known better how to work the engine, so as to pro-

mote the liberty and happiness of the people. They had, by their milk-and-water measures, measures which were as unpalatable as the mixture by which they were designated, disappointed the just expectations of the honest reformers. They had told the country, indeed, that the Reform Bill was to be a final measure. Now, a tailor might as well tell his customer, when fitting him with his last new coat, that this was to be a final measure, whether he grew fat or lean; a tailor might use this language with as much reason as a government could apply it to a nation always progressing in intelligence and knowledge. (Hear). New wants would call for new remedies; and nothing was more false or monstrous in political science than to call any measure a final measure (Hear). But though he spoke thus of the Parliament under Lord Grey, he must say that the Government of Lord Melbourne had inspired him with better hopes. What Lord Melbourne might have done of course he could not say; but certainly what he had done did not entitle him to the uncourteous dismissal he had experienced at the hand of his Majesty. With respect to the Duke, what could they expect from a man who, two years ago, had declared the then system of representation to be the most perfect possible? Could they expect such a man to turn round suddenly and grant all the reforms they desired? (Hear). The *London Times* of that evening, to be sure, had a very notable idea, namely, that at the conversion of an old sinner there was always great joy among the faithful. He would fain persuade us that this old Duke had repented of all his political vices, and was ready to grant us all we pleased. But where was the evidence of this conversion? He (the speaker) knew, indeed, that the Duke had been converted; but it was a conversion not of principle but of place; he had been converted from Apsley House to Downing-street (cheers and laughter); and he for one would never trust him till he had given more decisive evidence of his readiness to carry out the great principle of reform. They were told, indeed,

that they had some evidence in the fact of the Duke having carried Catholic emancipation. Yes, but that had cost neither him nor his party a single farthing; but let the reform of those abuses now called for be carried, and it would affect materially their pockets and emoluments. After an allusion to the probable policy of the Wellington government, as set forth in the sentiments expressed by a friend of the Duke's (Lord Strangford), and which were strictly anti-reforming, the speaker urged upon the meeting the importance of unanimity, as by means of that they could carry all their measures, whereas without it they could carry none of them. He alluded to the declaration of Mr. O'Connell on the subject, who had said that he would sink all questions, even the repeal question, until the reformers had again possession of the camp. In the words of Lord Durham, "Let them unite, and let their motto be, Union, liberty, reform, and the constitution." (Cheers).

JOHN FILLDEN, Esq., M.P. for Oldham, next presented himself, and was loudly cheered. He addressed the meeting at very great length, in illustration of the "great and good deed" of the defunct Ministry, at such length, indeed, that we can give but a mere outline of his admirable speech. The last speakers had told them that the Melbourne administration had done no acts which should make the people dissatisfied with them. Why, they had passed the second Coercion Bill for Ireland (Hear); and they had also passed a coercion bill for England; that bill which was misnamed the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and which was one of the most infamous measures that had ever disgraced the administration of any Government. These were the acts of the Melbourne administration; and he (Mr. F.) hoped the meeting would convince the people of England that they at least were satisfied with his Majesty for having dismissed a set of men who were unworthy of the confidence of the nation. (Hear). But there were many acts of omission as well as commission of which the Whig ad-

ministration had been guilty. He (Mr. F.) had had an opportunity of witnessing their proceedings for the last two years, and no man who had paid attention to his votes could imagine that he would lament the breaking up, by any means, of such an administration. He recollected the great meeting two years ago, when he had the honour of being one of a deputation to London to pray the House of Commons to stop the supplies. They expected at that time that some relief from their burdens would result from the success of that step. But had the Whigs relieved them? (Hear). Had they not rather increased their burdens by adding to the standing army? (Loud cheers). Was this, then, an administration to mourn and weep after? (No). No; he hoped and believed that the people would rather rejoice at their dismissal. (Cheers) What the Duke might be he knew not; but he would be compelled, like his predecessors, to turn out, unless he was prepared to effect those reforms which the people were so anxiously looking forward to. But the late administration had prided themselves on carrying the Reform Bill. Why, they had obtained it by the most subservient House of Commons that the country ever saw; and they had, therefore, greater means of doing good than any administration which had preceded them; but instead of availing themselves of this, they turned their backs upon all their former professions, and refused to do those things for the effecting of which they were so clamorous when out of office. (Loud cheers). Even the Reform Bill, about which they had made such a boast, and upon the strength of which they made such large claims upon the confidence and gratitude of the people; even this bill, by the operation of the clauses relative to the payment of rates; most unjust and iniquitous clauses: this bill had given 500,000 fewer voters in the whole kingdom, than the honest friends of the measure had calculated upon. (Hear). They had refused to repeal the Septennial Act, and had also withheld the ballot, although they had strenuously advocated both these measures in

opposition to the Tories, when the latter were in power. (Hear). Another thing which the people had prayed for, and in support of which they had presented thousands of petitions, was the repeal of the malt-tax. [Mr. Fielden here narrated the circumstances attendant upon the passing of Sir William Ingilby's motion on this subject, and the recalling of the vote in a few evenings afterwards on the threat of a property-tax by Lord Althorp]. Another popular measure which the Whig Government had failed to effect, and there again basely violated their pledge, was the repeal of the stamp-tax, respecting which a motion had been introduced by his hon. colleague, Mr. Cobbett, in a most admirable speech. To be sure, Mr. Spring Rice, in answer to a question from Mr. Cobbett, after much shuffling and evasion, had stated that he had a bill in his pocket on the subject: but after the delay of one session this bill was thrown upon the table, was not even printed, and no one could ever tell what had become of it. Then they had refused to abolish the church-rates, except an impost out of the land-tax be substituted, to the amount of 120,000*l.* per annum; but this measure, the House of Commons, having the fear of their constituents before their eyes, had refused to pass. The pension list, too, which had formed one of the most favourite topics of descant with the Whigs when out of office, the pension list remained unrevised; and Mr. Robinson's motion for a property-tax, instead of a tax on the necessities of life, had also met with the opposition of the Whig Government. When he thought of those things he felt thankful to his Majesty; and he hoped the meeting would join him in the sentiment; he felt thankful to the King for having dismissed such a Ministry (Hear). As to the Duke of Wellington, he (Mr. Fielden) had little apprehensions respecting him: he could not do worse than the Whigs had done. Only let the people be true to themselves, and they had nothing to fear from him. (Hear, and cheers). They had defeated him on a former occasion by a threat to stop the supplies, and to make a run

for, gold; and they could rout him again if necessary. (Loud cheers). Mr. Fielden next spoke of the Factory Bill touching which he dwelt with great severity on the conduct of the late Government. That bill was now found so defective that it was proposed to be altered in principle; and this, too, not on the suggestion of the factory people, who were most interested in the matter; but on the suggestion of the inspectors, whom he designated spies, and said he always admitted them into his factory, and treated them as spies. (Hear). He repeated that he rejoiced that a Ministry which had done all this had been hurled from power. He hoped the King would never again call them to his councils; and if better Ministers could not be found, then, indeed, the best days of England were departed from her, and nothing but anarchy and confusion might be expected to follow. (Loud cheers). In most that, he (Mr. F.) had said he had but told the meeting what the Whigs had not done; among the things which they had done were some which would disgrace them for ever. Among these was the Irish Coercion Bill, the exceeding severity of which was such, that the Government had actually made a boast of it, as being a quality of such extreme degree, that it was unlikely that it would ever become a precedent for any future measure. (Shame). Then there was the Slave Emancipation Bill, wherein a loan of fifteen millions was speedily converted into a gift of twenty millions, and all this while the Government had endeavoured to prove to the planters that free labour was more productive than slave labour. (Hear). As to the Reform Bill, that was carried by the people, and carried in its present shape, bad as it was, against, as he verily believed, the wish of both Whigs and Tories. (Cheers). Then there was the new police, for the maintenance of which one-fourth of the cost was taken out of the national exchequer. But worst of all those was the infamous Poor-law Bill, which took the administration of the poor's affairs out of the hands of the inhabitants of the 13,000 parishes in which it had been

for generations vested (and who also found the money), and lodged it with three gentlemen in London who had no knowledge of or interest in the matter. And would the people submit to this? No, not if the Whigs or even the King himself should will it. (Loud cheers). A storm was brewing of the most alarming character. The people would not live on potatoes and salt, as it was proposed to make them. Lord Althorp had told the House that this precious Poor-law Bill was for the purpose of raising the rate of wages. He (Mr. F.) had told him that he had begun at the wrong end; he had told him to first pass a law, rather, to ensure high wages, and then this bill would be rendered useless. (Cheers). He (Mr. F.) did not want to divide the meeting, but he wanted a few expressions of public opinion. It was important that they should give vent to such expression, and also, whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the dismissal of the Whig Ministry. With regard to the Duke of Wellington, he (Mr. F.) had quite as much confidence in him as in Lord Melbourne. (Cheers). He did not wish to interfere with the King's prerogative. Let the people look at the proper selection of those who held the power to control both the King and the Duke, in holding the strings of the national purse. (Cheers). With regard to the present House of Commons, he hoped the King would as unceremoniously dismiss them as he had the Ministry; for they were the basest that had ever sat within the walls of Parliament. Mr. Fielden concluded by moving an amendment, which was read by Mr. Bakewell, Mr. B. remarking that he approved of every word contained therein. It was to the effect that the meeting had heard with satisfaction that his Majesty had dismissed from his councils those Ministers who had disgraced the name of reform, by introducing and carrying through Parliament a Coercion Bill for Ireland, and a Poor-law Bill which was intended to rob the industrious part of the people of their just amount of wages, and to induce them to subsist on coarser food;

men who had resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest of all burdens, the 'duty' on malt; who had, in the face of their solemn pledge, refused inquiry into the duration of Parliaments, with a view to the shortening thereof and who had most shamefully broken their promise to revise the duty on stamps: who had exercised a degree of severity regarding the liberty of the press, hitherto unequalled except in the years 1817 and 1819; who had refused all reform in matters relating to the church and state; and who had deceived the people by promises which it was now manifest they had never intended to fulfil. The reading of this amendment was received with loud cheers.

GEORGE WM. WOOD, Esq., M.P. for the southern division of the county, then rose to reply to Mr. Fielden. He said his friend Mr. Fielden had presented a long bill of indictment against the late Ministry, (a cry of "It's true"). but their merits or demerits was not the question which that meeting was called upon to try. (Yes, it is). The original question had no reference to Whig or Tory policy, or measure, whether good or bad; it was simply, that the meeting should express its opinion whether or not it was desirable that his Majesty should call to his councils those men who would honestly and sincerely follow up those reforms in the institutions of the country which the people might consider necessary. This was the simple question they were called upon to decide, and he entreated the meeting not to be led away from it by any arguments, however ingenious or powerful. The King had an undoubted right to exercise his prerogative; but so had the people to express their sentiments as to the course which his Majesty ought to take, and to say whether the Duke of Wellington was a person fitted to administer the affairs of the country at this moment. He (Mr. W.) believed that he was not the fit person at this time. The new liberties of the country were yet of too tender age to be intrusted to the unpromising custody of

the Duke of Wellington as stepfather. (Hear and laughter). The hon. Member concluded by giving his support to the original motion.

Mr. COBBETT (the call for him becoming unanimous) now made his appearance, and was again enthusiastically cheered. He doffed his top-coat, at the same time saying in an undertone, "I must pull off my coat to these Whigs"; and adjusted his dress with great glee, apparently enjoying in anticipation the tremendous flagellation he was about to inflict upon the wretched culprits. Having already devoted so much space to these important proceedings, we can give but a mere outline of Mr. Cobbett's short, but powerful address; we regret this the less, however, as we shall next week have opportunity of doing more ample justice to the hon. Member. "I am glad to see you all, gentlemen," he commenced, "with such merry faces. You are not all in tears, I see, at the fall of the Whigs. (Laughter). You have been called upon, gentlemen, to express something to the King for having exercised his authority in a certain way. Some people, indeed, want you to express sorrow and lamentation. But why? What has the King done? It is not for us to inquire what his Majesty shall do hereafter; but what has he done already? Done, gentlemen! Why he has driven from his councils a set of men who have been more hostile to the liberties of the people, and more cruel to the working men of England, than any administration within my recollection. (Cheers). I have read the two resolutions and the address which you have agreed to, and they have given me great pleasure; but I have heard with still greater pleasure the resolution of censure you have passed upon the Duke of Wellington, for having supported the Whig Coercion Bill (Hear,) the Whig Poor-law Bill, and—what's the other? [Here Mr. Cobbett looked inquiringly round]. Oh, for having voted against the repeal of the malt-tax, which, by-the-by, he never did. (Laughter). No, no; the Whigs took precious care that that should never go before him.

(Cheers). And what do you want more than this? One party brings forward resolutions and an address; the other provides a resolution of censure; and by means of both you express all that, as honest Englishmen, you are called upon to express. But why is the Duke censured, eh? Because, gentlemen, he has acted like the Whigs. (Cheers). And why are you to refrain from expressions of pleasure at the chasing of these Whigs from the King's presence? What have they done, that you should feel other than pleasure at their dismissal: Mr. Philips has told you, and that is their strong argument, that the Whigs have had great difficulties to encounter. Suppose they have: had they the Poor-law Bill to encounter? (Cheers). That was surely their own work; and if they did dash their brains out against a stone-wall, the noodles built the wall first at any rate. (Cheers). Did the Tories compel them to pass this, or did they compel them not to take off the malt-tax, a tax which makes you pay sixpence for a pot of beer instead of twopence. Did the Tories do that? No; but the House of Commons, of which, I being a member of it, I shall say nothing, (laughter), the House of Commons one night agreed, on the motion of Sir William Ingilby, to take off ten shilling of the 20s. 8d. which this tax amounts to, and almost the next night the Whigs, those very Whigs whose dismissal you have been called upon to lament, threatened to leave the King's service if the tax were not put on again. The Tories did not do this at any rate." (Loud cheers). Mr. Cobbett continued to speak, with the most withering sarcasm of the conduct of the Whig Government touching the stamp laws, the press, the Dissenters' grievances, &c. He then warmly congratulated the meeting on the character of their proceedings, thanked them on behalf of his constituents, and concluded amidst loud cheers. The meeting then quietly separated, at nearly four o'clock.

Manchester, 27. November, 1834.

At a most numerous and highly re-

spectable meeting of the inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity, convened by 350 requisitors, and held this day in the Manor Court Room, and from thence adjourned to Stevenson-square, C. J. S. Wankaa, Esq. in the chair; the following resolutions and address were carried:

Moved by John Fielden, Esq., M. P.; seconded by Mr. W. G. Seed:

Resolved, "That we, assembled at this meeting, have heard with great satisfaction, that his Majesty has dismissed from his councils those Ministers who have disgraced the name of reform, by introducing into Parliament, and carrying through, the Coercion Bill, adding to the cruelties already endured by our fellow-subjects in Ireland; who have introduced and carried through the Poor-law "Amendment" Bill, manifestly intended to rob the industrious part of the people of England of their just wages, and to reduce them to a coarser food, or to starvation itself, who have resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest of all burdens, the duty upon malt; who, in the face of their pledges to the contrary, have refused to entertain the question whether the duration of Parliaments ought not to be shortened, and whether the ballot, as a mode of voting, ought not to be adopted; who have shamefully broken their solemn promise to revise the duty on stamps; who have, in their executive capacity, exercised oppressions with regard to the poorer and more defenceless part of our fellow-subjects, have exceeded those of the most severe of their predecessors, save and except those of 1817, 1819; and who have perseveringly refused all real reforms in church and state, while they have, by endless procrastination, amused the people with an affectation of intending to do that which it is manifest they never intended to do.

Moved by Mr. John Whyatt; seconded by William Croft, Esq.:

Resolved, "That an address expressive of these sentiments, be presented to his Majesty by this meeting, and expressing

at the same time our anxious hope that his Majesty, in the exercise of that prerogative, which for our good it is necessary that he should freely exercise, will now, taught by sad experience the consequence of permitting his royal councils to be influenced by unworthy men in choosing other to supply their place, be directed by his most gracious disposition, and will not select any men who will not be ready to act on the principles of real reform, to do the utmost in their power to relieve the burdens and to restore the liberties and happiness of his people, and thereby to give the best possible security for the stability of his Majesty's throne.

Moved by James Bakewell, Esq.; seconded by Mr. Summers :

Resolved, That the following address be presented to his Majesty :

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The humble address of the inhabitant of the town of Manchester.

May it please your Majesty,—We your Majesty's dutiful subjects, the inhabitants of Manchester, in town meeting assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with an expression of our great satisfaction on hearing that your Majesty has been pleased to dismiss from your councils those Ministers who have disgraced the name of reform by introducing into Parliament, and carrying through, the Coercion Bill, adding to the cruelties already endured by our fellow-subjects in Ireland; who have introduced, and carried through, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, manifestly intended to rob the industrious part of the people of England of their just wages, and to reduce them to a coarser food, or to starvation itself; who have resisted every motion for alleviating the burdens of the people, and particularly that heaviest burden of all burdens, the duty on malt; who, in the face of their pledges to the contrary, have refused to entertain the question whether the duration

of Parliaments ought not to be shortened; and whether the ballot as a mode of voting, ought not to be adopted; who have shamefully broken their solemn promise to revise the duty on stamps; who have, in their executive capacity, exercised oppressions with regard to the press hitherto unequalled; whose severities towards the poor and more defenceless part of our fellow-subjects, have exceeded those of the most severe of their predecessors, save and except in 1817 and 1819; and who have perseveringly refused all real reform in church and state, while they have, by endless procrastination, amused the people with an affectation of intending to do that which it is manifest they never intended to do.

While thus we express our deep sense of gratitude for your Majesty's having upon this occasion exercised in this manner that prerogative which it is necessary for our good that your Majesty should freely exercise, we beg most humbly to express our anxious hopes that, taught by sad experience the consequence of permitting your royal councils to be influenced by wild and unworthy men, your Majesty will, in the choosing of others to supply their place, be directed by your own most gracious disposition; and that your Majesty will not be prevailed upon to select any man who will not be ready to act on any principles of real reform, to the utmost in their power, to lighten the burdens and to restore the liberties and happiness of your industrious and faithful people, and thereby give the best possible security to the stability of your Majesty's throne.

Moved by George Condry, Esq.; seconded by ——— :

Resolved, That the address now read be signed by the chairman on behalf of his meeting, and that he forward the same to the Earl of Durham; and request that his Lordship will be pleased to present the same to his Majesty.

Moved by A. Prentice, Esq.; seconded by Mr. John Doherty :

Resolved, That while this meeting withholds its approval of the late administration, it cannot separate without

expressing its strong disapprobation of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington in supporting the Coercion Bill, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and other oppressive measures; and declares that it has no hope that the anti-reform party, of which he is the head, will ever carry into effect any measure of real reform. Moved by Charles Hindley, Esq.; seconded by ————:

Resolved, That the best thanks of this meeting be given to C. J. S. Walker, Esq., for his readiness in occupying the office of chairman, and for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

KINGSLEY, J., Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, sheep-jobber.
WIFFEN, W., Alpha Cottages, St. John's Wood, plumber.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SMITH, S., King William street, saddler.

BANKRUPTS.

ABRAHAM, A. E., Exeter, optician.
BELL, G., Chertsey, Surrey, tailor.
BRADLEY, B., and R. Cattel, White Hart-court, Lombard-street, wine-merchants.
BRAY, A., Red Lion-yard, Holborn, horse-dealer.
CALDWELL, M., Austinfriars, merchant.
COATES, J., Worcester, woollen-draper.
FORSTER, J., Easingwold, Yorkshire, money-scrivener.
HAINE, W. F., Leamington, Warwickshire, surgeon.
HASSELL, J. N., Shrewsbury, mercer.
HUNT, H. F., St. Mary at Hill, wine-merchant.
JONES, A., and J. Foyster, Halstead, Essex, ribbon-manufacturers.
PHILLIPS, G., and J. Whittow, Haverford-west, linen-draper.
RABY, B., Preston, Lancashire, innkeeper.
SMALL, A. D., St. Peter, Herefordshire, dealer in cattle.
SMITH, J. D., Norwood, stable keeper.
STEVENS, J. S., Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, plumber.
WINCH, J., Stratford, Essex and Cambridge-heath, Bethnal-green, coach-master.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2

BANKRUPTS.

ASHWORTH, S., Houghton Hall, Lancashire, hat-manufacturer.

ATKIN, J., Bridgewater-square, stationer.
BELL, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.
BLANKLEY, E., Bloomsbury-market, plumber.
BLIGH, R., Bishop Auckland, Durham, surgeon.
BOOTHROYD, J., Stayley-bridge, Lancashire, stone-mason.
BROWN, J., Wapping-wall, victualler.
CHURCHILL, E., Cardiff, Glamorganshire, shoe-maker.
CROSSLEY, B., Rotherham, Yorkshire, tailor.
EADS, J., Stonehouse, Devonport, silk mercer.
ELKINGTON, W., Birmingham, money-scrivener.
GRAY, R., King-street, Aldgate, ironmonger.
HICKS, J. P. and E., Eastington, Gloucestershire, clothiers.
JONES, T., Little Newport-street, Leicester-square, trimming-seller.
MASON, S., Liverpool, victualler.
MOORE, R., Brighton, hotel-keeper.
RIPLEY, W., Sheffield, builder.
SMITH, T. D., Norwood, Surrey, stable-keeper.
WESTLY, W. K., Salford, Lancashire, flax-spinner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 1.—Though the supplies of Wheat from Kent and Suffolk were only moderate, and from Essex rather less than usual, yet the trade opened heavily, and merely the selected samples realized the rates of this day's brought, while all other descriptions proved slow sale even at a decline of 1s. per quarter. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

The show of Barley was not large, but the maltsters evincing little disposition to purchase, good qualities of Chevalier as well as other malting Barley was 1s. per quarter lower than last Monday, the ale brewers alone taking extra parcels of Chevalier at the previous rates. Distilling and grinding parcels participated in the decline. Foreign malting Barley was offering at 37s. to 39s. duty free.

Malt was dull, and rather cheaper, 64s. being a top quotation.

Oats in fair supply, but dealers not exhibiting much inclination to purchase, awaiting further arrivals, the trade was by no means brisk, though Monday's prices were realized for the sales effected. In bonded qualities nothing doing.

Beans coming to hand more freely, were 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper.

White boiling Peas, in consequence of the mildness of the weather, are heavy sale, and prices barely supported. Few parcels of grey or mangle Peas offering, and quotations fully maintained.

The Flour trade dull, and ship marks slow sale at the quotations.

The Government contract announced on the 25. of November for 2,000 quarters of red, and 500 qrs. of white Wheat, as well as 500 qrs. of Peas, part deliverable in three weeks, and the remainder in six weeks afterwards, had had no influence on the trade.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new	40s. to 44s.
Old	44s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 45s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	40s. to 44s.
Fine white	44s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	44s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good, A.....	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 34s.
Old ..	34s. to 35s.
Barley, English, gridding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling	30s. to 34s.
Ma'tin	34s. to 36s.
Chevalier ..	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Peas, White, English	34s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples	42s. to 45s.
Oats, Polonds	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 24s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	26s. to 28s.
Old	27s. to 31s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Old	27s. to 29s.
Irish Potato, new.....	23s. to 25s.
Old	23s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	24s. to 25s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.....	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —.
— York	38s. to —.
Cheese, Dble Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto.....	44s. to 48s.

— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 1.

This day's supply of Beasts and Porkers was great; the supply of sheep and calves rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About two-sixths of the Beasts were Short-horns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 50 Town-end cows, 20 Sussex beasts, a few Staffords, &c.

About three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about one-fifth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, Ryelands, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersetts, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,000 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Shorthorns, about 150 of them Scots, and the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts and Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern districts; about 250, fully four-fifths of which were Scots; the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Welsh runts, and homebreds, with a few Irish beasts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 130, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 40, a full moiety of which were Sussex beasts, the remainder runts, Devons, and Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder from the neighbourhood of London.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. ann. }	91	91½	—	91½	91½	91

CURE OF A VIOLENT ASTHMA.

To Mr. Dr. H. Hyatt, General Agent for Yorkshire.

DEAR SIR, — A lady, Hannah Herring, in the village of Billingley, gave the following account to me, desiring that I would give it, for the benefit of the public, every publicity. She had been for twenty-eight years afflicted with a most violent cough, great difficulty in breathing, expectorated largely, and

prevented from taking any regular rest. Frequently she had to sit up whole nights, and at other times was confined to her bed six months at a time, during which confinements every day was expected to be her last. She tried the regular methods of the faculty, without deriving any lasting benefit. At length, hearing of the astonishing effects of Morison's Medicine upon others, she applied to me for the pills, and, after taking a few boxes, the cough, difficulty in breathing, and every other symptom of disease, began to disappear, add, with perseverance, a cure was obtained; yes, sir, she says a perfect cure, as eleven months have passed, and she has not had a return of her old complaint, to the great honour of the Hygienic cause. She is willing to give every information to any person who may wish to be acquainted with the particulars of the case.

The next is a cure of Scarlet Fever. This day four weeks, I was called on to attend a child, the son of Mr W. Watson, that was very ill of Scarlet Fever. At the commencement of its illness, it was much relaxed, a medical gentleman was called in, who began with the usual methods of mistreatment, for it became costive after taking his medicine the child of course became worse daily, until neither the parents nor the doctor had any hopes of its recovery. To this low ebb was the child reduced when I was called in, I ordered it to have six pills of No. 2, immediately, two hours after I called again, ordered it to have six pills more, when I came the doctor, who, in my presence, said there was no hope of its recovery, yet he ordered leeches, to keep down, as he said, inflammation. When the M.D. had gone, I ordered the leeches not to be applied, reasoning with them, from what the doctor had said, that there was inflammatory matter (humour) in the system; again in the evening it had eight pills. I called next morning (Saturday) found it a little better, gave it six pills, during the day it had two more doses, six pills at a time. I called next morning (Sunday) found it much better, and out of all danger. Its discharges were of the most offensive kind, but it continued some time taking one dose daily, which assisted nature to throw out the redundant humours. The child is yet weakly, but in good health, with a good appetite.

The next is a discharge of worms. I will here just mention, that a boy parted with three tape-worms, by taking the pills; the first was five yards long, the second three yards, and the third two yards long. Yours most obediently,

WILLIAM STUBBS.

87, West-street, Sheffield,
20. April, 1834

PROSPECTIVE ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION, instituted by FRANCIS CORBAUX, F.R.S., for providing, on Marriage, ENDOWMENTS to the CHILDREN issuing therefrom, and for other Purposes.

CAPITAL—ONE MILLION, in 5,000 Shares of £100 each. A Deposit of £1 per share to be made at Messrs. PRESCOTT, GROTE, and Co's, Bankers, Threadneedle-street; or at Messrs. HERRIES, FARQUHAR, and Co's, Bankers, St James's street, on the allotment of Shares being made by the Board.

This Association, in contemplation of or subsequently to any Marriage, will, for a contribution once paid, depending as to its amount on the Wife's age, grant to the Children thereafter issuing from such Marriage, how many soever in number, Endowments available to each, on completing any agreed year of age, and to be an exclusive property of the Children for whom contracted, it will also undertake to pay agreed sums at early periods from the birth of each Child, such to be the property of the Parents. It will grant Endowments available at optional ages, to Children individually, and actually born, or on approaching Birth: it will undertake to pay, on a Husband's demise, either a Reversionary Sum, or a Jointure by Annuity to his Widow and lastly, in case of any endowed person contracting Marriage previous to the age at which the Endowment should become available, it will, for an equitable consideration, absolutely assure payment to the representatives of that person at the originally-stipulated period, in the event of intervening death. It is reserved hereafter to annex other branches of business in analogy with the above.

Contributions may be entirely discharged at the time of contracting, or be converted into annual payments, whether for terms of years certain, or else made to depend on life contingencies, with or without security, thus affording the Public every accommodation consistent with safety.

The Benefits intended to be conferred will extend to all classes; having in view to protect large families against the vicissitudes of fortune, whilst the beneficent provision, multiplying as the Family increases, will possess certainty as to time, and exemption from requiring the previous death of a Parent. The plan of this Institution, matured during very many years, having met with the highest approbation wherever communicated, and in particular of many at the head of public affairs, a degree of popularity unprecedented in the annals of Provident Institutions is confidently expected.

A List of the Directors will shortly be announced. In the meantime, applications for Shares are received, and Prospectuses (exhibiting extracts from the Tables) may be had of Messrs. Lacy and Bridges, Solicitors to the Association, 19, King's Arms Yard, Coleman-street.

FRANCIS CORBAUX.
Managing Director.

A SPECIAL CAUTION.—Whereas numerous frauds are constantly practised by persons substituting for BETTS' PATENT FRENCH DISTILLED BRANDY, articles spurious in their character, and decidedly inferior in all their qualities; and the continuance of such practices, when undetected being naturally calculated to create a prejudice against the legitimate article, J. T. BETTS and Co. may stand excused for earnestly cautioning the public against forming any opinion of what may be represented as their Brandy, without previously satisfying themselves of its identity. Whenever this is done they feel assured that any existing prejudice, however deeply rooted, must yield to the manifest superiority of its quality; and the wide difference between theirs and the articles thus fraudulently substituted for it, will, by comparison, be rendered apparent to even the least experienced persons. By this test, and upon the intrinsic merits of their Brandy, they are perfectly willing that it should stand or fall.

It is not without some degree of reluctance that J. T. Betts and Co. again press upon public attention the subjoined testimonials, selected from many others of eminent chemists, by whom their Brandy has been analysed; but the continuance of the frauds to which they have here adverted, compel them to adduce in its favour the evidence of names whose high character and talent are beyond all question.

EXTRACTS FROM TESTIMONIALS.

"Your Brandy is free from uncombined acid and astringent matter, which exists more or less in most of the Brandy imported from France.

"JOHN THOMAS COOPER,
"Lecturer on Chemistry."

"To Mr. Betts."

"I am bound to say, and do assert it with confidence, that for purity of spirit this cannot be surpassed, and that your Patent Brandy is also quite free from those acids which, though minute in quantity, always contaminate the foreign spirit.

"JOSEPH HUME,
"Chemist to his Majesty."

"J. T. Betts, Esq."

J. T. Betts and Co. may further be allowed to state, that they are not connected with any other house, and that they do not sell any other article than Brandy, which is of the highest legal strength, and may, at all times, be tasted at their distillery, No. 7, Smithfield-bars, their only establishment; where it may be had, either pale or coloured, at 18s. per Imperial Gallon, sent to any part of town, in quantities not less than two gallons, for cash on delivery.

Established nearly forty years, at No. 4, Holborn Side of Bloomsbury-square.

THE IRISH LINEN COMPANY beg leave to state that the above House is their only establishment. Purchasers are requested to take notice, that since the dissolution of the Irish Linen Board, vast quantities of Shirting, Bed and Table Linen, made from an admixture of Cotton and Flax, are constantly imported from Ireland into this country, and vended to the public as genuine Linen Cloth. Such fabrications are not, and never will be sold at this Establishment; and the public may rely on being supplied with real Flaxen Cloth, the same as that sold at this House for upwards of thirty years, at greatly reduced prices. The purchase money returned should any fault appear. Good Bills and Bank of Ireland Notes taken in payment. Country and town orders punctually attended to by John Donovan, No. 4, Bloomsbury-square, Agent.

33, FLEET STREET.

Near the entrance to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., (Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers), gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public, and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash.

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finishes	£	s	d	£	s	d
Cloths	2	10	0	3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5	0	3	15	
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	4	10		6	& upwards	
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	1	10	0	to	4	0
Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0	1	10	0
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0	1	1	0
Kerseysmere Waistcoats	0	12	0	0	14	0
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0	0	10	0
Valencia and Tollenet	0	10	0	0	14	0
Silk Ditto	0	10	0	1	0	0
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0	4	10	0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Wincey Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBELL.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO

THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Weast Lodge, 8. Dec., 1834.

MY FRIENDS,

I send for your perusal a letter from myself to Mr. Hume, which I beg you to honour with your attention, as it contains *my answer* to all those who are now endeavouring to force back upon the King those men who have so oppressed and insulted us during the last four years.

I am your faithful,
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MR. HUME.

Weast Lodge, 8. Dec., 1834.

SIR,

I was compelled to break off suddenly this morning, or to postpone for another week, all notice of your letter to your constituents. I now resume the subject, re-inserting that which I addressed to you last week, as the beginning of this present letter, as thus :

I have read your address to the electors of Middlesex ; and I think it right thus publicly to address you on the subject. I have not time to notice every part of your letter ; but I gather from it that, however the thing may be disguised by the confusion of ideas, you call upon your constituents to join you in *CENSURING* the King, for placing in the hands of *one man*, temporarily, more high offices in the state than one.

Now, then, in 1806, the Whigs brought in, and passed, an act to enable *one man* to be First Lord of the Treasury, and auditor of the Treasury accounts ; a thing in the face of the law of the land, as well as of reason and public utility ; and that, too, not for a short time, but, as it might have been, for the life of that man. If you could swallow that camel, surely you can make shift to get down this gnat.

You will say, and truly, I believe, that you were not in Parliament in 1806 ; but you were in 1821 and 1822. Every one that knows any thing of the nature of our Government, knows that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the great responsible officer. The Treasury, the Admiralty, are commissions ; but the Secretary of State is the responsible person for all that the King does. Now, then, sir, in 1821, all the three Secretaries were in Ireland with the King ; and Lord LIVERPOOL, then First Lord of the Treasury, was left in charge of the three Secretary of State-ships. In 1822, Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was for the time, while the King was gone to Scotland, *Secretary of State for all the three departments* ; and remember, that the state in which he was at the time was afterwards proved before a jury in Kent !

Yet, sir, not one word did you ever say about these things, though you were in Parliament then, as well as you are now. Now, however, you will suffer no such doings : now you tell us, that if the King can do this for a week, he can do it for a month, he can do it for a year, he can do it for ever ; and you would frighten us half to death with the names of *Dictator*, *more-than-prime Minister*, and all sorts of hideous appellations.

It has been asked, why the King was in such haste ? Why, what was he to do, if he meant to continue to be King ? He found, from Lord MELBOURNE, that the whole band meant to stick in,

Chancellor and all. He had seen the great seal dragged along from JOHN O'GROAR'S house to Shanklin in the Isle of Wight; he had seen the "keeper of his conscience" telling his boozing companions that he would write to him to tell him how they had drunk his health; he had seen that there were but a few steps farther to go, before the people might believe that he was in a pot-house playing at cribbage for his crown; he had seen, or, at least, *you and I had*, with our own eyes, something as bad as this; for we had seen the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, while the House was sitting on the clauses of a bill, dancing backward and forward to obtain the *assent*, or *dissent* (as to amendments proposed by us); dancing backward and forward to STURGES BOURNE, SENIOR, COULSTON, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, whom he had perched up under the gallery, in the House itself! And there were we, "his Majesty's faithful Commons," deciding according to the "YEA" or "NAY" of SENIOR, COULSTON, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and STURGES BOURNE! Let the people clearly understand this. I say, then, that while the House of Commons was in committee, discussing the clauses of the POOR-LAW BILL, these hired fellows were sitting in the house, upon the same benches where members sit to vote; and that, when amendments, additions, or alterations, were proposed by members to be made in the clauses; and when Lord ALTHORP found that many members desired the alteration proposed, Lord ALTHORP rose from his place, took the bill in his hand, went, before our faces, and sat down with these fellows, and consulted them while we were waiting in silence for his coming back; that he came back; sometimes *yielding* to what appeared to be the wish of the House; sometimes *refusing* to yield, always having a majority to vote with him! There were two hundred and fifty of us to witness this scandalous scene; to see some of the "*reform members*" looking round towards the spot where the MENTORS were sitting, and *paying them compliments*; while, however, they heard me

describe them as a bunch of *red-herrings* stuck up in "*Lunnon*," and as the authors of a book of base lies.

Why, sir, I would rather be a dog than a King who should be compelled to keep a Ministry like this! The King did not, probably, hear of this scandalous thing; but he had heard and seen quite enough without this, to make him feel that he was fast becoming what kings of England had never yet been. "*Lower orders*"! Why, my constituents are all what insolent, up-start laziness calls "*lower orders*." It is a mass of industry and of constant labour, such as is to be found in no other country in the world. It is a working people, the height of whose ambition is to live well out of their own labour, and to enjoy their own undoubted rights. But, sir, I would pledge my existence, that there is not one man amongst them who is not ready to resent the thought of being content to be governed by a King compelled to submit to such indignities, and to be governed by laws made by a House of Commons, having this bunch of red-herrings stuck up at one end of the House, to tell it how to vote.

The truth is, that the whole thing was sinking down so fast, that, if the King had one faithful friend upon the face of the earth, that friend must have advised him to do what he did. God knows, I am proud enough of the honour done me by the people of Oldham: I am bound by every tie of gratitude to them; I am bound by my most anxious desire to better the lot of the working people, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland; I have a great desire to assist in preventing the terrific dangers which menace us; but when I saw these transactions in the House of Commons, I deliberated very seriously on the question, whether it would not be *my duty* to retire from my seat, leaving behind me my protest, by motion made in the House, against being subjected to such indescribable degradation myself; and, more especially, against bringing down, in my person, degradation upon my constituents, to maintain whose rights and whose honour it was my first duty. If I felt thus, what must the King have

felt! Or, are we to proceed upon the maxim; that, because he can do no wrong he is to have no feeling?

I now come to some of the heads of complaint against the King; for you will observe, the complaints are *against the King*, disguise the thing how you may. And, I shall, to prevent a division of my matter into several articles, advert to your speeches at recent meetings in London, and also to the speeches of your companions at those meetings. One complaint is, that the King has chosen a *military* man; and great mouthfuls are made of this. One of your companions observing, that "*Cromwell had turned out a Parliament*," leaving the inference to be drawn by his hearers. If a *turning-out* is what you are afraid of, my really HONOURABLE COLLEAGUE expressed his hope, amidst the acclamations of twenty thousand industrious men at MANCHESTER, that the King would turn out this Parliament; and I beg you to recollect that there are a *million* of the King's most valuable subjects within a circuit of forty miles round the spot where that speech was delivered; aye, and those, too, the *best informed*, as well as the most industrious and most valuable part of his subjects. To be sure, CROMWELL was a *soldier*; and he actually did bundle the House out by the hands of soldiers pushing them at their backs; but an act of greater justice never was done in this world; for it was a set of men who were *traitors, rebels, murderers*, and the most savage *robbers of the people* that had ever existed before that day; it being that set of matchless villains, who invented the *excise* in England; and, it is truly curious, that that set of villains *first laid the duty upon the BEER*, which duty continued, frequently changing its amount, but always continuing, *until it was taken off by the Duke of WELLINGTON!* So that, in this respect, CROMWELL's quality of soldier was not very mischievous. However, CROMWELL was, upon the whole, a very bad fellow, though a wise statesman. But, was not WASHINGTON a soldier? Was not JACKSON a soldier? Both of them generals. MUNROE was

a soldier. All of them engaged in many battles. All of them chosen by the free voice; chosen *twice over*, by a most sensible people; a people so tenacious of their liberties and rights, amongst whom the *suffrage is universal*, and the voice as free as air. So that Colonel EVANS might have spared himself the trouble of giving pretty broad hints of the unfitness of soldiers to be Ministers: he might have recollected these instances, furnished us by America; and it is worth his while to consider, and worth your while, and the rest of your companions at WESTMINSTER, FINESBURY, and elsewhere, to settle the point, whether it be not as fitting for the King to choose a soldier to assist him in executing the laws, as it is for the people of Westminster to choose him to assist him in making the laws; very well worth the while of you all to remember, that about *twenty red coats* crowded into the House about two o'clock in the morning *from a bull at Lord GRAY's*, I believe, to vote for the Whigs against you and me, and some others; very profitable for you to remember, that the first address which the reformed Parliament carried to the King, was moved by a young lord, sitting at the back of Lord ALTHORP, decked out in uniform, with double epaulets, gorget, and sash, and a long sword by his side; very well worth remembering, that I found fault with this, but that you held your tongue; very well worth while for you to consider, whether it be very decent to carp at the King's choosing a *soldier*, whose rank and whose estate no King and no Ministry and no Parliament can touch, while you sit cheek-by-jowl with about seventy or eighty military and naval officers, who are making laws in company with you, and whose rank, and even whose bread, can be taken from them at any moment that the Minister of the day shall please.

I would here dismiss this subject of complaint; but there was something uttered at the FINESBURY meeting; that meeting of *two hundred thousand people*, assembled in one single room at White Conduit House. There was

something uttered there, which, because it was uttered by Mr. WAKLEY, I will notice. I have a great respect for Mr. WAKLEY. He is a very clever man, and very able to do good service to his country; but I have a greater respect for sense, and especially for truth, than I have for Mr. WAKLEY; and though it gives me great pain to animadvert with any degree of severity on his conduct, I must say, in the first place, that it did him little credit to condescend to give countenance to this partial, packed, and every way apparently senseless assemblage. Having taken the first step, however, he seems to have pursued the usual course of frailty, and to have concluded, at last, with this ridiculous specimen of rodomontade and bombast. "We use not arms, we resort not to physical force; we understand our duty too well, and are not to be driven by a wily antagonist from an impregnable position. I say, we desire not these things; we hope they will not be forced upon us. (Cheers). But it is said that the use of the arsenals has been threatened; it is whispered that the Duke would not hesitate to plant cannon in our streets. I hope such things will not be; but if they must, why they must be, and woe on them that bring it about; for let but one musket be fired in the quiet thoroughfares of this peaceful kingdom, and in its pealing echo will be heard the funeral knell of every Tory in England. (Great cheering)."

"It is said." Now who says that the arsenals are to be used against the people? "It is whispered." By whom, Mr. WAKLEY, is it whispered that cannon is to be planted in the streets? Ah, Mr. WAKLEY! This is not the road to lasting fame; this is not the way to merit the confidence of the people; and without really meriting it, no man will have it long. Look at BROUGHAM! Hear his shouts for "CHEAP BREAD" in Yorkshire; and behold him now! See in him the fate of one who builds his fame upon the practising of delusion! Arsenals, cannons, muskets! Do you know; that there are not, in Great Britain, as many soldiers as there are pa-

ishes! Do you know, that there is not one single soldier to every parish in England and Wales, and Scotland? If you do know it, this is as scandalous a piece of delusion as was ever attempted to be practised upon a people: if you do not know it (which I believe to be the case), you ought to have been silent upon the subject.

Now, Mr. HUMS, I come to one of the great standing objections to the conduct of the King in making this choice. The jobbers of the city take the lead in making this objection; and I see it has been echoed at all the miserable meetings of silly creatures that the bands of commissioners have been able to muster up. The objection is, that we all know *what the Duke did before*: and, that we must conclude, of course, that he will do *the same again*. My constituents and I say, "God send he may, only a *little more of it*!" So widely do we differ in opinion from you. The Duke repealed the Test and Corporation Acts; the Duke gave Catholic Emancipation, complete and entire; while the Whigs, when they were in power, brought in a bill to give about *one-half* of what the Duke gave, and withdrew the bill, upon a threat of being turned out, if they persevered in it. The Duke abolished completely and entirely the EXCISE ON BEER, and thus released the drink of the working people from a tax which had been laid on it by the accursed Whigs, a hundred and eighty-six years before; and had been kept on it from that day to the day when the Duke swept it away; and these present Whigs have been doing every thing that they can do to *lessen the benefit of that measure*. This is what the Duke *did before*; and, if he be likely to do the same sort of things now, what ground is there here for carping at the choice which has been made by the King?

But the Duke "*will not carry out the Reform Bill*." This metaphor must certainly have originated amongst coal-heavers, or porters of some description or other. It is one of those phrases that may be explained to mean any thing, or nothing: it is of true

Whig character. We Protestants have been in the habit of accusing the Jesuits of having a double-faced creed; but the Whigs have always had one. However, taking the words to mean, that the Duke will not act upon the principles of *reformation of abuses*, and coupling this meaning with the lamentation over the turning out of his predecessors, we correctly conclude, that you take the measures of those predecessors as *specimens of the work of "carrying out the Reform Bill."* Here we come to something that one can understand; and, to give it the form of a proposition, the whole tribe of your brother orators and you say, in substance this: That the King is to blame for having chosen a Minister who, as you assert, will not continue to carry out the Reform Bill by the *same sort of measures* by which his predecessors have been *carrying it out*. And in this respect, I trust in God that you are right for, how have they been *carrying it out*? By the Irish Coercion Bill; by rescinding a vote for half-repeal of the malt-tax; by flinging away twenty millions on the West Indies; by employing POPE, into whose hands in his character of spy, and for spying, we traced the public money from the hands of the last prime Whig-Minister, that, "*amiable person*," whose fall is so much lamented by you; by refusing all inquiry into the pension-list; by *talking* about corporation and church reforms, and by expressing their determination to make no substantial reform; by getting twenty thousand pounds as a little beginning for *national schools*, and then getting a committee to report that such an establishment would be *improper*; by passing a law to tax parishes to raise money to send labourers abroad, while a committee of their own reports to the House, that the land is falling out of cultivation for the want of a sufficiency of labour being bestowed upon it; by taxing the country at large, and my laborious constituents amongst the rest, to maintain a police force in London; by employing bands of commissioners, and by clandestinely palming upon the House of Commons a mass

of infamous lies and savage recommendations, coming forth under the name of those commissioners; by passing what they call a *Poor-law Amendment Bill*, which has excited feelings, and is producing acts, not to be described by me through a channel like this. If this be "*carrying out the Reform Bill*," the Duke of WELLINGTON will, I trust in God, not only not attempt to carry it an inch farther, but will express to us, as soon as possible, his determination to carry it back again to the point whence it started.

But, sir, there was something *specific* in the speech of your brother orator, Mr. DUNCOMB, of which I think it necessary to take particular notice. This gentleman, at the FINSBURY meeting, stated some of the measures which were to constitute a part of the carrying out of the Reform Bill: and then told the people that, if they wished to have that carrying out performed, they must resolutely combine against the Duke. Having declared that the Duke of WELLINGTON ought to be *impeached*, and said, that *he would say the same thing in Parliament*, for which I shall wait with patience; after having positively asserted, that the rest *should not* be puppets and the Duke pull the wires; after having said, "*this shall not be*," and having been cheered to the skies for the promise, Mr. DUNCOMB proceeded thus: "*If the restrictive and vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill are to be repealed* (cheers), *if the pension list is to be purified, if flogging in the army is to be done away with*, (loud cheering), *if impressment in the navy is no longer to degrade us as a nation*, (continued cheers), *if the duration of Parliaments is to be shortened*, (bravo), *if the vote by ballot is to be conceded*, (cheers), if these things are to be, and you deserve them not if you will not struggle for them, but, if they are to be, then I call upon you, in one voice, and as one man, to declare with me eternal warfare, uncompromising hostility with the banded leaguers, the *Tory freebooters of England*. (Great cheering)."

Now, every one of these things have not

only not been attempted to be done; but having been proposed and moved for have been *rejected by the Whig Ministry* and their thundering reform majority. **FIRST**, Colonel BRANS himself moved for a repeal of the restrictive and taxing vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill which have already disfranchised *seventh part of the electors*. This was opposed by the Whig Ministers, and rejected by their majority! **SECOND**, Mr HARVEY moved for an inquiry into the services of those who are upon the pension list: that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. **THIRD**, Major FANCOURT moved for doing away with flogging in the army; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. **FOURTH**, Mr. BUCKINGHAM moved for the abolition of impressment in the navy; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. **FIFTH**, Mr. TENNYSON moved to shorten the duration of Parliaments, and he made the motion in each of the two sessions, that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. **SIXTH**, Mr. GALT moved for adopting the regulation of the ballot at elections; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority.

Now these facts are perfectly notorious, and yet Mr. DUNCOMBE would persuade us, or rather, did persuade his cheering audience, at White Conduit House, that, if we are to get these things, we are to get them from the same Ministers; and, therefore, we are to force them back upon the King!

I could, but I will not, make some further observations on the conduct of Mr. DUNCOMBE on this occasion. Mr. DUNCOMBE is a young man; but he ought to have known the things which I have now stated. At any rate, however, I have stated enough to show, that either he intended to delude, or was deluded himself; and that is quite enough to do with regard to him. At this FINSBURY meeting there was something took place which shows the character of the meeting itself. Mr. WELLS proposed a resolution, in substance as follows, which was seconded by Mr. ROBERTS. "That we see no ground of

alarm in the dismissal of the late *ungrateful* Ministry, and that we will give our support to ANY Ministry who will be ready to concede the full rights of the working people, and to adopt measures to better their condition."

This resolution was *rejected*, though so full of good sense, and being in it the very thing which ought to have been adopted at every meeting in London. This was the very view that the people of Lancashire took of the matter, and which every man of sense must take of the matter. And now, Mr. HUME, what ground is there for your alarm? How is any Minister to go on *without money*? How is he to have money unless the House of Commons vote it? How will that House dare to vote it into the hands of a bad Minister, unless they despise the voice of their constituents? And, if they can despise the voice of their constituents, what has this famous Reform Bill done for us? and why are you so anxious for *he carrying of it out*? Sir, how you sink *yourself*! and how you would sink me, and all other Members of the House of Commons, if we were to follow your example? Why we are chosen by the people, *not to interfere with the King in the exercise of his duty*; but to discharge our *own duty* faithfully; and if we do that, the King's choice, even of bad servants, can do our constituents no harm. Why, then, do you fret yourself about it? We are not chosen to be advisers of the King; and I am very much deceived, if your constituents will not tell you that at the next election, and ask you, whether it would not have been as well, if you *had opposed the Poor-law Bill*, instead of upholding it, by boasting of the *good effects* of the *absence of poor-laws in Scotland*, when the fact was, that there *were* poor-laws in Scotland, and that there *are* poor-laws in Scotland, and that they are *invariably* violated, to the great suffering of the people. I will shortly address a letter to *your constituents* upon this subject; and they will then see, if they do not see already, that it would have been much better, if you had applied

yourself to matters like these, instead of becoming a *Minister-maker*. In the course of your speech at Westminster, you said several things, which, if you be truly reported, it would have been better if you had left unsaid. There is this passage: "In his own parish, yesterday, they had proclaimed in a voice of thunder, down with the Tories. Away with all absurd distinctions between Whig and Tory. Let them be no longer humbugged by these epithets, but look to real practical objects." Mr. HUMPHREYS, you are represented as having been extremely anxious about the BOOKS at the fire at Westminster. Ah! good God! the BOOKS! Then, again, the newspapers tell us, that you have brought home valuable scientific collections from BELGIUM: other papers tell us of the munificent literary presents that you are making to the *hommes de lettres* at Paris. Amongst these, doubtless, are collections of your speeches. Mr. HUMPHREYS, if you send them a copy of this Westminster speech, pray, remember, that the words "*Why*" and "*Tory*" are not "*epithets*."

In other parts of this famous speech you state some facts: one is, that it was the Tories that went to war with France to prevent reform. It was the Whigs, Mr. HUMPHREYS, who forced PITT into that war. In another part of your speech, you say this; that, "at the ASHFORD dinner the Conservatives boldly asserted "that his Majesty was determined to support every part of the "constitution, as it now existed." Now, in the first place, the Reform Bill makes part of the *present existing constitution*. That declaration, therefore, ought, if true, to have pleased you. And now there come two falsehoods; the one of omission, and the other of commission. You omit to say that the meeting, at ASHFORD declared their readiness to aid in the adoption of *all necessary reforms in church and state*. The falsehood of commission is, that it is false to say that the Duke of WELLINGTON, uttered these words; and it is false to say that the Duke of WELLINGTON was at the meeting. At least, it is false, if the report of the meeting as published in

all the newspapers was true. I will insert the whole of your speech in my *Register*, at the end of this letter, that you may not accuse me of garbling; and I will take the report from the *Morning Chronicle*, which is most favourable to you. Colonel EVANS called you "*the most useful member of the legislature*." If this be so, your present conduct must be a subject of great sorrow with every one who wishes well to the country, for I am very much deceived, if your present constituents, at any rate, send you to that legislature again.

There remain THREE very interesting topics for me to discuss with you: FIRST; the harmonious resolution of you all NOT TO ACCEPT OF ANYTHING THAT THE DUKE MAY OFFER, however good the thing may be for the people; not even of a repeal of the MALT-TAX! SECOND; that the Duke, having opposed the Reform Bill, cannot now uphold it without infamy to his character! THIRD; the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and especially in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given him for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave, and totally useless to us.

Before, however, I come to these topics, let me notice another part of your Westminster proceeding; namely a resolution about Lord DURHAM, and, I am sorry to say, moved by Mr. WAKLEY. "That the warmest thanks of this meeting are pre-eminently due, and are hereby most cordially voted, to the Earl of Durham, for his late manly and virtuous advocacy of those popular rights—Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot—the only means of securing to the people good and cheap Government."

Sorry I am to see this from Mr. WAKLEY, and more sorry still to see the speech which follows it. This nonsense about Lord DURHAM is really suf-

sufficient to make one sick. Does Mr. WAKLEY look upon this proposition of Lord DURHAM as any thing calculated to satisfy those radical reformers, of which he says, he is "an old one"? However, I hate the party appellation, and all party appellations; but, *radical reformer* has meaned hitherto, one who is for annual Parliaments and universal suffrage; and not a word about *trien-nial*, or about *houses*. The arguments in favour of annual Parliaments have never yet been answered, except by Major CARTWRIGHT himself, who allowed that the great frequency of elections might *diminish the interest* that they would excite; and, therefore, he proposed something to supply the place of this want of interest at elections. However, being the ancient custom of the kingdom, he settled, at last, in preferring annual Parliaments; and I am for annual Parliaments, too; because I do not see the objection which Major CARTWRIGHT had; and because I believe, that they would not at all tend to the overthrow of any order in the state. With regard to the ballot, it affects no *right*, and touches no *principle*: in some cases it would be favourable to the people at large; in other cases it would be unfavourable; and the opinion at MANCHESTER is, that it would be unfavourable there. But, with regard to *the extension of suffrage*; that is a capital point; that is a substantive matter: that involves a *principle*, on which liberty, civil as well as political, principally rests. In the first place, Lord DURHAM clogs his *householder* suffrage with the Lord JOHN RUSSELL trammels of *taxes and rates*. So that this proposition is a mere delusion, a mere thing thrown out to cause silly people to believe, that a DURHAM Whig is a better sort of Whig; as DURHAM mustard is a better sort of mustard, though not an ounce of mustard seed is now grown in that county; and though that which is sold for it is a mixture of *flour, ochre*, and other *horrible pungent drugs*, mixed up together in what they call the "*mustard manufactories*"; and which, if you take a good lot into your stomach, will

lie burning there like a fire coal for two days. None of this household Durham mustard for me. I am for the stuff that springs out of the ground of natural justice, and that will bear the test of truth and of reason; and I say, that it is *expedient* as well at *just*, that every man, arrived at mature age, being of sane mind, and unstained by indelible crime, is as much entitled to a vote as any lord, baronet, or squire, in the land. To prove this, demands the space of a dissertation. I have written this dissertation, in a little book, which will be very shortly published, and which I here, beforehand, call upon you or Mr. WAKLEY to answer. With the *justice* is all that we have really to do in this case; but I would not undertake to advocate the adoption of any great measure like this, if I could not prove to my own satisfaction, at least, the *expediency*, as well as the justice of it. Taking it for granted, that we all wish that peace, harmony, safety to life, safety to all sort of property, should prevail in the kingdom; that the greatness of the kingdom should be upheld; that the crown, and the ranks dependent upon it, should be upheld; taking it for granted, that these things form the object of us all; then I say, that, to ensure this object, my sincere opinion is, and in the most solemn manner I declare it to be my conviction, that it is *expedient* to admit of universal suffrages at elections for members to serve in Parliament.

And now, Mr. HUME, I come to the THREE topics above mentioned, taking first, the harmonious resolution of all you Whig patriots, *not to accept* of any thing that the Duke may offer, however good the thing may be for the people; and even of a repeal of the malt-tax! Come, come, now! What! and does Mr. WAKLEY *pout* at this, too? I can remember that I used sometimes literally to fall out with my own bread and cheese. When my mother has offered me a bit of bread and cheese, I have sulked, and would not take it; and I remember well that I never did it without being ashamed of myself afterwards. However, Mr. HUME, it is not for you and me to indulge in sulks in this case.

It is not *to us* that the Duke will offer any thing; or, at least, *for us*, to whom he cares but very little, I dare say: it is *to, and for, our constituents* that he will make the offer, if he make it all, as I hope in God he will: it is *through us*, as representatives of the people; and, if it be good for the people; if we reject the offer knowing it to be good, all that I can say is, that we shall both deserve to be hanged by the neck till we are dead, and to have our bodies disposed of by hired overseers, under the provisions of the bill of your friend Mr. WARBURTON, who, with yourself, form the GEMINI of the political zodiac. Nevertheless, this is the language of you all, and the commissioners' paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, is continually "CAUTIONING" the people against any expressed intentions of the Duke to do them any good. Why, if we were at war with him, this old hack newspaper could not be more eager to guard us against a destructive ambuscade. "Ah! take care! Don't take cheap malt from him; for you do not know what may be the consequence! There will be mischief at the bottom." One of your associates at Westminster, a Sir somebody KNOWLES, followed your associate, Mr. TUCK, who generously and modestly declared, that, "he would *only say*, that "he should consider it an honour to *serve his country in any capacity*, however humble. (*Loud cheers and bravo*)." Mr. TUCK, who certainly ought to have the preposition "UP" added to his name, made this profession, it would seem, for the purpose of illustrating what ought to be the conduct of the King, "who ought," Mr. TUCK said, "to *act in the same manner*"; and that "they must give him a *lesson*," and tell him, that, "if surrounded by flatterers, he forgot his duty to his people; *his person*, to be *sure*, was *sacred*, and *must remain so*! But that they could properly and constitutionally tell him *what they thought of his conduct*." Another associate of yours, Mr. SIMPSON, observed, "that the King could *do no wrong* (*oh! can't he*); but his Ministers could (*cheering*)." Mr. SIMP-

SON, after relating what CROMWELL did to the Parliament, exclaimed, "*Let the King beware!*" Mr. DUNCOMBE, at FINSBURY, speaking of the impossibility of Parliament going on without Ministers in all their places, and some of them in the House of Commons, and proceeding in the argumentative style, said, "The law says, that *on the demise of the Crown*, which God forbid (*pooh, pooh, and loud laughter*), Parliament shall be assembled." Then Mr. DUNCOMBE goes on explaining the impossibility there would be of the Commons *going on*, there being *no channel* by which to get at the King. Why, does not Mr. DUNCOMBE know, then, that the law and the records of Parliament, do not know any thing at all about Ministers? Does not he know, that they are *mere members of Parliament*? Does he not know that they cannot grant the laying of one book or paper before the House; that there must be a *motion of address to the King* that he will be pleased to cause the paper to be laid before the House? So that there is no need of Ministers being there, any more than in the House of Congress in America, where they never are. However, it is not the *nonsense*! it is the rude and silly "*pooh, pooh*," that is most worthy of attention here, and that is truly characteristic of the Whigs; who, if they could, would now tear the country to pieces; who would act the part of the false mother, whose fulnessness SOLOMON discovered by her willingness to *cut the child asunder*! True CATALINES! Detected, exposed, baffled, choked off from their prey, they exclaim with that celebrated villain, "If I am defeated, I will, at any rate, leave Rome unfit to live in!" "There is nothing new under the sun;" for, though there is no man amongst the Whigs of valour and talent like those of CATALINE, their nature and disposition are the same: they are pole-cats: he was a tiger; and, as naturalists say, that pole-cats are only a smaller sort of tigers, so these despicable Whigs are a smaller sort of CATALINES.

In pursuance of the dictates of their common nature, they are at work, tooth

and *claw*, to *caution* the people against *receiving any thing from the Duke*: they seem as if they would gladly see the people starve rather than be relieved by measures coming from him. Their newspapers deal in *general terms* as to this great point. They seem to be *afraid* to name any particular thing that the Duke might take it in his head to do. One of your associates, however (to whom I now return), blundered out one of the things that the Duke *might* do. He said, "his *principal* motive in coming forward to second the resolution was, to *guard their minds* against the delusive promises held forth to the landed, and, he believed, the *agricultural*, interests. He had heard among his country friends, that they had the highest hopes that the *malt-tax* would be repealed; that a penny *a pot* would be taken from the poor man's *pot* of porter"; and he asked, *what advantage* would the people of England derive from a reduction of a penny a pot in the price of porter?"

Now I leave it to this your worthy associate to distinguish between the "landed interest," and the "agricultural interest"; but I will answer, very distinctly, his question touching the *advantage* to be derived by the people of England by a repeal of the malt-tax. He says, that it would only save a penny a pot on the beer. Suppose the beer, or ale, to be sixpence a pot; repeal the malt-tax, and it would be three half-pence. If it be stuff that now costs threepence a pot, it would be three farthings. But, taking him upon his own showing, that it would save the working man a penny a pot, and suppose, that of the twelve millions and a half of people in England and Wales, there is one million of them who, upon an average, drink a pot a day each. Does Mr. Knowles know, that this leaves in the pockets of the working people one million, four hundred and eighty-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-six sovereigns a year; and that is one pound ten shillings and fivepence a year a-piece, in every year for a million of people? This is supposing that there would be none but *brewers' beer*

still; this is supposing, as I have proved over again, that the advantage here stated by him, is only about a sixth part of what it would be as to money: yet, according to this man's own statement; here are thirty shillings and fivepence a year to be added to the earnings of a million of working men. Your constituents, as well as mine, Mr. Hume, clearly understood the whole of this matter: they know well what a blessing it would be to them all to get rid of this malt-tax. I believe it will be repealed; if it be repealed, and the horrible Poor-law Bill be repealed, and quickly, too, no man will dare to call himself "a Whig" from that day forward to the end of the world. What, sir, "accept of no offer"! "make no compromise"! We may well say *pooh! pooh!* here. Vote against the repeal of the malt-tax, then, and march off after your countryman, BROUGHAM! You might then have plenty of leisure to consult your friends "abroad," and write once a month to tell us how the *hommes de lettres* are going on, and whether the words *Whig* and *Tory* be *epithets* or not.

Well; but what horrible nonsense is all this! What, sir! do you mean to say that you would *vote against* doing the very things that your friend Mr. DUNCOMB asserts that the Tories will not do? Do you mean to say, that you will *vote against* a repeal of the tax-clause in the Reform Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the monstrous Poor-law Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the Dead-body Bill; *against* shortening the duration of Parliaments; *against* an extension of the suffrage? "*Pooh! pooh!*" There will be a *demise* of your crown, at any rate, if you even *talk* of such a thing. Never will you again *rot* up; at least, you will never do it again in *that same place*.

The SECOND topic is, the assertion, that the Duke, having *OPPOSED* the Reform Bill, cannot now uphold it without *INFAMY* to his character. In the first place, I and my constituents have very little to do with his character. What we have to do with are, his *acts*. However, this proposition of yours is a

very singular one; that, because a man opposed a great alteration in the law, he is "*infamous*" if he exercise power under that alteration, after it is made. Now, sir, you and your associates really would seem not to have as much memory as dumb creatures. Any horse or cow will show you proofs of remembering things for two or three years, at any rate. Do you remember, that FOX, GAY, and all the set of Whigs, called the income, or property-tax, a "*highwayman's tax*," when it was imposed by PITT; and do you remember, that when they came into power themselves, they raised that tax from 6½ to ten per cent.? Do you remember (yes, you do) the passing of SIX ACTS, and amongst them the *Cheap-publication Act*? Do you remember how they all opposed this act, and you amongst the rest? Do you not remember, that they called it *unconstitutional, tyrannical, and abominable*? that they divided the House upon the question several times? And do you remember the savage cutting which BROUGHAM and the rest of them gave you yourself, for attempting to cause a repeal of that act? BROUGHAM owed a great part of his false reputation to his opposition to that act, and your ears yet tingle with the real personal abuse that he poured out upon you, because you merely *talked* about a repeal of that act, under which act they have had, first and last, about *seven hundred persons in prison*; a thing which the Duke never attempted; suffering it to lie as a dead letter all the time that he was in power!

But, have you already forgotten what has passed in this reformed Parliament, relative to a *repeal of the Union with Ireland*? Is there an epithet (a *real epithet*), descriptive of the most abominable, the most hellish, tyranny and cruelty, which was not applied to the act of Union, by GAY, by PLUNKETT, by the whole band of Whigs? And have we not seen these two men, one Prime Minister, the other Lord Chancellor of Ireland, under that act of Union; have we not heard them say, that they would resist a repeal of that Union "*to the death*"; and have

we not seen them passing a red-coat-court-of-justice bill, to keep in check those who proposed a repeal of that Union?

Well, then, if the Duke be to be "*infamous*," if he uphold the Reform Bill, where are we to find words to describe the infamy of GAY and PLUNKETT and their associates? We ascribe to them no infamy at all for any *legal and constitutional* endeavours to uphold that Union; and where is the man to be found so foolish and so unjust as to impute even any *inconsistency* in the Duke, if he now uphold this Reform Bill, especially when he now knows, that it sprang, not out of the will of the dirty Whigs, but out of the desire of the people? Besides all which, what have you and I to do with the character of *the Duke*? Our constituents have not appointed us to be the conservators of the characters of Ministers, but to be the conservators of their *rights* and of their *money*; and, if we will but take care of these, they will excuse us for declining to be moral censors with regard to the servants of the King.

I now come, in conclusion of this long letter, to the THIRD TOPIC, which I have mentioned above; that is to say, the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and, especially, in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave and totally useless to us. I think less about *the King* here than about my constituents, as it is my duty to do. And, what would be the situation of the people, if the *members of Parliament were to choose the servants of the King*? And, if they have no right to *choose* them, they have no right to interfere at all in the matter. I and my colleague objected to signing the paper, expressing confidence in Lord ALTHAM, and calling upon him to keep *his place*. That was an act of great decency; it was a gross insult to the

King, and was a first step towards the assumption of all power by that one House; and I, in speaking of the Poor law Bill to my constituents, have asked them, what would have been their fate, if all the powers of the Government had been in the hands of those who brought in, and pushed on, the Poor law Bill, and who had penny-a-line Chadwick and the rest of that crew, stuck up in a corner of the House to dictate its proceedings! The answer of my constituents was such as every sensible man will anticipate; namely, indignation as strong as they could express at the degrading thought. They know well that their representatives will take care, as far as they are able, that the King's servants shall do them no harm; they know that, to use the language of *Fortescue*, "the King is made for the people, and not the people for the King"; they know, that he holds his prerogatives from the people, and for the people; and that while they are resolved to maintain their own privileges, it is a part of their duty to themselves and to their children, to maintain the prerogatives that they have given to him. I put the matter to my constituents thus: "If the King were to send word to you 'not to choose me and my colleague, what would you say?'" "Say that 'he was a tyrant to be sure!'" Then, said I, what are we to think of those who are telling the King, that he shall not have the men that he chooses; and that he shall have those back again, whose measures we so justly detest?

But, you and your dictatorial associates go a step farther than this. You not only scold the King for discharging one set of servants and choosing another, but you tell him, that *you have got a man*; that you have found out a fit man for him, in Lord DUNHAM! Why, sir, it is a shame for a member of Parliament even to be present at a meeting where such things are going on.

What I have to state in conclusion is truly curious. The PRESIDENT OF AMERICA adopted the opinion, that the system of paper-money, which he found going on, had an inevitable

tendency "*to make the rich more rich, and the poor more poor*"; that it was gradually undermining the liberties of the country; that it was creating a villainous *aristocracy of money*, at the expense of the industrious farmers, tradesmen, and working people of the country. He found, to his great sorrow, that there was a majority in the two Houses of Congress for upholding and perpetuating this system; and he had the deep mortification to receive a bill from the two Houses to uphold and perpetuate it. But, the wise constitution had armed him with prerogatives, one of which enabled him to put his veto; that is to say, his restriction, upon this bill. He had the honesty and the courage to do this. And here we have a proof of the benefit of frequent elections. There was a new election at hand, which is just now over. *Universal suffrage* had to determine upon the conduct of the chief magistrate: *it has determined*; and that free, sensible, and just people have stood by their chief magistrate, and his prerogative. They have sent him back a Congress, who will support him by three to two, if not two to one; and they have thus preserved themselves and their children from the intrigues and the daring encroachments of a faction, who would, like you and your associates, have made the President a tool in their hands, and have stripped the people of every means of protection.

Such has been the conduct of the free people of America, and such their success. It is very curious, that "*Dictator*," "*Usurper*," and all the other names applied to the Duke of WELINGTON, have been applied to the President. The faction have abused his councillors," in the most outrageous manner. And, what is more curious than all the rest, this villainous faction have assumed the name of "*WHIGs*"; and very properly; for the faction which has existed under this name, in England, have always, when they have been able, struck the King down with one hand, and robbed and oppressed the people with the other, at one and the same time. This attempt they have made

now: they have been defeated; and do hope, they are now down themselves never to raise their hated heads again. Let us, in the discharge of our duty take care of the rights and the money of our constituents; and let us leave to the King to choose his servants, knowing so well as we do, that, if we perform our duty faithfully; if we be really his "faithful Commons," he, and we, and our constituents, will all be safe together.

Remembering, and desiring not to forget, many laudable efforts of yours in behalf of the people, it is not without great pain, that I have written this letter; but it was my duty to my constituents to do it; and, before all other things, I must prefer the performance of that duty.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

THE SWAMPER!

WHAT will this man come to at last? and what must be the remorse of Lord ALBANY, for having fustised his monstrous brat, the Poor-law Bill? To suppose him to be in a state such as some of the newspapers have flatly and plainly described, is what I shall not do. His letter, withdrawing his request to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, is of a piece with all the rest of his conduct, and, oh, how Lord RADNOR must now lament that he was persuaded to act, as he has acted with regard to this man and his schemes! He must see, that I knew the man better than he did, though I never spoke to him in my life, except once; and then in the presence of my attorney, about a turnpike-affair. His letter from PARIS to the Lord Chancellor, I here copy from the public papers.

"Paris, Saturday, Nov. 29, 1834.

"My Lord,—I had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter announcing the state in which Government at present is, and that nothing of any kind can be settled, either as to measures or any thing else, until

"the arrival of Sir R. Peel. Although I felt extremely anxious to accomplish the two objects, of saving a large sum to the public, and of completing the reform of the Court of Chancery, by abolishing the office of Vice-Chancellor (a subject on which I transmitted a full memorial to your lordship from Dover, and on which I had sent a memorandum before I left the great seat), yet some communications which I have since received from persons in whose judgment I entirely confide, give me room to think that my accepting a judicial situation, though without any emolument whatever, might appear to others to interfere with my parliamentary duties, I feel myself under the necessity of desiring that the tender of gratuitous service formerly made should be considered as withdrawn. My own clear and unhesitating opinion is, that, following the example of Lord Loughborough and others, I could attend as much to parliamentary duties when on the bench, as when in a private station. But in these times I have no right to take any step which has any tendency to discourage the efforts of those whose principles are my own, and whose confidence I am proud to enjoy.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) "BROUGHAM."

It would be waste of time to comment on this. The "Useful Knowledge man" is in his proper latitude now. There are the centralizers; the speculators on what can be done with human bodies, to make the most of them. There he is, amongst the galling devils, talking about the perfectibility of the human race, while they are steeped in all sorts of debauchery, reining upon the highest of vice; dirty as hogs in their persons, and ugly as the devil in their features. There he is amongst crowds of miserable creatures, talking about liberty, and the glorious *three days*, while a "citizenizing," decked out in *la tri-colour*, sends hundreds of them to prison in a week, whom his predecessors did not dare to

send to prison at all. There he is, under the dominion of this "KING OF THE BOURSE." There he is, to learn how to make messes of *sour sorrel*, and of *toutes sortes de légumes*; and to see if he can find a coarser sort of food for the working people of England; and to blow out the bodies of the women and the girls, draw in their cheeks at the same time, and make their skins the colour of tan-leather. There he is, and there let him be, centralizing and concentrating to the end of his days.

However, there is something more that ought to take place with respect to him. I would inflict no bodily punishment upon him if I had the power; but I would give him a little appendage, to which he could not in reason object. We learn from St. PAUL, that in the East, the crime of murder was punished by *fastening the dead body upon the body of the murderer, till it killed him with the stench*. Now, I would have the Poor-law Bill engrossed upon sheets of parchment, made of calf's-skin, would have it strapped on upon BROUGHAM, and then he might carry this monument of his fame from JOHN O'GROAT'S house to SHANKLIN, from SALISBURY to FARNHAM, with the badge of honour sticking to him to the last hour of his life.

Curious enough, that Miss MARTENEAU should be gone on a voyage of discovery to the United States, to find out, I dare say, new proofs of the evil consequences of relief for the destitute; "waust improvements" in the science of *checking population*, in accordance with the "*march of intellect*" and the "*spirit of the age*!" It will surprise her, I dare say, to hear of what has befallen her great patron. I would advise her, if she mean to lead a quiet life in America, not to recommend a "*coarser sort of food*"; and not to recommend penny-a-line CHADWICK'S reduction in the strength of drink for the working people. She will find no messes of *légumes* in America; and, now she is luckily got behind BROUGHAM'S back, I dare say she will take, very kindly, buttered beef-steaks for breakfast. In

short, she will join the rest of us in laughing at the fellow, and will, before six months are over her head, be ashamed to hear his name mentioned in conjunction with hers.

MR. O'CONNELL.

A *SPITEFUL* Whig asked, how I can reconcile Mr. O'CONNELL'S proceedings to the line that I am taking with regard to the Whigs? ANSWER.—In the first place, it is by no means necessary that I should attempt to reconcile them: that is *one thing*, and quite enough. But I will go a little further. 'MR. O'CONNELL is placed in a *peculiar* situation: he has objects which he is bound to attend to, and which objects I have not to attend to: he has a body to struggle against, which, to me are not so formidable. At any rate, of one thing I am certain, as man can be certain of anything; and that is this, that his great object is, to do the best that he can for his country; I believe that he understands, better than any other man living, how to go to work to effect that object: the people of Ireland confide in his judgment as well as in his sincerity and zeal: it would be wrong in me to do any thing to thwart him, or to render his course more difficult; and with tongue or pen no such thing will I do.

WHIG EFFUSIONS.

AT BIRMINGHAM there is an address posted on the walls, evidently coming from PIS-ALLER PARKES, and signed GRACCHUS, who I suppose was some public robber of ROUGE, who picked the people's pockets in the name of liberty. This GRACCHUS says, "May my right hand forget *its cunning*, if I trust *these men*." So says every pick-pocket of every set of peace-officers. GRACCHUS throws out some pretty broad hints against Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD and Mr. SCHOLEFIELD, and with reason enough; for they did every thing that they could, do to keep the cunning right hands, and left hands too, of the Whigs, out of the pockets of the peo-

ple, and the people of BIRMINGHAM have a great deal too much sense to be deluded by hireling rubbish like this.

At HULL, Mr. HILL has been figuring away in a room; and he, indeed, has uttered a most desperate menace; so he has declared that, if the people of England submit to the Tories, he will never raise his voice for them again. Oh, Lord! preserve us! What! no raise that voice which was raised in favour of the Poor-law Bill, along with Mr. HURR; that voice, which was heard for rescinding the vote on the malt-tax for the Irish Coercion Bill; for the Australian Colony; for his being a commissioner for that colony; for his being a law-mending commissioner, for which he receives a thousand pounds a year of our money! Are we not to have again raised for us that voice which in an "incautious moment," conveyed to the ear of Lord ALTHORP, in whisper, that tale respecting Mr. SHELL, which the same voice afterwards retracted in the face of that Mr. SHELL! Unhappy people of HULL, if you should lose the protecting sound of that voice! However, I have heard that Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY intends to offer himself to you at the election; and, if you prefer either of your present members to him, you then merit degradation, indeed!

Lord MELBOURNE has got, I see, a parcel of little addresses presented to him by farmers and others in his neighbourhood, in Derbyshire. Faith! this is no bad thought! I will get some presented to me, when I get back to NORMANDY. There will be the tithing of NORMANDY, is the first place; then the parish of PINNATHUR; the tithing of BADSHOT, and so on; and I will so harangue them from the dunghill out upon the common; and there will be such a prancing of ponies; such a running and squeaking of the pigs, and such a cackling and flying of the geese, that we shall make the Duke tremble, or the devil is in it. When we "speak out," as the *Morning Chronicle* says of the hole-and-corner meetings of London, I warrant you we put a stop to the Duke's arsenals and cannon and muskets, of which Mr. WARELY is so afraid!

I defy a lump of clay itself to be serious in such a case; but, there was one little sentence said to be uttered by Lord MELBOURNE, which is worthy of serious attention; namely, that *there were no differences in the Cabinet*; that "there was only the post of Lord ALTHORP to fill up." Of course, BROUGHAM was to remain, and the Poor-law Bill go on. Now, this being the case, is there one man in the kingdom who does not wish to see the kingly Government pulled down, who must not allow, that the King not only did right, but that he adopted the only course that he could possibly pursue with any chance of safety to himself, and to the tranquillity and well-being of his people?

THE FIRES.

(Part of a Letter to Mr. Whittle of Dublin).

THE state of things "up at Lunnun" you, at Dublin, know as well as I do; but you do not know so much of the state of things in the country. I have always told you, that it was not the cities and great towns, but the villages, to the disposition of which, the rulers of this country ought to look. Taxation is the great cause of trouble and of danger. The hives of men, collected together by manufactures, are, occasionally, not at all affected by this weight. When they are affected by it, there are masses of wealth to draw upon to relieve the distress; and, if these fail, the people assembled in great masses, and accustomed from their infancy to a sedentary life, are more easily controlled by the application of physical force. It is not thus in rural affairs; and it has, in all ages, been found most difficult to govern, against their will, men widely scattered over a country, especially when those men have, from their infancy, been accustomed to great bodily labour; to the handling of cold and hard and rough substances; to heavy lifts; to hard blows; to the wind and the wet and the dirt; and when to all this is added the circumstance, which now exists in England, of stubbornness of character, belonging in a greater de-

gree to the countries in the South, East, and West, than to those in the North: all this considered, a sensible government will see the great danger of longer delaying to put an end to the sources of discontent, now prevailing in the agricultural villages of England. The farmers cannot pay their rents, and give a sufficiency to the labourers to secure the cultivation of the land. Yet the landlords must have their rents, or there is, besides unjust ruin inflicted on them, a dissolution of society: Our town committees have collected evidence to show us, that, while the labour is wanted to keep the land in a proper state of producing, it cannot be paid for by the farmers. Why cannot it be paid for? Because there are fifty-two millions a year to be collected in taxes, with wheat at five shillings a bushel; a state of things produced by the acts of the legislature itself! To remedy; or under pretence of remedying, this state of things, a Poor-law Bill has been resorted to, avowedly for the purpose of "*saving the estates of the landlords from being swallowed up,*" by causing the working people to live upon "*a coarser sort of diet*!" These are the objects of the bill, as stated by the projectors of it. And, now, look at the state of the country. With regard to the *fires*, they have generally followed a lowering of the wages of labour; but there is something *new* in the appearances at present. It appears that the most serious alarms are prevailing in the western parts of Berkshire, and in the adjoining parts of the county of Wilts; that the newspapers tell us, that the **WHOLE OF THE WORKHOUSE OF WELFORD**, near NEWBURY, an agricultural village of great value, was *burnt down*! Now, it is the duty of the Government, and will be the duty of Parliament, to make particular inquiry into the *treatment of the poor in that workhouse*! The Poor-law Bill has, as I knew it would, disturbed every cottage in England and Wales; and, when every cottage is *troubled*, who is to expect that general tranquility will prevail? To quiet the people, the vestries have met,

in some of the parishes, and decided, that they will give relief to the able-bodied, *notwithstanding the Poor-law Bill*! In the neighbourhood of **FAR-INGTON** and of **HIGHWORTH**, on the confines of Berkshire and Wiltshire, the greatest degree of alarm, the most dreadful appearances, and the most dreadful acts, appear to prevail; though the *corpse* of a man, hanged for fire-setting, had been exhibited in that neighbourhood last year, in order to *terrify* the incendiaries! I have always deprecated any proceedings of a *vengeful* nature, being sure, that, with *such a people*, such proceedings must have the most fatal effect. Whether the new Ministry will pursue a course of conciliation, which cannot be effected without a *repeal of the Poor-law Bill*, is more than I can say: my confidence that they will must be confined to *wishes*, for it does not amount to a *hope*. If such a course be adopted, we may yet escape the peril into which this measure has plunged us. If such a course be not adopted, I must content myself with the consolation, that I have done every thing in my power to prevent the horrible scenes, the arrival of which I dread; and that my constituents and my country know it.

COMMON-COUNCIL AFFAIR.

The Recorder then read the following address from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London in Common Council assembled.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, humbly represent to your Majesty that we feel deeply grateful to your Majesty for having in your gracious speeches from the throne recommended, and afterwards *approved* and sanctioned, the great measure of parliamentary reform, and especially for your Majesty's most gracious declaration, in answer to the address of this Court on the 12. of October, 1831, that we might be as-

sured of your Majesty's sincere desire to uphold and to improve the securities afforded by the constitution for the maintenance of the just rights of your people, and that we might rely on your Majesty's continued disposition to further the adoption of such measures as might seem best calculated for that purpose.

"We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty our opinion that the security of the crown, the stability of our most valued institutions, and the permanent prosperity of the country can *only* be maintained by a steady perseverance in those salutary improvements which the country requires, and upon the attainment of which we have thus been led to rely with hope and confidence.

"That whilst we respectfully acknowledge the constitutional prerogative of your Majesty to nominate as your Ministers those whom your Majesty may approve, we cannot but avail ourselves of our constitutional and equally sacred right to express to your Majesty our deep sorrow that the hopes which your Majesty had raised and strengthened have been dispelled by the re-appointment of Ministers who have ever opposed the great measure of parliamentary reform; and we feel bound in duty to ourselves and to our country to declare to your Majesty that we cannot feel confidence that the legitimate consequences of that act will be faithfully prosecuted by those who, in every stage, denounced and opposed it, notwithstanding the recommendation and sanction which it received from your Majesty:

"That we can expect no correction of abuses in our social and political institutions from those whose voice has uniformly been raised in defence of those abuses; and we cannot but express our humble and earnest hope that the affairs of this country may be committed to the conduct of Ministers possessing the affections and confidence of the people, whose well-being and happiness are necessarily involved in the appointment.

(Signed by the order of the Court),

"HENRY WOODHOUSE."

The Recorder, having concluded reading the address, presented it to his Majesty, who handed it to the Duke of Wellington, as Secretary of State for the Home Department, and returned the following answer to the deputation.

"It has been and ever will be, the object of my earnest solicitude to correct abuses, and to improve the condition of the country.

"I trust, that the Ministers I may appoint will, by the successful prosecution of this the first wish of my heart, justify my confidence, and obtain that of my people."

The deputation then retired.

MR. HUME'S SPEECH AT WESTMINSTER.

Mr. Hume next presented himself, and was received with great applause. He had not hesitated to come forward when called upon to meet his constituents, as he thought no advocate of reform should hang back on the present occasion. When he looked back on the glorious proceedings of the last thirty months, he would ask them could they hesitate to decide between the Tories and liberty? or would they again submit to become the slaves of those men? Was it to be supposed that they who had so far succeeded in carrying into effect the great measure of reform, would now bend their necks to the yoke, and permit those men whom they had spurned before to ride rough-shod over them? (Great applause). He knew that the present meeting would be as unanimous as that at which he (Mr. Hume) had attended in his own parish, when they had proclaimed in a voice of thunder, "Down with the Tories!" (Cheers). Away with all absurd distinctions between Whig and Tory. Let them no longer be humbugged with these epithets, but look to real practical objects. What he (Mr. Hume) required was a good constitutional Government, in which the people should have the influence to which they were entitled, in which the peers should have their proper share of influence, and in which the King

should be the independent sovereign of the country, instead of being, as he had hitherto been, subservient to the peers and the rotten-borough system. (Cheers). The question was not whether sinecures and useless places should be abolished, or whether they should have cheap corn (for all these things were certain of attainment if they did not allow themselves to be interrupted in *their career of reform*), but whether the means which his Majesty had put into their hands should not be perfected and carried into effect for the regeneration of their country? The late proceedings in high places might meet the approval of the Emperor Nicholas, the Emperor of Austria, and such characters; but it was *not to be tolerated in a free country*, that the King of a constitutional Government should dismiss his legal and responsible advisers, without any fault on their part, and while they possessed the support of a large majority of the people of England. (Cheers). He was willing to forget many of the offences of the late Government; he had seen many black leaves, *but he was willing to turn over to the clean ones, and forget what had passed*. (Hear). The resolution which he held in his hand declared that the *past conduct* of the Tories was a proof that they would be always the supporters of arbitrary principles. Was there a man in that meeting who did not acknowledge the truth of that position, and who was not ready to declare that the Tory domination was one of corruption and of misrule? (Hear). Had not these very men in 1789 and 1792 attempted to stop the progress of reform by entering upon a ruinous war to divert the attention of Englishmen from the subject? The same measures would probably be now again resorted to; but unfortunately for the Tories, "the schoolmaster has been since abroad," and he trusted the time would shortly arrive when every child would be able to read, and as he grew up be able to judge for himself. They had already obtained the means of putting them down by the Reform Bill, and it was not to be supposed that his Majesty would have sanctioned that bill if he did not mean to render it really effective for the redress of the grievances of the people. It was absurd to suppose that the Government could be properly conducted unless with the approbation of the majority of the people. Look at the very acts of the Tories. Were they not anxious to protect what had been thought almost too rotten to touch, the Irish Established Church? (Hear, hear). The church, he admitted, should be supported; but was it necessary to protect the abuses, the corruption, and the misrule of every department of that church, which had become scandalous all over the earth? There was more in the present stand of the Tories than they were aware of; it was an underhand attempt to put an end to that reform which the late Ministry had candidly told his Majesty they intended to effect; the extent of which it was not now necessary to allude to further, than that it would meet the wishes of the people of England, and the House of Commons. (Cheers). They might all recollect the speech lately put into his Majesty's mouth, in which he declared that he was prepared to defend all the institutions, not the good ones, or the good parts, but all the institutions of church and state as they now stood, with all their abominations and abuses. (A voice, "It has been copied in letters of gold"). He (Mr. Hume) was well reminded that it had been copied in letters of gold. Every Tory in the country had it over his mantel-piece. Did not that show the character of the advisers by whom he was surrounded? Let them look at the speeches of the Ashford and Canterbury dinners, and they would there find the Conservatives boldly asserting that his Majesty was determined to support every part of the constitution *as it now existed*. These observations and assertions were deserving of serious attention. *The Duke had stated at the Ashford dinner that the rotten church would be defended by the army and navy of England*. That was what they had to expect from the military Dictator. (Loud cheers). Who then was the agitator that set the people in a ferment? Who was the disturber of

the public peace? Was it not the Duke, by hazarding such declarations as these? (Cheers). Would the people be lulled by the story that a *casse blanche* had been sent to Sir Robert Peel, and that the conqueror of one hundred battles was willing to take office as a subaltern under him? This was a mere subterfuge. If Sir Robert Peel were Minister to-morrow, did they not all know that the Duke of Wellington would be the adviser, and the leading man at the Horse Guards and elsewhere? (Cheers). Let the people be on their guard and peaceful. Let them pursue the straight-forward course they had adopted before, and they must prevail over military despotism and the supporters of the Holy Alliance. (Renewed cheering). Need he remind them how they had suffered under Castlereagh, when the country had been dragged at the wheels of that unholy alliance? Need he ask them whether they would now remain quiet under the yoke of the same party until they had ascertained what Sir Robert Peel intended to do? ("No, no" and loud cheers). If Sir R. Peel professed his readiness to grant the people universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual Parliaments, he (Mr. H.) would not believe a word of it (hear!), for what would he do with Lords Winchelsea and Kenyon, and Sir R. Inglis (who he understood had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land)? How would he act when he (Mr. H.) had the declaration of the latter, who was a man of honour and consistent in his principles, "that from his knowledge of his Right Hon. Friend, (Sir R. Peel), he could not believe that he who had acted so consistently for years, would now carry into effect measures which he had so often declared would be ruinous to the country; but even if such measures were brought forward by that right hon. gentleman or others, he (Sir R. Inglis) would oppose them." (Cheers). What a strange state they were placed in, for not one friend of the hon. baronet had yet come forward to say one word for him, or to send him from the charge of being a man without honour, because of his taking office for the mere sake of lucre and power, and for the purpose of being enabled to gratify his friends by saddling them upon the public. In that cry he (Mr. H.) would be obliged to join, if he saw Sir R. Peel now take the helm of affairs, and say, "I utterly disregard all my former opinions—I will carry through these very reforms which I think are and have been declared to be abominations, so that I can keep in power." (Cheers). Down with such men (great cheering); but he was led away by the heat of argument, for, thank God, they were not up yet (cheers)—and he trusted they never would be. He thought he could tell them of whom the Tory Administration was to be formed. He judged of what materials it was to be made up from looking at those who had of late attended the councils, he would ask whether there was one man amongst them from whom the country had a right to expect any redress of grievances; was there one amongst them who had not emptied his pockets for the purpose of supporting the constitution as it then stood, full of rank abuses? (Loud cheering). The language of the resolution was most appropriate, for the Tories had certainly been the most active enemies of all reforms. Feeling strongly for the liberties of his country, he most emphatically declared that he could put no trust in such men; he could not believe that they would bring forward any measures that would be beneficial. In England the people were strong enough to check them and protect themselves, but the mischief the Tories could do with allying this country again to the infamous Holy Alliance, was altogether incalculable; and if they were allowed to remain in power, the people of *regenerated* France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, would again be trampled upon by the tyrants and despots they had so lately relieved themselves from. Those people were anxiously looking forward to the time when Englishmen should regain all their liberties (hear, hear); it was for that time they most anxiously prayed (cheers); for then they trusted the example would

be so good as to carry conviction along with it, and extend the blessings of real liberty to them. (Cheers). How strange was their situation; how awful it was even now, when reports were made to his Majesty of the sentences awarded by the law to criminals, there was not even the shadow of a council with which to advise; all was left to the great warrior, who was to be seen flying from one office to another; who was now here, now there, conducting the whole business of the state without assistance. Who, he would ask, was the agitator? Daniel O'Connell (cheers) had been described as such, but the Duke of Wellington was greater, in seizing as he did all the powers of Government, and keeping possession of them for fifteen days. For all that was known, he might continue to be "the Government" in his own person, for another fifteen, and if this were allowed, why might he not say, "I have managed very well for one month, why should I not save the trouble and expense of filling up any of the offices? I can do the duties of them all well enough." (Cheers and laughter). He called upon the meeting to look at what the Tories had done, and judge of them by their former acts. They had been told over and over again to wait for declarations from the Government, and promises were made that refusal should go on: if they wished for a sample of Tory promises, they had no farther to look than to the conduct of the thorough "church and King" Lord Mayor. (Loud laughter). He really was sorry, and almost felt ashamed, when he saw some sensible men, friends of his, so easily imposed upon by such a shallow hollow man, as his civic lordship. That was the time for them to tell his Majesty, in the most distinct terms, that they would place no confidence in such men, and that if he wished to have peace at home, he must keep trade and manufactures in a flourishing condition, which could never be done by appointing a Ministry which did not possess the confidence of the country. (Cheers). Let them have a long pull, a strong pull, but above all, let them have a pull all together, and their suc-

cess was certain. The hon. Gentleman concluded amidst great applause.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and passed unanimously amidst cheering.

DEATH OF PAPER-MONEY.

IN America, at any rate, this devil is dead and buried; and the following, taken from a New York newspaper, called the "*Jeffersonian*," is an account of the melancholy funeral. The President has found a sensible people to rally round him, and support him in the exercise of his prerogative. They have chosen a new Congress, and have given him a majority of three to two, if not two to one, pledged to support him against the devil of paper-money. I insert this article with, as far as I recollect, more pleasure than I ever inserted an article before in my life.

(From the *Jeffersonian*)

BANK FUNERAL POSTPONED.—In consequence of some of the leading members of the Whigs of 1834, alias the Pin party, alias Bank Tory party, having been confined to their rooms by gout, rheumatism, &c., occasioned by their over exertions during the late campaign, and the time occupied in paying up their bets, the funeral procession of the Bank was postponed until this day, at the same hour, when it will positively take place.

We insert the funeral procession this morning, and we hope the undertaker will be as prompt as possible, as it is rumoured by several of the friends of the deceased that the corpse smells horribly.

DEATH, BURIAL, & FUNERAL PROCESSION

OF THE

BRITISH BANK,*Alias the U. S. Bank,*

FROM THE BANK TORIES HEAD QUARTERS, MASONIC HALL.

ORDER OF PROCESSION.**GRAND MARSHAL—ADONIRAM CHANDLER,***Mounted on the celebrated horse PANIC.***MUSIC—Playing the Funeral Dirge.***"The Bank Tories are completely routed."**Air—Rogues March.***COFFIN.**

Pall Bearers

Pall Bearers

Leigh

Frelinghuysen

Tyler

Ewing

Clay

Webster

Pondexter

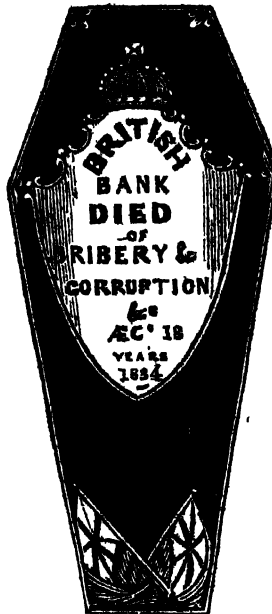
Sprague

Calhoun

Preston

Southard

Beil



A Mule carrying Nick Biddle's Boots, in which are deposited a list of the Bank-Pensioned Editors, led by Redwood Fisher.

THE DIFFERENT TORY EDITORS.**CHIEF MOURNERS.**

DUDLEY SELDEN
 OGDEN HOFFMAN
 WILLIAM SAMPSON
 DR. McNEVEN
 JAMES G. KING

JAMES WATSON WEBB
 MORDECAI M. NOAH
 COL. WM. L. STONE
 CHARLES KING
 THEODORE DWIGHT
 DAVID HALE
 JOHN LOCKE

HIRID BULLIES**DISAPPOINTED OFFICE SEEKERS.****WHIGS OF 1834.**

With Pins on the Lapels of their coats.

The Funeral Oration will be delivered by God-like Daniel. Funeral Dirge written by Gull Verplanck, and recited by Dudley Selden to the Air

Hark from the Polls a doleful sound,
Mine ears attend the cry,
Ye living Whigs, come view the ground,
Where you must shortly lie.—*Modernized*

Webster Southard and Ewing will each wear two wigs and one scratch on the left arm, in consequence of having arrived in town just in time to pay the last tribute of respect to the remains of the departed monster.

The procession will then move from Masonic Hall at 2 o'clock precisely, and proceed from thence to the Battery, where a British packet will be in readiness to convey the remains to Nova Scotia for interment

All the Whig captains in the harbour are requested to hoist the British ensign at half-mast, and all other Whigs to wear a piece of crape on the left arm for 30 days.

During the procession, a ~~new~~ bell will be rung, and minate guns will be fired from the *Little Frigate*, under the command of Tom Going. Powder will be furnished by Col. Webb from the Royal Magazine, for the purpose of firing three rounds of blank cartridge, by his corps de reserve.

P.S.—The Bank Whig Tory who mutilated the figure-head of the *Constitution*, has just arrived, and will also join in procession.

We understand the editor of the defunct *Eng'opias* the Gull, will accompany the corpse to Nova Scotia, and pay it funeral honours by strewing over the grave 10,000 copies of his paper, which he was not able to dispose of during the election.

N.B. We understand that upon a *post-mortem* examination held on the body of the deceased *Bayle* alias the Gull, by Dr. Mc'Nevin, a part of Clay's speech was found in the windpipe, which was the cause of his speedy exit, the bird being unable to digest such rank food.

SIR ROBERT PEEL,

THE newspapers tell us, that the messenger who went from BRIGHTON is *come back*, and that Sir ROBERT is *coming*. Under similar circumstances it should have been said of me, that I *was come*, and that the messenger was *coming*. I will hear of no circumstances: I will hear of no obstacle but time and space. The clothes never should have gone off my back; a bed never should have received my body, till I had been in the presence of a King who had done me such honour as the King did to him in this cage. I wish to say nothing ill-natured, but I will not disguise my thoughts; and I must say ~~that~~ I think this is a bad beginning.

MR. HUME'S LETTER

"TO THE ELECTORS OF MIDDLESEX.

"Gentlemen,—I find, that during my absence from England, important and alarming changes have taken place in the state of public affairs. The majority of my metropolitan colleagues have published an address to their constituents, to which, had I been present, I should have given my willing assent.

"In so doing, however, I should more especially have agreed with those amongst them who think that we have reason greatly to complain of the undecided and timid policy which Ministers adopted, after carrying the great measure of reform in Parliament; thereby retarding those ameliorations it was calculated to produce, and disappointing the just expectations of the people, who had so nobly supported them through the previous struggle.

"By this line of conduct, they, perhaps, deemed it possible to conciliate those whom they ought to have known to be irreconcilable enemies; not perceiving that they were thereby losing (or not caring to lose) the confidence of honest and sincere friends. Again and again had they been warned by myself and others, even at the risk of wounding the feelings of men, with whom we were most anxious to co-operate, of the inevitable consequences of such irreso-

lute and mischievous policy; the result bears out our anticipations. The people became comparatively indifferent; re-action was openly talked of; the King, deceived as to the feelings of the nation, dismissed the reform Ministry; and the Duke of Wellington is the dictator; the more than Prime Minister, of England; amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the advocates and supporters of arbitrary Government here, and throughout the continent of Europe.

"I speak confidently as to this last point; having just witnessed the excitement and anxiety produced abroad, by the news of this change of Ministry.

"We are, indeed, placed in an unprecedented situation: for ten days, the whole responsibility of every department of the Government (save that of Lord Chancellor) has been vested in one man. It may be ten; it may be twenty more days, ere Sir Robert Peel, on whom, it seems, our fate depends, arrive, to say whether we have or have not an administration! Had it pleased his Majesty to call to his councils Lord William Bentinck, from India, instead of Sir Robert Peel, from Italy, we might have been kept in this situation for a year. If it be competent to one man to hold all the offices of the state for one week, why not for one year?

"I respect the prerogative of his Majesty, given for the benefit of his people, of calling to his councils whomsoever he may think proper; but, I ask, is the present a state of things that should continue without remonstrance on our part? Should we not present humble and dutiful petitions to his Majesty (whose sincere regard for the true interests of his people has been too strongly proved, by his grant of reform, to be for a moment doubted), that he will be graciously pleased to assemble the great council of the nation, in order to restore confidence at home and abroad? Or, if it be supposed that the present Parliament does not fairly represent the opinions of the nation, let us entreat him, by dissolve it at once, to appeal, as on a former occasion, to his people.

"That the Tories have obtained the confidence of the people, I cannot for a moment believe. That the same men who so powerfully struggled to obtain reform in Parliament, as a means of securing good and cheap government, should now expect to effect that great object through a party whose political history, to this day, has been a series of extravagance, corruption, and oppression, is what I never will believe. until I see a House of Commons returned in which that party shall have a majority.

"To avert such a calamity will be the duty of the electors, when called upon, as they must soon be, to protect, as well as their own, the rights and interests of that large majority of the people who have, as yet, no voice in the selection of representatives.

"Let me, therefore, entreat all real Reformers to lay aside their minor differences, and combine their united efforts against the unalterable enemies of all efficient reform in church and state.

"From such a party, let us *listen to no offers, accept no compromise*. Specious hopes may be held out to delude and to gain time; but, can men who opposed the Reform Bill in every stage, and denounced it as the destruction of the British constitution, be the fit instruments to work out its legitimate beneficial results? I hold that they cannot. Let all those who think with me join heart and hand in the approaching trial. I do not, I will not, for a moment, doubt but that their efforts will be crowned with a success as glorious as marked their former memorable struggles.

"I remain, gentlemen,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"JOSEPH HUME.

"*Bryanston-square, Nov. 24*"

DINNER AT OLDHAM.

THE following, from the *Manchester Advertiser*, is some account of what took place at the dinner given to Mr. FARRDEN and myself, by our constituency. There was an open-air meeting in the middle of the day; but to give an account of the whole that has passed would fill a pretty tolerable volume. We had

a hearty welcome, a fine day, and jovial night; and, what was the really pleasant part of the thing, we had to address ourselves to some of the most sensible people in the world; not to be deluded by the hideous outcry of the Whigs; men knowing their own duty to their country; men too sensible to wish to interfere with the King in the exercise of his duty; men *relying on us* to prevent that exercise from doing harm to them. After reading of this noise and the nonsense, which the Whig commissioners have been enabled to stir up amongst little groups in London, it was a satisfaction, indeed, for us to reflect, that, *here*, we were in the midst of a million of industrious people with sense enough to despise that noise and that nonsense.

THE DINNER.

It had been arranged that a public dinner should be given to Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden, in the evening of this day. The honourable members remained at the Albion inn during the whole of the afternoon, and were visited by a number of their constituents and other gentlemen. In the evening about 150 gentlemen sat down to a good and substantial dinner, prepared by Mrs. Clay. Applications to a much greater extent were made, but it was found impossible to accommodate more than the above number. The dinner was laid out in two rooms, and those in the smaller room were accommodated in the principal room, on the withdrawal of the cloth.—Joshua Milne, Esq., was in the chair, supported by the honourable members for the borough. Many gentlemen from Manchester were also present at the dinner. We must content ourselves with a more brief report of the proceedings than that given above. Dinner being ended,

The CHAIRMAN proceeded to the main business of the day. After some preliminary remarks respecting his own unfitness for the office, the Chairman proceeded to congratulate the meeting on their having both their highly valued and respected representatives once more

among them. He expressed a hope that, in the bursts of eloquence which they might anticipate from many of the gentlemen who would have to address them, no abusive language or coarse epithets would be indulged in against their political opponents: a good cause needed not such aids, and a bad one was sure to be injured by them. Let them fight their adversaries with the weapons of argument, not of abuse. The first toast was an old acquaintance, but he believed it would not be the less acceptable on that account. The Chairman then gave, "The people, the source of all just authority." After due honour had been done to this toast, the Chairman next gave, "A full, fair, and free representation of the people in Parliament, connected as that must necessarily be, with the repeal of the Septennial Act and the vote by ballot.

The CHAIRMAN here said, that the toast he had next the honour to propose might be said to be the principal one of the evening, as it was most closely connected with the occasion upon which they had met. The company would anticipate that the toast referred to the two gentlemen who sat on his right and left. (Loud cheers). The conduct of those gentlemen in Parliament, during two most arduous sessions, had been such as to give great and general satisfaction to those by whose suffrages they had been placed in their present situation; a situation which they had so ably and so worthily filled. (Hear). It was true, he had been frequently asked by those who were opposed to them, what good their hon. members had done in Parliament, as if he two members for Oldham had the power to carry any measures which their wisdom or humanity might suggest, with the same ease with which the Whig Government had carried so many foolish, not to say wicked measures. (Hear). His reply had been, what had they *not* done, that it was in the power of two men to do? (Hear). If the members of all the new constituencies had done their duty equally well, we should by this time have been experiencing the solid benefits of a large

reduction of taxation. (Hear). The Chairman concluded by calling upon

Mr. FITTON, to speak more at length upon the toast: He said it would be a libel upon the feelings and understandings of those present to suppose that they did not fully appreciate the merits of the two gentlemen whose names were mentioned in the toast, and therefore any enlargement upon those merits would be unnecessary, though nothing could be more simple, distinguished as one of the gentlemen was in the field of politics and literature, and as the other was as a kind and humane master, and as sustaining an honourable name among British merchants. But it was to their characters and conduct as members for that borough that he now wished to call the particular attention of the company; and he was sure they would agree with him that however disgraceful was the general character of the first "reformed" Parliament, and however melancholy the exhibition had been, to those who had so long struggled for reform, he was sure they would agree with him that the career of their own representatives had been honourable in the greatest degree, as they had generally been opposed to the great majority of that Parliament, a Parliament, he grieved to say, that he believed had not had its equal, since the days of Elizabeth, for imbecility of intellect and wickedness of purpose, for abject degradation, and an absence of all those other honourable features which a Parliament ought to possess; a Parliament which enjoyed greater means of doing good than any which had preceded it, and which had still not done one thing to redeem the foul act it had committed in passing the odious Poor-law Bill. After a severe condemnation of the present House of Commons the speaker complimented the constituency of Oldham for not going among the Lord Johns and Lord Charleses for persons to represent them in Parliament, but had rather sought out two men having some community of feeling and interest with themselves; and if the whole kingdom had been searched, he verily believed that it would have

been impossible to have found two gentlemen who would have performed their duties so well. (Loud applause). Where all their parliamentary conduct was so good, it would perhaps be difficult to select portions for especial praise; but he (Mr. Fitton) would just refer, in the case of Mr. Cobbett, to his vigorous opposition to the Irish Coercion Bill, and his exposure of the iniquities of the stamp laws. Also to his presentation of the Camberwell and Walworth petition, whereby he had saved the life of George Fuzzey, and the part he had taken in the whole matter connected with it. He (Mr. F.) would say that this last was among the acts that would ever live in the minds of the people of that borough, and ever secure for him the gratitude of the whole nation. (Loud cheers). Then there was his resolute opposition to the grant of twenty millions to a parcel of bankrupt West India planters; and his equally resolute opposition to the (so called) Poor-law Amendment Bill; a bill which none but a base and brutal legislature would have ventured to project; a bill which Mr. Cobbett had denounced in the most indignant and eloquent terms; a bill which he believed not the worst Tory Parliament that had ever existed, not even that which passed the Six Acts, would have sanctioned. For his unflinching opposition to this bill, Mr. Cobbett deserved, and had obtained the gratitude of all real friends of humanity. (Hear). With respect to Mr. Fielden, he would remark once for all, that it was sufficient to say that he had always resolutely seconded Mr. Cobbett in all his efforts; that he had constantly and unflinchingly fought side by side with him in his endeavours to obtain a reduction of taxation for the labouring classes of the community. (Hear). He also possessed a fund of local knowledge which Mr. Cobbett could not be expected to be master of, and which enabled him to make known the real condition of the working classes, and to check and expose the audacious bullyings of official falsehood, when it was asserted that all the working classes were in a state of perfect prosperity.

This he had done by means of a statement authenticated by the signatures of individuals whose veracity could not be impeached; he had thus struck official insolence dumb, and compelled Lord Althorp to grant a committee of inquiry into the state of manufactures, shipping, and agriculture, before which every one of his statements had been proved ten-fold, by a body of evidence which it was impossible to overturn. The Ministry, however, finding that they were defeated here, had recourse to a shuffle, to prevent the report from being published, and no report had been published from that day to this. Mr. Fitton concluded his excellent speech by proposing, "Our respected representatives, Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden, the zealous and able advocates of the interests of the poor." The toast was drunk with enthusiasm.

Mr. COBBETT then rose, and was loudly cheered. His speech necessarily contained a repetition of many of the observations made during his morning's address; these we shall pass over without further notice. He alluded to the complimentary manner in which the exertions of himself and colleague had been set forth and received. Certainly, however, no more than justice had been done to their intentions, and also to their endeavours as far as they were able. But in regard to any disappointment which might be felt about what they had effected, he and his colleague had in reality hardly more power in the House than as if they had been two little robins or a couple of sparrows (laughter), and it had been a great source of mortification to them to see how every motion for the good of the people had been treated. Mr. Fitton had truly described the character of this Parliament. But they should have seen its conduct with very few exceptions, when his hon. colleague made his statement relative to the condition of the hand-loom weavers. I have seen the obdurate men, by scores, sit and sneer at my hon. colleague, and laugh, and turn up their noses, while he was giving details of the smallness of the wages of these poor men, and the ex-

tent of their sufferings, and when he himself was almost unable to give utterance to his sentiments, such was the heart-rending character of the picture which he drew. (Shame). To be able to endure this was no small degree of suffering, gentlemen; and my excellent colleague suffered more than I in this respect. I treated them in a different manner: I tendered them scorn for scorn (cheers and laughter); I, paid them back pretty much in their own coin. (Continued laughter). I believe I gave them payment for what was due for my hon. colleague, I paid for him as well as myself. (Hear). For if I have a word at my command, a twist of my body, or a twitch of my face, which is calculated to show my contempt of such a set, they have it from me as often as I find occasion. (Loud cheers). This was due from me to my colleague, and to you also: for had you been standing by you would have wished me to do it. You would have said—"Provoke them and pay them off, for we can't." Whatever part of my duty I have neglected, gentlemen, I have not neglected this part, at any rate. (Cheers and laughter). Talk of neglecting duty, the hon. member continued, he would have read a paper which had just been put into his hand, but to which there was no signature. The hon. member here read the letter. It called for an explanation of his conduct in not having been present and voted on behalf of Mr. Harvey's motion for a revision of the pension-list. He would give them explanation. The motion was one of inquiry into a particular class of pensions, amounting in all to about 180,000*l.* per annum, and required the grounds of such pensions to be stated. In a conversation he had had with Mr. Harvey, he had made objections to the terms of his motion: he would have assumed that no person had any right to a pension who could not himself show a good claim to it. There was, to be sure, no harm in the motion; and he (Mr. Cobbett) would have voted for it but that he was out of town when it was submitted to the House. But he saw a much better opportunity for such a motion: when the Poor-law

Bill was under discussion, and they had come to the motion requiring the fathers, grandfathers, children, &c. of paupers, to support their reciprocal relations, instead of their being sent to the parish, he moved as an amendment to the clause, as had been stated to the meeting that morning by his hon. colleague, that the parents and children of all persons on the pension-list should support their relatives in like manner, and their names be removed from such list. (Hear). Now, he thought this a great deal better way of treating the matter, although he did not blame Mr. Harvey for what he had done. After some remarks on the triumph which the people of Oldham had enabled him to achieve over those who had for years been attempting to keep him down; over that man (Lord Brougham) who had now fallen for ever himself; Mr. Cobbett again referred to the three ingredients of parliamentary reform, a repeal of the Septennial Act, the ballot, and an extension of the suffrage. In regard to the first, he advocated annual parliaments, as being a return to the ancient usages of the constitution; expressed an opinion that the second (the ballot) was not of very much importance, but that it ought to be placed under such regulations, that any constituency might have recourse to it that should so determine: and in regard to the third, repeated many of his arguments of the morning, to prove that representation ought to be co-extensive with the rights of labour. This was a principle: let them but forsake this for a money qualification, and they abandoned the principle, and a 100*l.* qualification might then be fixed with as much regard to the principles as a 1*l.* qualification. With regard to the Duke of Wellington, he knew not what he would do; but if the people did their duty they had nothing to fear from him. But he (Mr. Cobbett) must say that the Dissenters were somewhat unreasonable when they united against him; for he had once granted them something, in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts while the late Ministry, individually and collectively, in-

cluding Lord Durham, had declared that they would never consent to a separation of church and state. Suppose the Duke were now to take it into his head to grant a church reform, and a separation from the state. (Hear). He (Mr. Cobbett) was of opinion that no reform of the church would be sufficient that did not include a separation from the state. The mere granting of degrees at the universities was only an aristocratical distinction, giving an advantage to the rich over the poor Dissenters. He explained the nature of this advantage, by saying that those who were called to the bar were saved three years of preliminary study, besides a large amount of expense, if they had first obtained a degree at the university. He repeated, that he should be content with no plan of church reform that did not involve a separation, and also that did not take the tithe from the parsons and convert it into a tax upon the land to carry on the business of Government. After thanking the company for their attention, Mr. Cobbett sat down amidst loud applause.

Mr. FIELDEN next rose, and was hailed by loud cheering. After alluding to the feelings by which he had been actuated since his election as the representative of Oldham, namely, to do justice to the working classes of the country, Mr. Fielden dwelt upon the disgraceful conduct invariably exhibited in Parliament, towards those members who undertook such an ungracious task. The scoffing and jesting, and horrible noises, sometimes indulged by members of the British legislature, who were living on the industry of the people at large, were oftentimes such as would disgrace a cockpit, and would almost baffle description. He referred to the hopes excited by the promises held out by the Whig Government, not one of which had been realized; but on the contrary, many acts had been done for which the people despised them, and he hoped they would never be allowed to return to power. (Hear). The hon. Member next adverted to the endeavours he had made in reference to the inquiry into the state of the hand-

loom weavers, and to the complete establishment of this statement of their distress, by evidence brought before that committee. As to the causes of this distress, which, though not perhaps equal to the scenes of distress lately witnessed by his hon. colleague in Ireland, was at all events such as the working men of England were not likely to endure quietly for any long time; as to the causes of this, an idea was entertained by some persons, that they were beyond legislative control; that they arose out of a state of things which must exist, while a transition was going on by which labour was almost superseded; in other words, that the sufferings of the hand-loom weavers were the result of the improvements in machinery. To satisfy the committee that this was not the fact, and that the distress arose from other causes than those assigned above; causes which were susceptible of parliamentary control, he (Mr. Fielden), caused witnesses to attend from all parts of England where the woollen, silk, cotton, and linen manufacture was carried on; from Spitalfields, Macclesfield, Stockport, Leeds, Manchester, Bolton, Glasgow, and Paisley; and established beyond the power of contradiction that the condition of the hand-loom weavers was nearly the same, whether they were engaged in woollen, silk, linen, or cotton. (Hear). Now in the linen and silk weaving, there were few power-looms introduced: in the woollen weaving the number was also comparatively small, while for the finer fabric of cottons, such as muslins, there were not many used; still the workmen in all these branches were suffering as much distress as those of the cotton hand-loom weavers; nay, more than the plain calico weavers, whose labour came more extensively into competition with the power-loom machinery. (Hear). Thus, then, it was proved that other causes must be in operation to produce this distress; especially as it was admitted that the agricultural population were in an equal or nearly equal state of depression to the hand-loom weavers; and the two together constituted with

their families nearly twenty millions of the population of the empire. (Hear). In his investigation upon the subject, he (Mr. F.) had devised a plan calculated, as he thought, to effect an improvement. This plan he was urged to lay before the committee, but he refused until they allowed him formally to give evidence before them. He then developed his plan, which was nearly the same as that recommended by the Bolton weavers; (to establish local boards of trade, to regulate the rate of wages, we presume); and he hoped that next session, if the Parliament held together so long, something would be done towards the relief of the class he had mentioned. But who did the meeting think he (Mr. F.) had found the greatest opponents of parliamentary interference in the matter? Why, the free-traders among the Whigs; those who were everlastingly crying out for low prices, without ever making an attempt, except in an opposite direction, to give us low taxes. If they had made an alteration in the taxes equal to the alteration made in the value of money, the late inquiry would have been unnecessary, and the weavers would now have been in a state of prosperity. These Whig free-traders, in the advocacy of their doctrine, were eternally clamouring for a repeal of the corn laws. Now he (Mr. F.) was also for a repeal of those laws; but not to accompany that repeal by an equivalent reduction of taxes would be manifestly unjust to the cultivators of the soil. He had told the latter, when they opposed the repeal, that they went the wrong way to work; why not endeavour to take off the taxes? "Oh," they replied, "this cannot be done, there is the funded debt, and national faith must be kept." "Then," was my reply, "I will vote against you, and I hope you will suffer until you agree to that equitable adjustment for which my hon. colleague has been contending; then the corn laws will be unnecessary." (Hear). An equitable adjustment or a return to paper-money, was inevitable; for it was impossible to pay the present amount of taxation in the present currency; indeed

he would rather see a return to paper than the endeavour to go on as at present persevered in, as the system would then sooner come to an end. Perhaps, however, the Duke by his measures would render a return to paper unnecessary: some said that he would repeal the malt-tax, which would certainly be a bold step; and he might also lay on a property tax; but how would the landlords bear this, with wheat at 40s. the quarter? (Hear). But at all events it was the duty of the people resolutely to demand a large reduction of taxation; and if an election should take place, to determine not to vote for any man who would not pledge himself to attempt a reduction to the extent of twenty millions at least. (Hear). One main cause of the strenuous battling for low prices was the advantage thereby obtained by pensioners and annuitants. Thus every one of this class could now purchase twice as much corn with the same money as he could before the war; and thrice as much cloth; and yet his income remained untouched. The same consideration, he (Mr. F.) had no doubt, had suggested the new Poor-law Bill, which, if not repealed, would rapidly involve the country in difficulties which every good man must deplore. (Hear). Mr. Fielden concluded by thanking the meeting for their attention, and sat down amidst thunders of applause.

The CHAIRMAN next gave, "The 654 electors who returned Messrs. Cobbett and Fielden."

Mr. TAYLOR spoke upon this toast in a speech pregnant with excellent commonsense and humour. He drew a picture of Mr. Cobbett's sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of the people.

"The working men of Oldham, and may they soon obtain their political rights," was next given.

Mr. CONDY, being loudly called for, spoke in illustration of the toast. He referred to the many instances of virtue and intelligence exhibited by the democracy, none of which were more striking than that shown by the working men of that borough, in their attachment to their own hon. members.

Mr. COBBETT then rose again, and in reference to what had been said, by Mr. Taylor, of his sufferings and sacrifices, said he did not lay claim to more than ordinary disinterestedness; but the fact was that he had coolly compared the advantages of riches joined to the detestation of a whole people, with comparative poverty; simply being able to obtain decent clothes and enough to eat for his family, health, and little or no serious care, and the good will of millions; he had chosen the latter, and had no reason to regret his preference. (Loud cheers). He, and Canning, and Huskisson, and Liverpool, and Brougham, had all started in the world at the same time: whose lot was now most to be envied? (Loud cheers). The honourable member next returned to the topic of the suffrage, and gave expressions to some opinions on the subject which he said had been suggested by Mr. Condy's speech. He made a powerful address in favour of the suffrage being founded on the rights of labour, which we regret our already much exceeded limits compel us to omit.

The CHAIRMAN next proposed the health of Andrew Jackson, the President of the United States.

To this toast Mr. COBBETT responded, and gave a sketch of the life of that great enemy of paper-money.

Mr. FIELDEN also made some remarks on the evil consequences of paper-money, especially in the facility which it afforded for the negotiating of foreign loans, and the numerous attendant frauds. Reverting to the subject of the hand-loom weavers, the honourable member said that their work had been described as mere child's play. The fact was, that children were now compelled to do the work of men, and men and women compelled to do the work of horses. (Cheers).

The CHAIRMAN next gave, "A system of poor-laws for Ireland, founded on the statute of the 43d of Elizabeth."

Mr. CONDY was again called up, and gave a description of the state of Ireland, consequent upon the mal-administration of her affairs. This again brought up Mr. Cobbett, who described

the state of the peasantry in many parts of Ireland he had recently visited, and with much force and eloquence advocated the introduction of poor laws, as the most effectual remedy for this.

The CHAIRMAN next gave, "George Condy, Esq., and the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*"; he described the *Advertiser* as the only organ of radicalism in this part of the country.

Mr. CONDY briefly returned thanks amidst loud cheers, and gave the health of the Chairman, which was received with acclamation. In acknowledging the toast, Mr. Milne said, that averse as he was to taking part in a political contest; and much as he had exercised his humble abilities at the last election, to secure the return of their present hon. members, he was so perfectly satisfied with their parliamentary conduct, that should another election take place, he was ready to redouble his exertions to effect their re-election? This announcement was received with loud cheers.

An accident caused a delay in the delivery of a part of last week's impression, so that some of the *Registers* were too late for post. This, however, is not likely to occur again.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1834.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BELLAMY, J., Ross, Herefordshire, apothecary.
BROOKS, J., Wells, Somersetshire, mercer.
SALTHOUSE, W., Poulton, Lancashire, malster.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, T., Rufford, Lancashire, inn-keeper.
BIDDLE, J., Birmingham, factor.
CROSSBY, B., Rotherham, Yorkshire, draper.
EARP, J., and T. Haines, Brownlow-street, Holborn, tailors.
FIELDHOUSE, B., Kinfane, Staffordshire, inn-keeper.
GIBBS, J., Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, grocer.
HALLILEY, E., Leeds, cloth-merchant.
HORTON, J., Leeds, joiner.
HUSTLER, O., Halstead, Essex, scrivener.
REVETT, J., Colchester, stage-coach-proprietor.
SCARR, R. T., jun., Bishops Stortford Hertfordshire, surgeon.

SMALPAGE, R., Leeds, tailor.
SMITH, J. D., Norwood, stable-keeper.
STAIG, J. and J. Poulson, City-basin, marble-masons.
SUSTENANCE, S. W., Piccadilly and Robert-street, Chelsea, bookseller.
TAYNTON, N., Lincoln's-inn, law-stationer.
WALKER, T., Trowbridge, Wiltshire, cloth-manufacturer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

LUGTON, A., Haddington, grocer.
THOMSON, A., St. Andrews, merchant.
WYLLIE, W., Kilmarnock, carpet-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

INSOLVENTS.

BURROWS, W., Leicester-street, Leicester-square, plumber.
ELFORD, R., Twickenham Common, veterinary surgeon and farrier.
LYNCH, R. P., Duke-street, Portland-place, and Hackney, manufacturer of rosin-oil.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, T., Rufford, Lancashire, inn-keeper.
BAYER, G., Farnham-pl., Southwark, tanner.
BERRY, J., Tabernacle-walk, draper.
BLOXAM, W., Warrford-court, Throgmorton-street, stock-broker.
COLEMAN, T., Dorlston, Staffordshire, nail-master.
DONE, T., Audley, Staffordshire, farmer.
FIELDHOUSE, B., Kinfane, Staffordshire, farmer.
HUMPHRIES, J., Newgate-street, victualler.
KINGSLEY, J., Holone, Bedfordshire, sheep-jobber.
LARK, W., Bungay, Suffolk, wine-merchant.
PAYNE, C. M., and J. Jones, Paternoster-row, silk-printers.
POOLE, W., and V. Thompson, Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-road, victuallers.
RITCHER, A., Soho-square, bookseller.
SMITH, J. D., Norwood, Surrey, stable-keeper.
STUART, W. B., Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, tailor.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 8.—We had a fair supply of Wheat to this morning's market from the home counties, and which proved much more than adequate to the demand. Fine white Wheat supported the currency of last Monday, but fine red, and all other descriptions, moved slowly off hand at a decline of 1s. per quarter. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring. The large supply of Barley, principally from Scotland and Ireland, and the general run of the latter being of inferior quality, has depressed the market, and Chevalier must be noted 1s. per quarter lower, while all other malting, as well as distilling samples, are 1s. to 2s. per quarter cheaper.

The Malt trade was heavy, and little progress made even at a decline of 1s. per quarter. The arrivals of Oats, particularly from Ireland, have been extensive, and prices in consequence have given way 6d. to 1s. for English and Scotch as well as Irish descriptions, but at this decline a fair extent of business was transacted.

Beans were in liberal supply, particularly from Essex, and 1s. per quarter lower, with a heavy trade.

White Peas have found purchasers at the previous currency, and grey and maple continue scarce, and to the full as dear.

It was rumoured at the beginning of the market, that Flour would be lowered 2s. per sack, making the best Town-made, 40s. per sack; but at the close, no alteration had taken place. The trade, however, ruled dull.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 56s.
Red, new.....	40s. to 44s.
Old	41s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 45s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	40s. to 44s.
Fine white	44s. to 45s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	44s. to 45s.
Irish, red, good.....	35s. to 36s.
White	36s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	28s. to 30s.
Distilling.....	30s. to 34s.
Maiting	34s. to 36s.
Chevalier ..	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	58s. to 40s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples	42s. to 45s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 24s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	22s. to 24s.
Black.....	24s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	26s. to 28s.
Old.....	27s. to 31s.
Angus, new	25s. to 26s.
Old	26s. to 28s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 26s.
Old.....	26s. to 28s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Old.....	27s. to 29s.
Irish Potato, new.....	23s. to 25s.
Old.....	23s. to 26s.
Feed, new light	18s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.

Foreign feed.....	24s. to 25s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c....	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 8.

This day's supply of Beasts was very great; the supply of sheep and Porks moderately good; of calves, but limited. Trade was, with the prime small veal, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 2d. per stone; but with the inferior descriptions of veal, as also beef, mutton, and pork, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's prices.

About a fifth of the Beasts were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 150 Norfolk homebreds, 30 Sussex Beasts, a few Town's-end Cows, Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, old Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 2,600 of the Beasts, more than a fourth of which were Shorthorns, the remainder about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 250 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and other of our northern districts; about 250, chiefly Scots, with a few homebreds, Devons and runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 500, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with a few Scots, from our western and midland districts; about 50, fully three-fifths of which were Sussex Beasts, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, runts, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, from the neighbourhood of London.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.						
Cons. ann. }	—	—	—	91½	91½	91½

MORISON'S PILLS.

To the Editor of the "New Weekly Dispatch."

SIR,—Observing that your invaluable columns are open to render justice to the greatest discovery of the age, Hygeianism, I take the liberty of addressing you on the subject; and of saying that I have been greatly rejoiced at some events which have lately transpired, and which will act very powerfully in favour of Messrs. Morison and Moat. The first is, the important victory which these gentlemen have achieved over the M. D.'s of New York, for basely imposing a spurious article, which they wish to palm off as Morison's Pills. Thus it appears, that whatever these Gentlemen may publicly assert of the medicines, they, nevertheless, think it worth their while to counterfeit them. The same thing has been done throughout this kingdom, by all chymists; *mirabile dictu*; yet those individuals think the Pills highly deleterious.

News has reached me that an M. D. of York, who took a principal part in the Webb prosecution, has been sorely afflicted, and is not expected to recover; many of my friends, perhaps somewhat superstitious, think that "something strangely retributive is working"; but for my part, I am undoubtedly of opinion, that conscience may be the cause, for we all know the affinity of mind and body, and greatly they suffer in both, who feel "those rods of scorpions, and those whips of steel, which conscience shakes." It has given me pleasure to observe the wranglings and disputations of the York M. D.'s, as the world will see that there is a split amongst them, and thereby totally disbelieve them: give them rope, and they will hang themselves.

PHILO-HYGEIST.

CURE OF THE EFFECTS OF BURNING.

To J. Greer, P. H. S., 35, Portland-street, Laurieston, Principal Agent for Glasgow.

Sir,—I beg leave to send you the following case, as it came under my own knowledge and observation. A little girl in my neighbourhood having fallen upon the fire, got her face very severely burnt. From want of proper attention, and being unable to procure any means to prevent its progress, the poor child's face got bad to an alarming extent. The child grew sick and fevered so much, that she was unable to lift her eyes, which were sunk in her head, the poor mother looking every moment for her dismissal from this world. She had applied to several of the surgeons about this place, and got some powders to give the child, which gave not the smallest relief. Hearing some of my neighbours speaking about the child, I went word to the mother, that if she would accept of a few of Morison's pills, and give them to the child, I was certain they would do good. She was persuaded to try them. Two pills of No. 2 were given, and in a few hours the child was able to look up and recognise her mother;

other two pills were given, and in twenty-four hours the child was up and going about. The child is completely restored, and is now running about as healthy as need be. If you think the above worthy of being made public, you are at perfect liberty to do so. I am, sir,

Your humble servant,
JOHN HART.

Pointier's Land, Trudeston,
30. June, 1834.

RHEUMATISM.

HIS Majesty's Letters Patent have recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a medicated Band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public Functionary, connected with one of our London Hospitals, whose case, to use his own expression, had baffled every medicine that was quack and every medicine that was not quack; has sent to Mr. Coles his written testimonial which may be seen at 3, Charing Cross, wherein he admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease, and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. My Lord Skelmersdale had a Coachman who had suffered many years under the above complaint, declared, when he called to pay Mr. Coles, that ere he had worn Coles's Rheumatic Band five days, he was more free from pain than he had been in the preceding five years.

* * The bargain in each case was NO CURE NO PAY.

We recommend to persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's invention, of 3, Charing Cross, (Truss Maker to His Majesty's forces), from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence and simplicity of his Patent by the first practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. It is gratifying to find that Mr. Coles has discovered a self-resisting motion totally distinct from all other plans, whereby the victims of this distressing malady are rescued from their sufferings. The Gazette (a single letter) will be sent, gratis, to any part of the world. Letters must be post paid.

Read the case of W. Cobbett, Esq., M.P., published in Boyle's Court Guide.

MATHEWS'S STORE CANDLE, 54d. per pound. Good strong Yellow Soap, 44d.; best pale, ditto, 54d.; best mottled, 6d. Superfine Wax-wick Moulds, 7d. Finest Wax, 2s. Transparent Sperm, or Composition, 2s. Finest Sealing-wax, 4s. Superfine old, ditto. Windsor Soap, 1s. 4d. Rose, Almond, and Camphor, 1s. 6d. Palm and white Windsor, 1s. Curd, 8d. Genuine Sperm Oil, 3s. per Imperial gallon. Fat Seal, 3s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. Long-acre, and 34, Upper Mary-bonne-street, Portland-place.—Cash.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

*Wolsey, Staffordshire,
17 Dec., 1834.*

PEOPLE are in a state of uncertainty as to whether the Parliament will meet before it be dissolved, or whether it will be dissolved first? This is, as indeed it ought to be, absolutely in the power of the King; that is to say, in the power of his Ministers, who will, of course, do that which they think most likely to give them a House of Commons disposed to keep them in their places, and then the question is, *will a dissolution now be better calculated to give them such a House of Commons than a dissolution after the Parliament has met?*

My opinion is, *that a dissolution now would NOT be better calculated to give them such a Parliament:* for which opinion my reasons are as follow:

Notwithstanding the monstrous absurdity that there is in the belief, that the Ministers would attempt to repeat, or to alter for the worse, the Reform Bill, or any part of the Reform Bill, or that they would act upon the principle of not making any reform what-

soever in the abuses of the several institutions of the country, notwithstanding the monstrousness of the absurdity of such a supposition, if they were to go to an election now, the partisans of the Whigs would take the name of "REFORMERS"; would represent their opponents as ANTI-REFORMERS; and, under these names they would go to the poll. And, when WORDS have got the power, meaning and sense are banished. It is words, and not reason, which take the command in such a case.

All the deeds of the Whigs would be cast aside; the mere name of reformer, which would be, and which already is, adopted instead of that of Whig, would do wonders. Besides, if the deeds of the Whigs were arrayed against their partisans; if they were accused of the monstrous Poor-law Bill; of refusing to take off the malt-tax; and of other of their deeds, who will there be authorized to say that their successors will not do the same? The invectives against the Whigs will be powerful enough, but if their successors be accused of an intention to do the same things, it better to keep a devil that you do know, than to take a devil that you do not know; and until they be something said to make the people believe that the present Ministers will do better than their predecessors, it is not reasonable that the people should prefer the same, and the Whigs will, with some degree of justice, accuse their successors of an intention to overturn all reform which

soever; and presume that they will act upon their former opinions and principles; unless something be first *said or done*, to convince the people that this will not be the case.

If the Parliament meet first, and something be then done to give people good reason to believe that the Tories will do things which the Whigs refused to do for their good, then they may dissolve with a certainty of having a great and lasting majority in the House of Commons. Not to confuse the matter, by the use of general and indefinite terms and epithets, I will mention *two things* which lie rankling at the bottoms of the hearts of the people; namely, the MALT-TAX and the POOR-LAW BILL. I will speak for myself first, and say, that, if the former be not totally repealed, leaving no fragment of the horrible burden behind; and if the latter be not also repealed and rubbed clean out of the Statute Book, I shall deem the present Ministry as bad as the last. I shall not be amused with talk about "*carrying out the Reform Bill*." I shall not be amused with talk about "*liberal measures*"; if the malt-tax be not wholly repealed, and the Poor-law Bill wholly swept from the Statute Book, I shall hate this Ministry as cordially as I did the last. Thus say my constituents, and thus say all the sensible and really valuable part of the people.

I have proved, in the most undeniable manner, in Parliament, as well as out of it, that the malt-tax causes the people to pay out of their earnings *thirteen millions* of pounds sterling a year; that is to say, that, if the tax did not exist,

they would have to pay for their beer thirteen millions a year less than they pay now. I have proved this so often; I have so often challenged a contradiction, and never received it, in Parliament, as well as out of it; and it is so thoroughly believed to be true throughout the whole of England and Wales, that I set it down as an acknowledged truth. Well, then, if we be not to have relief from this intolerable burden; if the change be not to bring us this, why am I to care one straw about the change? And, what ground have I to hope that it will take this burden from our shoulders, unless something be done to give me ground for believing that the burden will be taken off.

A positive assurance of this sort is the more necessary too; because Sir ROBERT PEEL and a large part of the Tories voted for rescinding Sir WILLIAM INGILBY'S motion for a repeal of half the tax. Sir ROBERT PEEL spoke, too, for that motion, which, as I told the House then, decided its character with the people. When I made the motion for a repeal of the malt-tax during the last session, I do not recollect whether Sir ROBERT PEEL was present; but if he was, he voted against me. Now, with the knowledge of all this in the minds of the people, they will want some assurance to be given them; and, if they go to an election without such assurance the parties will be upon a level, in the eyes of the people, with this exception against the Tories, that their former bitter opposition to reform will be taken as ground for asserting, that they will even undo every thing in the

way of reform that has been done to the utmost extent of their power.

I beg all those to whom this shall come greeting, not to imagine that this malt-tax affair is a "*hobby-horse*" of mine. I never taste a drop of beer of any kind; but I know how many millions there are in England and Wales to whom it is (say, pottering PARNELL about it what he will) a necessary of life; that is to say, of healthy, hearty, cheerful, and vigorous life, such as the people in England have always led; and such as they will lead, or they will, first or last, make those who attempt to compel them to lead another sort of life repent of their endeavours. I know very well that there are, in the King's dominions, many millions of people who do not drink beer; but I know that every wise and public-spirited man in Ireland and Scotland most deeply lament, that the people there have not beer, instead of the accursed poison which they now swallow; I know that amongst all the many things which sensible and public-spirited Irishmen wish for, and pray for, is, a repeal of the tax upon malt. The brewing of beer is carried to such perfection both in Scotland and Ireland, as for the all-devouring Wen to receive a considerable part of its supplies of beer from those countries. BOSTON and LIVERPOOL have also, a large part of their supplies from Ireland. I saw most admirable breweries at OXENMILL and at KILKUNNY, places in the very heart of Ireland. And, indeed, I can say that I know that, if the malt-tax were repealed, the accursed whiskey would, even in that country, be supplanted by beer; and that it would be so in Scot-

land there cannot be the smallest doubt. And this would put an end to, not only the maddening bodily effects of the whiskey, but of that everlasting turmoil, and all that hatred and bloodshed; and that most destructive habitual violation of the law, all which arise out of the monstrous prohibition to turn the barley into beer. It is impossible to say how great would be the benefit of the repeal of this unnatural tax, which was first laid on by the Whigs (always the worst enemies of the people) in the year 1689. In another part of this *Register*, and immediately after this article that I am now writing, I shall, for the purpose of pushing this matter home, insert my own account of the speech which I made in the House of Commons during the last session, for the repeal of this tax. The reader will there find a statement of some of the great moral evils of this tax. He will find a clear proof of the enormous cost of it to the people; clear proof that it costs more every year to the people of England and Wales than three times the amount of all the relief which they receive from the poor-rates; he will there find the whole matter fairly stated; and he will find, if he look at the debate, that Lord ALTHAM had no opposition to offer, except that, *he could not spare the sum which the tax brought into the revenue.* I beseech the reader's attention to this report; and I beseech him to be assured that there is not one single farmer or landowner in England and Wales, who does not feel most intimately interested in this matter; and who, if he receive an assurance that the new Parliament will repeal this tax, would not feel per-

fectly-indifferent as to whom should be chosen, at the least; while it is very possible, and very natural, that he should have objections to a party who have been so decidedly hostile to the making of a reform of the Parliament; from which reform alone a repeal of this tax could ever be expected.

And, as to the second point, the Poor-law Bill; "*amendment bill*," as it is called, for my part I should think myself infamous, if I were to recommend any man to vote for any candidate who would not pledge himself, and most distinctly pledge himself, to the sweeping of this act from the statute-book. In my five letters to the Earl of RADNOR, I have proved, beyond all contradiction, the monstrous injustice of this law. But, besides its injustice; besides the stab that it gives to all the principles and laws of *all property*; besides the monstrousness of the innovation; besides that, the inevitable result of it, if forced into effect, must be, not only a revolution in England, but a revolution of a character that one shudders to think of; besides all this, there is the dread that comes home to the bosom of every farmer in the kingdom; and the certainty, that if this law be pushed on into effect, or rather, if it be endeavoured to push it on into effect, the farmer of England may exclaim with MACBETH, exchanging a few of the words, "Sleep no more; the Poor-law Bill has murdered sleep; and the English farmer shall sleep no more." This is the sorest place of all. I would beseech the men who have now the power to read my five letters to the Earl of RADNOR, which I ordered to be republished, and which may be had, I suppose, at BOLTON-COURT. I would beseech them also to read my "*LEGACY TO LABOURERS*," which ought to be published next week, I having sent all the manuscript to London. The last is about *two hours' attentive reading*. In that little book I have traced *property* to its origin; and have established the *rights of the poor*, by a reference to the laws of na-

ture; the laws of God; and the laws of England; and I have proved to persons of the most ordinary capacity, that the Poor-law "*Amendment*" Bill is a daring violation of them all.

Now, the people must, and will, have satisfaction upon this point. This bill has *troubled every cottage* in the kingdom. It has made men think and talk about law, and about rights, who never talked about them, or thought of them before. It has filled all England with alarm; and it has so steeled the compassionate hearts of Englishmen, that they hear of the degradation, and of the melancholy state of the author of the bill, without any feelings of compassion at all. This bill, brought forward amongst the peers by its author, on the express ground, that all legal provision for the destitute was bad; and that it was *bad to make a legal provision, even for the aged and infirm*; this bill, pushed on in the House of Commons under an express declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we ought not to listen to our feelings in such a case; this bill has done more to embitter the minds of Englishmen, than all the acts of injustice which, before the passing of it, they have had to endure for half a century. Therefore, unless the people understand, and firmly believe that the members of a new Parliament will repeal this bill, the new members will be even worse in their eyes than the old ones. Let it be recollected that, at the last debate upon this bill, in the House of Commons, which debate took place on a motion for agreeing to certain amendments made by the Lords, Mr. HUGHES proposed that the amendment should be taken into consideration that day six months. Ten of us spoke in favour of this motion. Our ground of opposition was irresistible by the force of reason. We said, this bill has been passed by the House on grounds furnished in many volumes of reports of commissioners. The House has *never read* these reports. Why not give time, therefore? Why not give us six months to consider of a bill which disturbs every cottage in the kingdom; which makes a greater revolution in the country, than would be

effected by an abrogation of the kind, office itself? Why not give the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the farmers, the great traders, the manufacturers time coolly to consider the consequence of a measure making so great a change far greater than that made by the Reform Bill itself? And what was the answer we received from Lord ALTHORP? Why this, that "HE MUST BE A BOLD MINISTER, IN DEED, WHO WOULD BRING IN THIS BILL AGAIN." He has got his majority; nevertheless, at his back, and the bill became law, even in the face of this declaration! Unquestionably if the bill had not been passed before the reports had been read never could it have been passed at all.

And, is it to be supposed that the new Ministry will have a quiet life under the existence of this bill? Is it to be supposed that there will be found no member in a new Parliament to move for repeal of this bill? Can it be possible that any man in his senses can fail to perceive the everlasting comparisons that will be made between the provisions of this bill, and the expenditure on account of pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, retired allowances, donations to the clergy, and all things of this sort, the expenses of which are defrayed out of taxes raised on the labour of the people? This bill contains the first legal provision that ever was heard of in England, for punishing the mother of a bastard, while the father was suffered to escape wholly unpunished. This part of the law is, in fact, a direct interference as to morals. We were told to *dismiss all feeling from our breasts*, while discussing this part of the law. Whatever we might do, at the suggestion of the *hommes de lettres*, the electors of England and Wales are not *hommes de lettres*; and they have not dismissed all feeling from their breasts; nor have they dismissed all memory from their minds. And, unfortunately for the present Ministry, they recollect, not that Sir ROBERT PEEL supported this bill by speech; but that he *voted* for it; or, at least, did not *vote* against it, nor against any part of it; and they fur-

ther recollect, that the **DUKE OF WELLINGTON BOTH SPOKE AND VOTED FOR IT.**

You may judge of the effect of this last-mentioned circumstance upon their minds by that which took place at the great meeting at MANCHESTER, which was a meeting for all Lancashire. The address to his Majesty, expressing satisfaction that he had dismissed the Ministers, stated, as the first and chief ground of that satisfaction, that those Ministers had brought in, pushed on, and caused to be passed, the POOR-LAW "Amendment" BILL. There were against that address not more than fifty hands, perhaps, out of twenty thousand, held up. But, after the address had been agreed to in this manner, a resolution was proposed, *condemning the Duke of WELLINGTON's conduct in having approved of, and supported, this bill*; and, now, observe, that resolution was passed without one single hand being held up against it, though the meeting was very audibly appealed to, and had plenty of time given to it for that purpose.

This alone is enough to show with what terrible disadvantage the new Ministry would go to an election, leaving it to be supposed, that they meant to uphold this bill; and that will be supposed, and that must be supposed, unless something be said or done, to convince the people, that this change of the Ministry is to produce a repeal of that bill. Therefore, as there is no other effectual mode of producing conviction upon the minds of the people upon these two great points, than that of meeting the Parliament before the dissolution, common sense appears to me to dictate to the Ministers not to dissolve, until they have met the Parliament; that is to say, unless they mean to keep on the malt-tax, and push into force the Poor-law Bill; and if they mean to do these things, they may as well vacate their posts at once; for one moment's peace they will never have as long as they are in those posts; and the chances are, that chop upon chop, and change upon change, will succeed each other in rapid succession, until

some accident or other; some panic; some hubbub shall throw the whole thing into confusion.

Satisfied upon these two points, the people may be safely trusted in an election, in spite of all the clamorous cryings of the Whigs. There are many other points besides these. There must be a reform as to church matters. Justice demands that the claims of the Dissenters should be patiently and kindly attended to. Every grievance that they have ought to be removed. The mere gratification of the rich part of them is nothing. This is a matter, however, which must necessarily require a little time. But the above two points require dispatch. There is the *currency*; there is the *interest of the debt*. There is the great question, whether the fundholder be to continue to receive double of that which he ought to receive; and the still greater question, whether the working man, who was born since the debt was contracted, and whether his child now in the cradle; whether these be to continue to work to pay the interest of this debt. But these are matters which require very deliberate discussion; because, with regard to them, the best and most intelligent men may have their disagreements; but, with regard to the above two points, of MALT-TAX and POOR-LAW BILL, the discussion has been closed; the repeal may take place in a few days; and with regard to them the minds of the people are irrevocably made up; and as to my mind, it has long been made up; and never will I, by word or deed, give, directly or indirectly, the smallest degree of support to, but always will I do everything that I possibly can to pull down, any Ministry, any party, any set of men, or any single man, who shall do or say anything to prevent the repeal of the malt-tax, and the repeal of the Poor-law "Amendment" Bill. For twenty long years I have been endeavouring to cause the repeal of the former; and from the days of the first appearance of the book of the villainous MALTHUS, I have been labouring to prevent the latter, and to prevent everything; STRONGS BOURNE'S

bills; hired overseers; every thing proceeding upon the principles of that bill. I behold the situation of that man, who was the author, the hatcher, the ever-restless contriver of that bill, 'I have my eye fall upon the present situation of that man, who, when he presented the bill to the House of Lords, eulogized the barbarous MALTHUS: I see his situation; I see him prancing about amongst the gabbling devils at PARIS, leaving his card with "*H. Brougham, homme de lettres et avocat*" upon it; I see him in this situation; and I exclaim, "May such be the fate of every supporter of the Poor-law Bill!"

MALT-TAX AND CURRENCY.

I see that there is a terrible *hitch* in the forming of this new Ministry; and I perceive that it is rumoured, that Sir ROBERT PEEL has been quitted by Lord CHANDOS, because he will not agree to a repeal of the malt-tax, and to some new arrangement with regard to the currency. Now, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, say, that neither Ministry nor Parliament can go on smoothly for one month after the Parliament meets, without either repealing the malt-tax, or making an alteration of some sort in the currency, or both. And, here is the very dilemma, which I mentioned in my *Register*, when I mooted the question as to Sir ROBERT PEEL joining the Duke, and where I said that Sir ROBERT PEEL would do the Duke harm, unless Sir ROBERT could get the better of his pride, and acknowledge his past errors with regard to the currency. I beg leave to refer my readers to the passage of the *Register* of 29. November, page 534. "If he be too proud to acknowledge his errors on this subject, then he cannot join the Duke." I do not know whether he be too proud, or not; but this I know, that if he be too proud to do it, if I had been the Duke, he should not have joined me: and I am quite sure, that no Ministry can stand, for any length of time, who will not repeal the malt-tax, and

who will not either lower the interest of the debt, or make a change in the value of the currency. This I am quite sure of; so that it is useless to talk about the matter. It does seem, that there is a *hiffy*, and, if there be, this is the cause of it. It is, indeed, the cause at the bottom of the late turning out. The bushel of wheat, thrust out the Ministers; for it was the bushel of wheat that made the landlords listen to the Malthusian and Birmingham Poor-law Bill; it was the bushel of wheat that made the rescinding of the vote upon the malt-tax so horrible a sin. In short, the fundowners and the landowners have come at last to the open war, so positively predicted by me, in the year 1817; and we are now about to see which will prevail. For my part, I side with those who are HOSTILE to the Poor-law Bill, and to the monstrous tax upon malt. If Sir ROBERT PEEL persevere upon these two points, and upon the question of the currency, the sooner he quit the less mortification he will have to endure. The debt MUST be reduced, or the currency altered: the Cobbettites MUST triumph over Sir ROBERT PEEL in one way or the other. He cannot, with altering the currency, raise the bushel of wheat any more than he can make the THAMES run back to OXFORD. That brave and wise and just and faithful man, the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, has just given the accursed paper-money the last blow, by ordering the collectors of the customs not to receive, in payment of the duties, the drafts of the United States Bank! This is the FINISHER! We are now SAFE; we must now have a triumph, in one way, or in the other; we must have one-pound notes, and legal tender; or we must have a reduction of the interest of the debt. Lord ALTHORP was the last prop of this staggering concern: the confidence in his sound understanding, and in his great integrity, and the respect justly due to his character, gave the thing its last prop; but even he, who had ten times as much real influence as Sir ROBERT PEEL will ever have, could not have upheld the system during another

session of Parliament, even with a repeal of the horrible Poor-law Bill, and the hardly less horrible malt-tax; he must have done something with the currency; and again I repeat, that it matters not who shall be in power; for be they who they may, they must make an alteration in the currency, or reduce the interest of the debt, or be driven out in disgrace. And, the chopping and changing which we have now beheld and are beholding, are nothing more than natural consequences of this all-pervading and irresistible cause.

BULL-FROG MEETING.

Wolsley, 18. December, 1834.

I saw by the London papers of yesterday, that a meeting of Kentish bull-frogs, with HOP LORD ELLICE at their head, has been held in London upon the subject of the malt-tax, and have blundered out a heap of nonsense and hypocrisy, upon which I will remark next week.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

Wolsley, 18. December, 1834.

SIR,—I beg you to be so good as to read the following article. There is very little exaggeration in it. Consider it for about ten minutes; and then, I think, you will be satisfied, that, if you be determined not to take off the malt-tax, and not to change the value of the currency, and not to reduce the interest of the debt, you will, by retreating from your office immediately, show your own good sense, as well as your coincidences in opinion with

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

(From the True Sun).

EFFECTS OF THE MALT-TAX.—Mr. Coke's estate consists of 40,000 acres of land, rented upon an average at 16s.

per acre, and as the four-course system of husbandry is pursued in that county one-fourth part of this estate, or 10,000 acres, are annually sowed with barley, and which produces, on an average, five quarters per acre, or 50,000 quarters of barley annually. Now, the duty paid (before the last repeal) to Government, on making five quarters of barley into malt and beer, of both sorts, was 14*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, so that each acre pays, in direct taxes, more than seventeen times the annual rent, these 10,000 acres yielding to Government 141,660*l.* while they yield to Mr. Coke only 8,000*l.* Now, the fundholders receive about three-fifths of all the taxes raised, whence it follows that they derive from these 10,000 acres 84,996*l.* 8*s.*, or above ten times as much as the landlord. This sum, too, be it remembered, is exempt from all direct taxation, contributes nothing to the poor, nothing to the state, the church, army, navy, &c., while the landlord's share is burdened with heavy expenses towards them all, and by far the greater part of it ultimately finds its way into the pockets of the same fundholders.

STANLEY AND GRAHAM.

I do not think it a very good sign that these gentlemen are sought for by the new Ministers. They are both clever men; and I do not know any thing to justify me in supposing that they are not men of perfect integrity: but what are they wanted for? as men of business, men to transact official affairs, there are thousands of English gentlemen, every one of whom is as fit as either of them, though they are, both of them, men of great ability, as persons to carry on the affairs of a government. They are both good speakers in Parliament, and as in that capacity it is, I am very sure, the light in which they are now viewed; but we may be well assured, that we are now in a situation not to be amused by speeches; and if the measures be not good, all the talking in the world will not reconcile the

people to them. In the days of Pitt and Fox and SHERIDAN, the easy circumstances of the people made them content with the mere battlings in the House of Commons, and the House of Lords too. That is not the case now; it is an affair, now, of pounds, shillings, and pence; and of substantial justice to the working people, and to that large class of persons called Dissenters; aye, and to the church people too.

I hear, from a friend in Berkshire, and from friends in Norfolk, things that make me, who know so intimately all country affairs, and so many farmers, shudder but to think of. I hear that the farmers of whole neighbourhoods are obliged to have continual watches; that they are obliged to be the watchmen themselves, in many cases, and to go about armed; and I further hear, that "when they go to church, they go in a sort of a hearse, or omnibus," in order to keep all in a body, in case of sudden emergency! Why, can any speech-making make people happy in this state of things? Is this a state of things in which we are to listen to fine speeches and sarcastic repartees? Wise, and particularly gentle measures are now wanted; and, in a Parliament which will adopt such measures, no ministry will want speech-makers to defend them.

Therefore, without the smallest desire to disparage either the talent or the stock of knowledge, and, more especially, the integrity, of either of these gentlemen, I must say, that I do not think it was the soundest of policy to invite them to join. At any rate, I am very sure, that those gentlemen could not have added real strength to the Ministry; because, if it do not do the things that it ought to do, nothing can give it strength; and if it do the things that it ought to do, it will be quite strong enough, without any assistance whatsoever; for it will have the people at its back.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, having been written to by some of his constituents upon the subject of the change of Ministry, has sent them an answer, it appears, in the following words:

Foremark, Dec. 14, 1834.

"SIR,—I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your very flattering letter, communicating the desire of my constituents of St Margaret's and St. John's, to know my opinion respecting the late change of administration. Upon this subject I am so totally in the dark, that I feel myself quite incompetent to offer one worthy the least attention. All we know is, and that from most indisputable authority, that all the statements and surmises hitherto made through the press are entirely unfounded. Under these circumstances, I can only express my regret, and deeply lament it. The time, however, will soon arrive, when an explanation, authentic and in due form, will be required and given. When that time shall arrive, I shall be at my post, and to the best of my ability and judgment, and uncompromisingly, do my duty to my constituents and to my country. No doubt the electors of Westminster and the electors throughout England will do theirs in case of a dissolution, by returning to Parliament such men as they can confide in for integrity and understanding. I will add, that I have no apprehension of the Duke of Wellington or any other man or men. The rights and liberties of the people of England are now placed upon a rock from which no power on earth can remove them. Nothing but the rashness of the people themselves can bring them into the least danger. Let us only act upon knowledge, not surmise, steadily, resolutely, and rationally. What's the army, with twenty Dukes of Wellington, against the people of England? For myself, my motto has always been, *Sape pro rege, semper pro patria.* Such I have

been, such am I now, the devoted and very humble servant of the people of Westminster.

— "FRANCIS BURDETT."

"The commissioners' paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, under the control of *pis-aller PARKES* and company, calls this letter "*jeuettical*;" and calls the writer of it, a person on whom, "of late years, from some cause or other, little reliance is to be placed as to his judgment." It is very curious that I in this case happen to jump in judgment with the baronet. Sir FRANCIS had the judgment to oppose the Poor-law "*Amendment*" Bill, at its first bringing in, though illness, it appears, kept him away during the after-discussions on that bill. It is a strange thing, at first blush, that Sir FRANCIS should see the matter in so very different a light from that in which it is seen by *pis-aller PARKES*. This may be explained, however, by observing, that Sir FRANCIS may have about a hundred and fifty farmers, and other tenants in market-towns and villages; and these employ probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred, or two thousand working men; while, if *pis-aller PARKES* have a court or a garden, ten feet by ten, it is probably as much as he has. These things have a considerable influence on the "*judgment*."

Now, then, Sir FRANCIS is perfectly right in saying that neither the Duke of WELLINGTON, nor any other man can do us any harm, if we do our duty in returning proper members to the House of Commons. I do not think the aristocracy were wise in limiting the suffrage by the Reform Bill; but, I think, with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, that the liberties of the people must be now destroyed by themselves; by their own rashness, or by their own supineness, if they be destroyed at all, or even if they be diminished. I ask, with him, what is the army with twenty Dukes of WELLINGTON against the people of England? And I say, with him, "Let us only act upon knowledge, not upon surmise; and act, steadily, resolutely, and ra-

"tionally." I well remember his famous letter to the people of England upon the occasion of the MANCHESTER slaughter. This letter is in perfect accordance with it, of which I expressed my admiration at the time, notwithstanding some circumstances that might have restrained me. This present letter has nothing doublefaced in it; and it by no means gives countenance to the insinuation of that feebleness in point of judgment, which these hungry and greedy commissioners ascribe to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. The truth is, that Sir FRANCIS sees the state of the country; and if he does cast a thought on his hundred and fifty tenants, and their numerous labourers, I hope that *pis-aller* PARLIAMENTS will have the goodness to excuse him.

• COVENTRY ELECTION.

EVERY one that knows me, knows that I was extremely anxious that Mr. WILLIAMS should be in the first reformed Parliament, knowing him to be a man of great knowledge, with regard to commercial, and to all public affairs; knowing him to be a man of great talent, great zeal in circumstances that place him above all temptation to do wrong; knowing him to be a sincere reformer of all abuses, and knowing him to have courage equal to his integrity. *My colleague* has the same opinion of him, and he knows him well. Therefore, I must naturally be now very desirous to see him a member for COVENTRY, to the electors of which place he delivered a long and very able speech last Monday, which appeared to give universal satisfaction. I shall insert this speech in my next, and I should have inserted it now, only the report of it did not reach me soon enough. There will, however, be plenty of time, for cannot bring myself to believe that the dissolution is so very near at hand, such a measure being so manifestly impolitic. In the meanwhile, I am quite satisfied that Mr. WILLIAMS's diligence, together with his frankness and unflinching character, will give him a seat in the new Parliament, whenever it shall come.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF STAFFORD- SHIRE.

Wolseley, 17. Dec., 1834.

GENTLEMEN,—The time being, probably, at hand, when you will have to exercise the important right and the most sacred duty of choosing men to represent you in Parliament, I avail myself of this opportunity of addressing you upon the subject. It is the duty of every man, be he in what state of life he may, to do everything that in him lies, which he thinks to be for the good of his country. But, on the OWNERS OF THE LAND, this duty presses with more than ordinary force; for, as SIR FRANCIS BURDETT observed, in his memorable letter to the people of England, in 1819, "*they hold their estates in trust for the benefit of the millions of their countrymen,*" who have not been so fortunate themselves; and if they owe this duty to their countrymen in general, they owe it in a more particular manner to the FARMERS and the LABOURERS, without whose care and whose toil their lands would be nothing worth.

Moved, gentlemen, by these feelings of duty, as well as by those equally strong feelings of friendship and regard so natural in me towards the farmers, the tradesmen, and the working people of my native county, I offer myself for your choice, as one of your representatives, in this interesting crisis of our country's affairs. Up to this time, for many ages past, we have seen the fruits of our inheritances, and of our cares and labours, unjustly snatched from our hands by one of two factions, who have had the power, alternately, to take from us and to enjoy, or to squander, those fruits; and, gentlemen, it was great delight to me, at the end of more than twenty years' striving (not without great loss and suffering) to put an end to this system of spoliation: it was great delight to me to see something come even in the name of REFORM.

But, gentlemen, numerous as were the efforts which I made in this cause;

numerous as were the petitions and other documents, to which I was a party, never was it heard or seen, in any thing said or done by me, that it was the mere NAME; that it was the six letters R, E, F, O, R, M, placed in that particular order, that I, and those who co-operated with me, were so anxious to see in use. We wanted a reform of the Parliament, in order that we might choose the members ourselves; and we wanted to choose them ourselves, that we might instruct them to pass laws that would redress our grievances, and particularly laws that would take the intolerable burden of taxes from our shoulders.

But, gentlemen, what was my disappointment, what my grief, what my indignation, at finding that, instead of this, this pretended reformed Parliament, led on by the unfaithful servants recently so justly and so wisely dismissed by his Majesty; to find that, by this oppressive body, every attempt to relieve us from our burdens was treated not only with neglect, but with scorn; that, while the measures adopted by their predecessors and themselves conjointly had reduced the price of the produce of the land one-half in amount, that produce was still compelled to pay the full amount to pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, fundholders, and all those who are paid out of the taxes; to find, that, when the House had resolved to reduce the malt-tax one-half, it shamefully obeyed the voice of the Minister, and, at his command, rescinded that vote; to find, that instead of adopting measures to give the farmer the means of employing and paying his labourers as formerly, and thereby lessening the amount of the poor-rates, this reformed Parliament passed a law to grind and insult the poor, in order to prevent them from demanding relief.

Gentlemen, I will not tire you with an enumeration of the evils into which we have been plunged from not having had representatives faithful to their trust. You know the state in which we are, and the dangers which now threaten us, as well as I do. If you do me the honour to return me at the en-

suing election, I trust that my past life renders it unnecessary for me to say, that, at all risks, at all sacrifices, you will find a man that will never flinch from his duty in

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,
CHARLES WOLSELEY.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH,

ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION
OF THE MALT-TAX.

My readers are aware that I have, for many years, contended that this tax was the most mischievous thing existing in the country; and, being in Parliament, they would naturally expect that I should do my utmost to get it repealed and abolished. I did my utmost, during the last session of Parliament; and I am now about to lay before my readers in general, and my constituents in particular, an account of what has been done, as to this matter, during the present session of Parliament, and particularly the part which I have taken in the discussions relative to it.

On the 27. Feb. Sir William Ingilby made a motion for the House to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider whether there ought to be a repeal, partial and entire, of this mischief-doing tax. I spoke upon that occasion, against the further continuance of the tax; but I did not vote, because the motion was not direct, and because it was not positive as to a repeal of the whole of the tax. There was, upon that occasion, a division, when there were 170 for the motion, and 271 against it.

Things standing thus, and I, seeing the ground all forestalled until the 27. of May, gave notice that I would make a motion on that day, for a repeal of the whole of that tax; but, upon further consideration, I withdrew that notice, and fixed the notice for a similar motion on the 17. of March, to be made upon the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply. My motion was *Resolved, that it is expedient, that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and de-*

"*termine*." This motion I made on the 17. of March; and this motion was decided in the manner hereafter to be described. It would be irksome to myself, as well as to my readers, for me to be in the habit of reporting my own speeches in the *Register*; but, this is a subject of such vast importance, that I gave as correct a report as I could of the speech made upon this occasion. I here insert my speech, ^{with} it as much accuracy as my memory will enable me to do it, with the assistance of the reports in the newspapers.

Mr. COBBETT: Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a motion to the House, for the total repeal of the malt-tax, which motion is in the following words: "Resolved, that it is expedient that from ^{and} after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and *termine*."

Certainly, sir, such a motion ought not to be submitted to the House, without reasons given for the measure of which it proposes the adoption; and yet, to give those reasons will require the consumption of a much larger portion of the time of the House, than I shall like to call upon it to bestow; but, when duty bids me to proceed, and reluctance to occupy the time of the House would draw me back, I feel myself under the necessity of obeying the former.

Before I proceed to the reasons which I deem more than sufficient for the total repeal of this tax, it is my duty to endeavour to remove two very gross and mischievous errors, which from what we have heard recently in this House, appear to me to be generally prevalent throughout the country; or, at least, amongst almost the whole of those who are prominent in discussing political affairs.

The first of these errors is, that the landlords, the farmers, and all the persons immediately concerned in the cultivation of the land, would be exclusively benefited by the repeal of these duties; and that the inhabitants of towns are very little interested in the matter; that they have an interest in the repeal of the house and window-tax, but that they

have scarcely any interest at all in the repeal of this tax; that the tax being taken off, the honourable Member for Bridport recently told us, would only be so much money put into the pockets of the landlords, who would be the sole persons that would gain by the change.

An error, so monstrous as this, has scarcely ever found its way into the human mind. What, sir! do not the people in towns, and, particularly, the hard-working people in towns, drink beer? And, is not their beer made of malt, as well as the beer of the country-people? The fact is, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be greatly more beneficial to the tradesmen and workmen in towns, than the repeal of the house and window-tax, both put together. Seldom do working people pay any part of the house-tax or window-tax; but the malt-tax lies heavily on them all, causing their beer, which is absolutely necessary to them, to cost more than twice as much as it would cost if there were no tax upon malt. Further, nineteen twentieths of the tradesmen, though they may pay from three pounds to twelve pounds a year, on account of house and window-tax, pay, on an average, a great deal more on account of the malt-tax.

This gross error is, then, backed up by another, if possible still more gross; namely, that the persons owning, occupying, labouring upon, and deriving their subsistence out of, the land, are a mere nothing in number, compared with those who are employed in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and, especially, in manufactures. The right honourable Member for Manchester has called upon us to thank God, that England was the great manufacturing shop of the world; the noble Lord, who is one of the representatives of the West-riding of Yorkshire, calls those who are hostile to the corn-laws, the body of the people; the honourable Member for Middlesex has told us, that this is now a manufacturing nation, and that England was poor before it was a manufacturing nation. I wish, sir, that the honourable Member for Middlesex had drawn a little upon his attainments in knowledge and fact, instead of his feelings, when England was

poor, and when she was not a manufacturing nation. I state, sir, without fear of contradiction from that honourable Member or any other, that England was always the richest, and always the most manufacturing nation in the world.

The ground-work of this great error with regard to the number engaged in the different pursuits, are and have been for many years, the population returns, laid before this House, which, by reckoning all persons as manufacturers, traders, &c., except the mere occupiers and workers upon the land; that is to say, except the mere husbandmen, the ploughmen, the reapers, the mowers, the thrashers, and woodmen; by considering all these as not belonging to agriculture, have led to the conclusion that the husbandmen and all belonging to the land, are a mere handful, compared with the rest of the community. I can give an instance with regard to the village of *Boiley*, a village in Hampshire, with which I am well acquainted. The return states, that there are fifty-five families belonging to agriculture, forty-four to manufactures, trade, &c., and thirty-five of all other sorts. Now I take upon me to assert, that there is not a soul in that parish, who is not either husbandman, miller, or tanner; the miller to grind the corn; the tanner to dress the hides; or parson or doctor; the parson collects the great and small tithes of the parish, and he lives upon them; the doctor bleeds and sets the bones of the husbandman; and as to other sorts of persons, there are none, who are not employed in purchasing the produce of the land, or in selling clothing or other necessities, to those who raise that produce.

To the parishes of *Thursley* and *Whitley*, in Surrey, are ascribed eighty-three families, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, &c. If the hon. Member for West Surrey were in his place, who lives in one of those parishes, which are united by law, I would ask him, what sort of manufacture these eighty-three families carry on, from what foreign country they receive the raw material upon which they work, and to what foreign country they

produce of their looms or their other ingenious contrivances? Sir, these returns make up a mass of fallacies such as never were before heard of in the world: in these two parishes, there is not a single soul (except, perchance, there may be a fundholder or two) who is not either husbandman, wheelwright, blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, or who does not follow some pursuit or other, immediately connected with the land; not a soul who could live upon the spot for a week, if there were no produce arising out of the produce of the land of those two parishes.

But, sir, there is one instance which is quite conclusive as to this point; and the matter can be settled at once, by only three words from an hon. Member whom I see sitting on the opposite benches. There is a parish in Surrey called *Wanborough*, and the return tells us that it contains twenty families chiefly employed in agriculture, and one family chiefly employed in commerce, manufactures, &c. Now, sir, there sits the hon. Member for Guildford, in Surrey; he is the sole proprietor of all the houses and all the land in this parish of *Wanborough*; and I call upon him to have the goodness to tell us whether this family of manufacturers have any connexion with foreign parts, or whether their manufacture consists in making or new laying of ploughshares for his farms, and of shoes for the horses which work upon those farms! Short-sighted, indeed, must that man be, who cannot see far enough to know, that these manufacturers are husbandmen in fact, just as much as those who plough and reap and mow and thrash out the corn. Yet these ridiculous fallacies have led to the mischievous conclusions which we have heard in this House; they have led the right hon. Member for Manchester to tell us that there are nine hundred thousand families only, belonging to the land, while there are fourteen hundred thousand families belonging to manufactures and trade.

The hon. Member for Marybone has frequently asserted the great populusness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when

speaking of what he has been pleased to call the oppression of the corn laws, he has invariably represented his numerous constituents as having an interest distinct and independent, relative to the part of the community, immediately and obviously concerned in the land. The returns tell us, that there are, in the borough of Marybone, a hundred and forty-three persons, chiefly employed in agriculture; that is to say, in the gardens and the hay-fields, which lie on the outskirts of the borough or parish; but is this all? I verily believe, that I speak very far within compass, when I say that there are a thousand families; and I think I might say, thousands of families, all the males of which are employed, and solely employed, in making and selling ploughs, harrows, drags, drills, chaff-cutters, butter-churns, cheese-presses, spades, prongs, rakes, sieves, locks, and other implements, tools and necessities for husbandry. Were there no husbandry, these people would not be in the borough of Marybone; and were the land to produce nothing to send up rents into the fine streets and the squares, what would become of the tradesmen of Marybone? And look, sir, over the whole of this metropolis: look at the seedsmen, the salesmen of meat, the lightermen that bring up the corn, the multitudes whose centre is at Mark-lane; the hop-merchants and their people; look at all these, and imagine, if you can, the extent of the madness, or, rather, the blindness and absurdity of those who would attempt to designate any part of the people as not having an interest in agriculture.

But, if these gentlemen will insist upon the separation, I will face them, even with the admission of their own absurdity to be sense; and I will take the statement contained in the summary of even these fallacious returns. What says this summary? why this: that the male occupiers and labourers in agriculture, twenty years of age and upwards, are *one million and seventy-five thousand*; and that male persons of the same age engaged in manufactures, &c., are *three hundred and twenty thousand*.

Thus, then, if I were to adopt that erroneous view of the matter, according to which the malt-tax is considered as a burden to nobody but persons belonging to agriculture, I should say that there were three for one, at any rate, and that therefore they were worthy of our particular consideration. I, however, scout this idea as unworthy of the mind of a man of sense. I say that all are equally interested; and as such I must speak of them as likely to be benefited by the adoption of the measure which I have had the honour to propose to the House. In stating the reasons which I have to offer for the adoption of that measure, I must first observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of any partiality of pressure which it has; because I am fully aware, that every tax, lay it where you will, finds its way, first or last, to every person in the community. I must further observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of its money weight; because, if the tax be wanted to carry on the affairs of the Government; and if it be collected at something near the ordinary expense of collection, and being unproductive of any mischiefs beyond those arising out of its mere burden, money burden, it would be improper to propose its repeal. But, sir, if a tax be, as I contend this tax is, peculiar as to its expenses of collection; and if it be productive of great moral evils, then it ought not to remain, even if a property-tax or a poll-tax were necessary, to be imposed in its stead; and I think myself capable of proving to the House, that this tax is of this description, and that therefore it ought to be repealed. I beg it to be observed, that I urge not the repeal as peculiarly beneficial to the landlord or the farmer. As consumers of malt, they would share in the benefit with the rest of the community; as great sufferers from the immoralities produced by this tax, they would certainly derive an extraordinary degree of benefit; but in this benefit the rest of the community must necessarily share, though their share might not be so obvious. It is impossible for the morals of millions of working people to be mended without

the effect being felt in every part and by every person of the community.

The first objection to this tax is, the extraordinary expense of collecting and managing it. I hold in my hand a statement, which I received last year from a gentleman at Nottingham, many years in the excise; and he proves, to my satisfaction, that five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise establishment may be fairly ascribed to the malt-tax. Now, I have no means immediately at hand for ascertaining how much the whole of the expenses of the excise establishment is annually. At a guess I should say it amounted to a million of money or more; so that, to begin with, here is a million to be paid out of five millions and a half, before the money comes into the Exchequer. I believe this to be the fact; but the noble Lord can correct me here, if I be in error. At any rate, we know that the expense is very great; much greater than the collection of any other tax or taxes, to three times the gross amount; and, therefore, this is a good objection to the tax. In the case of the stamps, for instance, all that the people pay goes into the Exchequer, except a mere trifle, comparatively speaking. The six millions cost only 168,000*l.* in the collection and management, while here are five millions and a half cost, as I believe, pretty nearly or quite a million in the collection and management. The second and still greater objection is, the monopoly which the tax necessarily gives rise to. Upon the same authority, which I have just mentioned, I state to the House these astounding facts; that, taking barley at twenty-eight shillings a quarter, and suppose four millions of quarters, which is about the quantity, the amount of such barley would be five millions six hundred thousand pounds; that eight quarters of barley make nine quarters of malt, and that this increase pays all the expenses of malting. So that the four millions of quarters of barley made into malt, would, were it not for the tax, cost the people five millions six hundred thousand pounds in the year: that the duty,

this, would make the cost nine

millions seven hundred thousand pounds a year; but that, in consequence of the monopoly, created by the tax, the malt, before the result of it reaches the lips of the people, either by private brewing or public brewing, does cost the people fourteen millions four hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of costing them five millions six hundred thousand pounds a year. When, a few evenings ago, I stated the price of malt at 8*s.* a bushel, an hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets produced a Mark-late account, showing, that large quantities of it had been sold that week at about six and sixpence a bushel; but I spoke of the price of malt as I could get it for my use. The tax enables men with large capital to get the malt at a price at which men for private brewing cannot get it. And here I beg leave to refer to a part of the evidence taken before the beer-shop committee of last year. Mr. GOODLARK, a magistrate of Berkshire, stated to the committee, that there was a beer-shop set up by a very respectable man in his own parish; that this man bought his beer of a brewer, until the beer which he brewed himself should have attained a proper age; and that then he sold his own beer:—
 “But the brewer thought it so good
 “a thing that he set up another beer-
 “shop in the parish; and he can brew
 “it so much cheaper than the publican
 “who has to go to a dealer in malt and
 “buy it at 9*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, when the
 “brewer can make it at about 6*s.* 3*d.*,
 “that the publican cannot compete with
 “him; and the second beer-house being
 “set up, the man that set up the other
 “was obliged to give it up after the
 “first twelvemonth, and to leave the
 “brewer's beer-house in the parish.”

Mr. EDWARD GREEN, who is a maltster, but also a farmer, of WARENGE, in Berkshire, gave the committee this information: “If there is so much advantage attending brewing, how is it that
 “the ale-houses sell brewers' beer? There
 “are very few of them that have capital
 “enough to buy their malt at the first
 “hand; I could not furnish malt at
 “6*s.* 3*d.* a bushel; and our poor people,

"if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster, are charged 8s. 6d."

Mr. Stock, a brewer of Essex, gave the following information: "What is the cost of your malt to you?—Fifty two shillings a quarter, covering every expense.—What have you given for your barley?—The highest price of our barley has been 30s. to 35s., and the lowest is 24s."

But, after all, no one stated any of the grounds for believing that this monopoly arose directly out of the tax. One of its effects, however, I will state to the House. The malt-duty is paid in every six weeks. A man possessed of apparent great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty, and in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster with small means is compelled to pay up. The man who has the benefit of the first, is enabled to enter largely into business, and the greater his duty the more he injures society in the end. In numerous instances, these large maltsters have been known to crush the little ones entirely; and thus it is that the malt-houses, formerly so numerous, are now become comparatively very few in number. I remember that at Stow-on-the-Wold I learned, that formerly there were fourteen malt-houses, and that now there is only one. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, there used to be a malt-house in almost every village. The monopoly created by this tax, has demolished, perhaps, nineteen out of every twenty. Large brewers are also maltsters. The monopolists, in fact, carry on their trade with *public money*; they have always two collections in their hands to carry on their trade with: so that the people are placed at their mercy, and so placed, too, by the use of the people's own money, which they have paid for the services of the state, and which is allowed to be kept in the hands of these monopolists. It is not, then, the tax itself, but the evils that arise out of the tax at every step that it takes; and here, on account of this monopoly alone, the people pay, as I have already said, very clearly shown, four millions seven hundred

thousand pounds a year; which is an evil, an injustice, an oppression, arising entirely out of the tax. If I be asked, what is to become of all the capital now employed by these monopolists in this way, I answer, in the first place, that it is the people's capital in great part, as I have just shown; and, in the next place, if the monopolists have any capital, which is really their own, there is the land, there is lawful commerce; there are plenty of honest means for the profitable employment of this capital.

The third objection to this tax is, that it prevents people, and particularly the poorer part of the people, from brewing beer in their own houses, and thereby drives them to beer-shops, and other places of resort, for the purpose of getting beer, a drink which they ought to have, which they always have had, and which, let gentlemen think or say or do what they may, they always will have. I know it has been contended, that the poorer sort of people have been so long out of the habit of brewing at their own houses, that they would not take to it again, even if this tax were taken off, and if they could get the malt for a mere trifle, as they then would. It is a great mistake to suppose that this is one of the cases in which habit becomes second nature. In morals and in manners, there is great submission to the power of habit. Early rising, late rising, sobriety, drunkenness, love of ease, love of activity; in these and numerous other instances, habit has a great deal to do in determining the conduct of men; but, when you come to eating and drinking, when you come to the means of providing a bellyful, the case is wholly different. When you are withheld from any natural enjoyment by force, you return to it the moment the force is removed. From having constantly a plenty to eat, you may, by compulsion, be confined to a quarter of a meal, for years together; but when the full meal returns, you instantly take it, without consideration had of the small quantity of food upon which you have recently lived. For a long time the labourers have been compelled to do without the bits of bacon in their pot; but, does any?

man imagine, that, if they had the use of bacon again, they would not boil them, and eat them? But it is said, that they want the utensils for brewing; said, indeed, only, by those who cannot know any thing at all about the matter. It was asked, by the committee of last year, whether the utensils could not be had for a few shillings? There are no utensils wanting, but those which they have. A gallon of malt can be brewed in a porridge-pot which will hold five gallons of water; and twelve quarts of good beer I have seen made out of a gallon of malt in that very way. It is a great mistake to suppose that there require large quantities of malt to be brewed together, in order to get the greatest porportion of strength. Malt is, in this respect, like tea: whether you put little or much of the latter into the pot, you get all the strength out of it in one case as well as in the other, and it is strong or weak in proportion to the quantity of water as compared with the quantity of tea. As to the expense, in the case of the labourer, it is absolutely nothing at all. The old maxim was "if you would have good beer, you must go to bed with your brewer." The wife is the brewer, the very cheerful undertaker of this part of the duty of the family: she likes the beer herself better than water: and she has the other most powerful motive, that of keeping her husband at home. In support of these, my opinions, the House will permit me to read the evidence given by several persons, before the Beer-Bill Committee of last year. At the head of these stands Mr. SIMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, who, in order to be able to lay accurate opinions upon the subject before the committee, sent a circular to the overseers and ministers of fifteen parishes; and the answer of all, except one, was, that the cure for the evils of beer-shops, and the greatest possible advantage to the county, would be, to enable the poor people to make their malt, and to brew at home. The word of which is worthy of the best attention of the House, was in the following words:

Mr. SIMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire.—"The last question is, 'Would great advantages result from enabling the poor people to make their malt and brew at home, both as regards their comfort and morality?'—That is the most important question of all. The answers are, fourteen parties say it would be highly desirable; one fears it might lead the labourers to steal barley."

"Are those answers indiscriminately the answers of the overseers and ministers of the different parishes, or is there any difference of opinion between the ministers and the overseers?—I should say that generally they all agree in their accounts. I believe that the answers are indiscriminately the same from the ministers and from the overseers."

"Are the answers from the overseers and the ministers jointly or separately?—Separately: the application was made separately to each of them, and neither knew that the other had an application to the best of my knowledge."

Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate for Berkshire.—"Did the cottagers brew beer in consequence of that public-house being put down?—No; cottagers have not an opportunity of brewing beer, on account of the high price of malt."

Colonel BLAgrave, magistrate for Berkshire.—"Do you contemplate the absolute necessity of taking away the power of selling beer in this manner?—I think it would be a dangerous measure, without the repeal of the malt-tax, and the tax again put upon the beer: I think if the tax were put upon the beer and the malt-tax repealed, it would induce the lower class of people to brew their own beer."

"Will you state why, without that alteration, you think it would be dangerous to repeal the present beer bill?—Because I think it has tended to increase the price of barley, and to give a little stimulus to agriculture."

"Do you think that it has any effect in the consumption of the lower orders?"

an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits?—*I think the lower orders have had an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits; but it has been reported to me, that smuggled spirits have been introduced into those beer-houses, but to my knowledge I do not know it.*

"Do you think that the greater facility of drinking beer has rather encouraged to encourage the love of beer than the love of spirits?—I think it has, and the lower order of people have an idea that beer is much more wholesome for them."

BREDE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—*"Had the malt duty been taken off, the agricultural labourer would have had his beer at home, and we think he would seldom be seen at the beer-shop; small-beer is the natural beverage of the labourers in agriculture; at once the most nutritious, the most wholesome, and the best support to the labourer, being part of the subsistence for the production of his physical powers, to enable him to perform a fair day's work."*

HOVE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—*"We are decidedly of opinion if the malt duty had been repealed, it would have been far preferable to the beer."*

PLAYDEN (Sussex), Parish Vestry.—*"We also beg to observe that the abolition of the malt duty would have had a far more beneficial effect upon the habits and morals of the labouring class."*

There was, indeed, one witness, who gave a different opinion, and that was Mr. THURNALL of Cambridgeshire, but he is a great maltster. His evidence was as follows: *"Do you, or do you not believe, if the malt-duty was taken off so as to enable every man to brew at home, that the evils complained of would be greatly reduced, and a better morality amongst the poor be obtained?—I do not think it is possible for the labourer to brew his own beer; I am not sure they would not in my county, in the first place he could brew so small a quantity, and there are very few cottages where the whole house,*

"size of this room; he is not furnished with a copper; it is totally impossible for a labourer to brew his beer in the districts I have been in."

"How was it done formerly, do you know?—Persons brewed their own beer, but I should think not a tithe of the population brewed; but their habits have altogether altered."

"Is it not a serious thing for a poor man if he brews a quantity of beer, and that beer turns sour?—Yes."

"He avoids that risk, does he not, by purchasing his beer?—Undoubtedly."

"You are aware that a brewing apparatus would cost to a poor man only 5s. ?—I am aware it would cost a small sum: but half of them would not be sober while the beer lasted; they would drink it in a day."

[Mr. CHILDERS, a member for Cambridgeshire, observed, that I had read only a part of the evidence of this man; that this man was his tenant, and a very respectable man. It is very true, that I read only a part, and I cited the evidence merely to contradict the notion of the habits of the people having changed. If I did not read the whole, it was merely to save time; and if the orders of the House would have permitted me to reply, I should have observed, that Mr. CHILDERS left out, in his reading, the first of the two notes which will be found in the second member of the first sentence of the answers of this witness. I believe that Mr. CHILDERS gave the correct meaning of the witness, but that meaning is just the contrary of that which is found in the print; for, in the print the witness is made to say, that he is not sure that the labourer would not brew his own beer; and Mr. CHILDERS made him say, that he was sure that he would not brew it: the context shows that Mr. CHILDERS's reading was correct, but not according with the evidence reported by the committee. If I could have replied, I should have answered the opinion of this man, that not a third of the people formerly brewed their own beer, by citing the positive evidence given by Mr. JOHN ELLMAN, before the Committee of 1841;

"that when he became a farmer, forty-five years before that, every man in his parish had his own beer; and enjoyed it by his own fire-side"; and that this evidence was then corroborated by a magistrate of Somersetshire, and by a gentleman who was then sheriff of Wiltshire. I did not like to waste time, as I never do, setting a very high value on time myself, or I should have observed, on the latter part of the evidence of this witness, the tenant of Mr. CHILDERS, who tells us, in one breath, that the labourer's beer "would turn sour," and in the next breath, "that he would drink it in a day"! However, no observation from me was necessary here; a general smile in the House showed that they smelled out the maltster, and rendered any reply to Mr. CHILDERS wholly unnecessary.]

In short, sir, I am satisfied that there is no argument to be offered in support of the belief, that labourers would not again brew their own beer, if this tax were repealed, and wholly abolished; and of all the benefits arising from this change, I defy pen or tongue to give an adequate description. But there would be another great change take place that is to say, that farmers would have beer to give to their men who work out of their house, or rather to men who are not inmates of the house. On this subject we have the following evidence, taken before the agricultural committee of last year, of Mr. SANDERS, of Lancashire, and of Mr. BROWN, a large farmer and a surveyor, of Wiltshire, and this evidence, in the following words, is very worthy of the best attention of the House.

Mr. SANDERS.—"Does not the malt-tax press more immediately on a man who gives beer to his labourers, directly as well as indirectly than I have no doubt if the malt-tax were removed, it would be a great improvement in his condition."

Mr. RUSSELL BROWN.—"Would the labourers in your neighbourhood, if the law were to abolish the beer-shops, and restore only the public-house, be likely to complain?—They would like it quite as well. The

"greatest possible relief that could be given to the agricultural labourers, would be by putting on the beer-duty again, and taking off the malt-duty, which would enable them to make or buy small quantities of malt, and brew their own beer."

"Do you not think if that were the case, the farmers would be more ready to give their labourers beer in agricultural districts?—I am quite sure of it; it is nothing but the high duty which has kept them from it; the taking off the beer-duty has been no relief to the agricultural labourer."

"What do you think the people of Devonizes would say to the putting on the beer-duty again?—Probably if the malt-duty were not taken off at the same time, they would complain; but if the malt-duty were taken off, I am sure they would rejoice."

"Is there, without them, convenience for a labouring man to obtain beer for his dinner?—I have myself given my labourers beer, though it has cost me an immense sum for my malt bill every year; but still I know a man cannot work well without beer, and I wish as much as possible to keep my labourers away from the beer-shops."

The advantage to the farmer, as well as to the labourer, from giving beer instead of money, is of so much importance as hardly to admit of exaggeration in the statement. Every one acquainted with these matters knows well, that, in times of pressing haste, particularly in harvest, a farmer can do more with one pound's worth of beer than with four pounds in money. Money is too far from the lips to produce immediate effect. Then, as to regular hard work in hot weather. Set a company of men to work at mowing; they ask you for beer, and, as is generally the case, you allow them sixpence an acre, or something an acre, in lieu of beer. The horse comes and clogs the spittle in their mouths, and draws the sweat from their bodies. Away they go, perhaps a mile, to lay out their sixpence in beer. Being there, they do not stop with the sixpence. Very likely the field does not

see them again for that day; then follows the loss of time, so precious to the farmer, and they have to thirst for the remainder of the hard work mowing, or to slake that thirst with water, which communicates weakness instead of strength. Whereas, if they had beer from the farm-house, they would go to the bottles deposited in the hedge, take their drink and return to their work. The beer would be wholesome and strengthening; and it is the deeply-interested master who would then determine the quantity. Mr. RUDALL BROWN told the committee, that he does this now; but Mr. RUDALL BROWN is a great farmer, and a rich man: it costs him, he tells the committee, "an immense sum" for malt every year. That immense sum it is not in the power of a common farmer to expend; and, therefore, generally, and almost universally, speaking, hard-working men, and the best of labourers, too, are driven to the beer-shops from this cause; or to some place or other where they have to swallow the adulterated stuff made by the brewers.

Besides all these evils, there is the great evil of evils, the driving of the young people from the farm-houses. Great as the other objections to this tax are, this objection is greater than all the rest put together. This it is, which has been the great cause of the lamentable change which has taken place in the manners and the morals of the working people of England. Every gentleman must know how slender the authority of poor and indulgent parents must necessarily be over young people from the age of twelve years upwards. In proportion as the parents are poor and miserable, in that same proportion, in nature's spite, their authority will be small. To have good grown-up men and women, you must begin the work when they are young. The hand of the poor parent is not strong enough; and if the hand of the parent were strong enough, the heart would not be stout enough, for this work. Besides, there is no room in the cottage for any body but the father and mother and little children. In the farm-house is their proper place.

from the age of twelve to that of twenty, or some years more. There there are a master and a mistress, not liable to indulgence on account of kindred; but bound by the law to provide for the parties in sickness and health for the whole year through; bound still more strongly by the most weighty interest, to attend, not only to the good habits and the industry, but to the morals and manners of the young people living under the same roof with themselves. Let gentlemen figure to themselves a parish with a hundred young people, distributed amongst the farm-houses, subjected to the control of masters and mistresses, who, of necessity, will compel them to keep good hours, to rise early, to be diligent during the day, to be cleanly in their persons, to go to church on the Sunday, and who have the magistrates always at hand to punish disobedience of their lawful commands. Then suppose these young people all to be turned out and to be upon their own hands; strolling about on the Sunday, without any regard to the decencies of dress; assembling in groups, either in beer-shops, or out of beer-shops; assemble they will, and whoever saw such an assemblage, without seeing mischief of some sort or other being the ultimate consequence? In short, this is the main cause of that fatal change which has taken place in the manners, the morals, the expertness, and the bodily strength, of the labourers of England; and every man, who is a judge of the matter, knows well, that this has been produced, in very great part, by the heavy expense required to furnish beer for the servants in husbandry; and that this heavy expense arises from the tax upon malt, and solely from that tax, no man will attempt to deny. This evil is so great, that, unless it can be removed, all hope of restoring the country to a state of good morals and happiness, and even of safety, may be abandoned at once in despair. The right hon. Member for Manchester drew an astounding picture of the awful consequences of rejecting the proposition in an alteration of the corn laws. He seems to have thought little of the constitution of those

who are concerned in the cultivation of the land. But I trust that this House will have that situation constantly in its mind, till it has done its best to restore content to the labouring millions, and restored something like peace and security to the property and the dwelling of the farmer; and, sir, I am perfectly satisfied that nothing would so powerfully assist in the accomplishing of this, so desirable an object, as the adoption of the motion which I now have the honour to submit to the House.

Gladly would I see the work performed by the noble Lord and his colleagues. Then, indeed, would the Government have strength; for then it would become dear to the hearts of the whole people. The honourable Gentlemen seem as firmly fixed now as is the seat upon which they are; but this measure would fix them firmly as the hills.

AMERICAN CURRENCY QUESTION.

(From the New York Evening Post).

"Damn them, they (the working men of America) shall starve or have bank-notes: we will pay some of them, when they are hungry, and they will shoot at the rest, and make them submit quietly to a government fit for a gentleman to live under."

I see by a late London paper, that the threat quoted above was uttered by an American promise-maker in that city, in February last. It might have escaped him in a moment of passion, or been designed merely to curry favour with his superior on 'Change; yet it will be well to look at the position of the bank leaders, and see whether they have not already started on the course indicated above.

The object of the alien party is to perpetuate what Daniel Webster, not three years ago, styled "a conspiracy for cheating the labouring classes of this kind" with paper money.

The present is, therefore, a contest between those who wish to live by honest labour, and those who wish to live by lending out promises at interest.

It is well known that a set of legalized black-legs, in and about Lombard-street and the London Royal Exchange, have managed by the help of bits of paper called "notes," "stocks," "consols," &c. &c., to get control of most of the wealth of Europe, to reduce a large portion of the working classes to rags and hunger, and to convert their governments into mere sponges for sucking up the substance of the people.

These same legalized black-legs have for many years, and under many different disguises, been engaged in introducing the same system here. Their immense wealth has enabled them to corrupt and overawe our press, and to bribe or intimidate much of the fairest of the country.

Our present administration has declared open war against these gentry, who regard all mankind as lawful prey; and that it has shown a degree of skill and courage that I, for one, hardly expected to witness. The United States Bank is the chief artery through which these foreign leeches drew off our life-blood; and in cutting this artery, Andrew Jackson struck what may happily prove a death-blow to the monied aristocracy of the whole world. The late unexampled importations of specie show that he has bled the bleeders; and their deadly struggles prove that they think their case dangerous.

But the battle is not yet over; and as it is a strife of life or death with "him who next to Satan sits, proud Mammon," we must be prepared for the worst acts that can be devised by villany or meanness. The people have not forgotten the attempts of last winter to derange our business, and they can never forget the infamous attempts to inflict death by starvation on the working classes for voting against their would-be masters. The tools and parasites of the stock gamblers will go on as they have begun. They will endeavour to exclude from the polls all who cannot afford to lose a day to get their names registered. They will, with a view to "divide and plunder," strive incessantly to form society into hostile casts, by artfully circulating notes (all the blame of which

will fall upon the poor), they will gradually introduce a set of men here, as they have in England, whose trade, it is to "preserve order" and cut men's throats for hire; and then comes a government fit for a gentleman to live under."

Such is the influence we have to fight against; and we will conquer. Let us answer those who have sought to starve us into subjection, by placing on the democratic ticket at least one man who lives by manual labour. Let us remember our own wrongs, and the wrongs heaped by the power we oppose upon the sons of toil in Europe; and relax not our own efforts until the monster breathes its last.

The issue of the contest now going on will influence the destiny of our race for a long succession of centuries. The war of our revolution was a war against the instruments of tyranny; but Andrew Jackson has grappled with the power that animates and directs those instruments; and if he lives to fulfil his destiny, he will have set his name upon the firmament, and made it dear to all human kind for ever. Let us show ourselves worthy of our leader, and worthy of our cause.

A LABOURER.

RESOLUTIONS,

Adopted at a Meeting of Mechanics, and other working Men, opposed to all the Monopolies, and in favour of the measures of Administration, for restoring the Constitutional Currency, convened at Tammany Hall on the evening of October the 8.; James Connor, chairman.

Whereas, we the mechanics, artisans, and other working men of the city of New York, having long viewed with alarm the growth of a powerful monied aristocracy in our country, and finding at the present time, that the influence of wealth is actually arrayed in deadly hostility to the government of the people's choice, feel ourselves imperiously called upon to come forward and express the sentiments and principles by which we are actuated in the present eventful

crisis in our political affairs, and at the same time solemnly to declare our decided opposition to every species of monopoly, and our fixed determination to preserve and hand down to our posterity unimpaired, those rights and liberties which have been bequeathed to us by the wisdom of sages and the blood of heroes, and maintain in all their original purity, that constitution and those laws which have rendered America the glory and hope of the lovers of freedom in every clime.

And whereas the pretended Whigs of recent date having, like the imps of the spirit of darkness, assumed the appearance of "Angels of Light" by now making great professions of sympathy for our wrongs, and friendship for our interests, as regards state-prison labour, imprisonment for debt, militia laws, &c., while they are evading the great and important question of the United States Bank—require from us an assurance that we are fully aware of the cheat, and are well convinced that any expectations of benefit to us from such a party, would in the end prove all a deceit, "Like Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
"But turn to ashes on the lip;" therefore,

Resolved, That the declaration of independence, the corner-stone of our republican form of Government, expressly states that "all men are born free and with certain unalienable rights," and the constitution of our country being plainly designed by the sages and philosophers who framed it, to maintain justice and equal rights to all, and to grant exclusive favours to none; therefore we are decidedly of opinion that our state and general governments have no power to grant any man, or body of men, the privilege of doing wrong, nor can legally restrain any citizen from doing that which is right; consequently, all chartered monopolies are direct and palpable infringements on the true spirit and genius of our institutions; and the whole system ought as speedily as possible to be abrogated.

Resolved, That we view with feelings of the most intense interest, the great and absorbing question, now pending

between the democracy of our country, and the United States Bank and its adherents, on the issue of which are involved the dearest privileges of freemen; and that we hereby pledge ourselves to use all honourable exertions, in sustaining our patriotic chief magistrate in the measures he has hitherto adopted in relation to that institution.

Resolved, That our opposition to a United States Bank, is not confined to the present odious and corrupt monopoly, bearing that name; but that we are warmly and decidedly opposed to a national bank in any shape, and will hold the man who shall first propose one, as an enemy to the liberties of his country, a traitor to the constitution, and a foe to oppressed humanity.

Resolved, That we have too much confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the democratic working men of our country, to suppose that they can be duped by the flimsy artifice of the opposition, in disclaiming their attachment to the United States Bank, and denying that it is a question before the people at the ensuing election, when it is emphatically one of the most important, that the American people have ever been called upon to decide, viz. "bank or no bank."

Resolved, That, among the few powers delegated to Congress by the people, is the power "to coin money," and to "regulate the value thereof," which power having been so delegated, cannot legally be exercised by the states without an alteration of the constitution.

Resolved, That our chartered banks for issuing paper-money are not only subversive of that fundamental principle of the democratic party, equal rights, but from their very nature become fatal to the free loim of elections and the purity of legislation, destructive to the permanent prosperity and happiness of the people; and while their insatiable substitutes are driving from the country the only money known to the constitution, they form at the same time an irresponsible taxing power, drawing more from the people of the United States, than the whole amount of

the national revenue; we do therefore trust, that hereafter no bank charter will be either granted or renewed, in the republican state of New York.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to our fellow working men and democratic republicans throughout the United States to oppose the further existence of the banks, and to adopt the plan of prohibiting the circulation of small notes, as the only means that will enable them to retain the constitutional currency; as, without its adoption, in a few years the country will be overwhelmed with a flood of irredeemable paper; general bankruptcy ensue, and the enemies of human liberty again be furnished with a plausible pretext for reviving the reign of corruption under some new scheme of a national bank.

Resolved, That the trade or art of any mechanic, being his actual property, the government of the state has no more right to infringe on it, than they have to deprive him of his houses or lands; therefore, the employment of convicts at mechanical branches in the state prisons, is a direct violation of our rights, and calculated to degrade us in the scale of society.

Resolved, That William L. Marey, for the prompt manner in which he entered into the views of the mechanics, in relation to the state-prison monopoly, and the assiduity with which he laboured to assist them in the procuring the passage of the law authorising an investigation of the subject, the preliminary step to its abolition, deserves our warm approbation, and the support of all desirous of doing away this most oppressive and ruinous system.

Resolved, That imprisonment for debt is a violation of the unalienable rights of man, the principles of natural liberty, the intention and spirit of free government, and the provisions of the constitution of the state; that it is congenial only with the ignorance of the "dark ages" and the despotic government in which it originated.

Resolved, That any employer discharging a workman on account of his independent opinions or action on political subjects, is a tyrant of the worst

kind; and the citizen who will submit to such dictation, is forgetful of the dignity and spirit that ought to distinguish a freeman.

Resolved, That this meeting highly approve of the President's recommendation of a reduction of the price of public lands, and feel grateful for his veto of Clay's bill, which would have effectually put these lands beyond the reach of working men.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the "democratic republican nominating committee," to select no person as a candidate for office at the ensuing election who is not known to be the decided friend of the principles above stated.

Resolved, That this meeting responds most cordially to the nominations made at Herkimer, of William L. Marcy and John Tracy, for governor and lieutenant-governor, believing that their election will advance the honour of the state, and the true interests of the mechanics and other working men.

Resolved, That in the untimely and tragic death of our late worthy and estimable fellow mechanic, William Perry, of Philadelphia, we have no language adequate to express our feelings, but we deeply sympathize with a fond and bereaved mother in the loss of an affectionate son, the prop of her declining years, while in the discharge of his duty to his country, and in the exercise of the sacred rights of an American citizen, falling a victim to the infernal spirit of aristocratic domination and tyranny: and that a committee be appointed for the purpose of obtaining subscription from the mechanics and other working men of this city for her relief; and that in order that all may have an equal opportunity of co-operating in this humane object, that the amount of subscription be limited to twenty-five cents each.

Resolved, That in our opinion the formation of a general committee of democratic mechanics and working men will tend greatly to further the principles we have in view, and prove highly conducive to the interests.

Resolved, That the said committee

shall consist of three persons from each ward, to be selected by this meeting.

The resolutions reported by the committee having been accepted, the following additional resolution was unanimously passed.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, no candidate for the national or state legislature ought to be supported, who will not make known unequivocally, to the electors, his determination to oppose all bank and other charters of incorporation granting exclusive privileges.

A committee was then appointed by this meeting, to nominate a democratic working man's general committee, consisting of three from each ward.

We learn from a variety of sources, that the genuine democracy of the city, as well as country, is alive, and looks with anxious interest to the coming election. The issue is fairly joined; the opposing parties have submitted their cause to the people; the merits of either side have been discussed freely, openly, and with great ability; the parties at variance are well known to each other, and the principles to be settled are properly understood. It is democracy against aristocracy; it is a consolidated dynasty of wealth under the protection of unconstitutional law, against the immutable principles of equal rights, defended by the laws of reason and common sense. It is monopoly against liberal principles, falsehood against truth.

Let there be no half-way work of it; the public mind is ready to act, and the decision should be made, not to be misunderstood. When principles are at stake, the useful classes of the community ought to take, and undoubtedly will take, a determined and active part in sustaining their country. In their primary meetings the corner-stone is to be laid. Justice and equality, the foundation of civil liberty, is the groundwork upon which rests the noble edifice, the constitution of our Government, that defends the inalienable rights of freemen against all encroachments. If we are true to ourselves and to our

principles, a monied aristocracy must be prostrated and powerless.

It is nearly a month till the election but on Tuesday evening next the meetings are to be held, upon which will depend the character of the candidates. These meetings, therefore, are all important, and we trust they will be well attended by those who have the most at stake; and, let it be remembered, they will have nothing to complain of if the candidates do not suit them, should they not attend these meetings. We trust that at every ward meeting, on Tuesday evening, a decided expression will be made against rag money and all monopolies, and that the delegates to the nominating committee will be expressly instructed to vote for no candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose all monopolies, and to do all he can towards the passage of a law suppressing gradually all bank notes under twenty dollars.

We again call public attention to the following form of a pledge, which was adopted at the working men's meeting in the Bowery, a few months ago:

PLEDGE

For Members of Congress and of the State Legislature.

I, the subscriber, being proposed as a candidate for [the State Legislature or Congress] do hereby certify that I have not now, and pledge myself that I will not during my term of office, should I be elected, nor for one year thereafter, have any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, in any banking or other chartered company; that, if elected, I will oppose the re-charter of any such company, or the charter of any new one; and that I will use the utmost of my endeavours to procure the passage of a law prohibiting the circulation of bank notes of the denomination of one dollar in this [state or the district of Columbia] at the end of six months, two-dollar notes at the end of twelve months, three-dollar notes at the end of eighteen months, five-dollar notes at the end of two years, and ten-dollar notes at the end of three years, from the passage thereof, or sooner."

The suppression of all small notes is an object greatly to be desired by all classes of men, particularly the farmer, mechanic, and labourer. It is upon these useful and honest members of society that the loss chiefly falls by the breaking of a bank or the depreciation of paper-money. Many lose their all in a single hour. Shall this state of things continue? The remedy is the suppression of all small notes. Let the general circulating medium be gold and silver, which is sure and unchangeable. It is the great object of the present administration to effect this desirable result, and the men who are placed before the freemen of Middlesex by the democratic party, are all strong advocates for this measure. The Bank men are opposed to it because it injures their darling monopoly. Away with rag money, vote for gold and silver currency.—*Jersey Blue.*

THE WARD MEETINGS.—This evening an opportunity will be offered to give a death blow to the base and swindling paper-money, and to the chartered monopolies of this state. Should this city send an anti-rag-money and anti-monopoly delegation to the legislature, there is little doubt that such will be the character of that body, for it has only been by management and corruption that the monopolizing crew have carried the day for years past, even with all the city delegation in their favour; and the measures adopted for the wards this evening will decide whether the city delegation shall be democratic or not; therefore, we again repeat that it is of the greatest importance that the useful classes should attend the ward meetings and be prepared to counteract any cut-and-dried efforts to get them to support men who are not of the true stamp. Let the right kind of men be chosen as delegates to the nominating committee, and all will be well; but let this business be neglected, and a year may be lost to the reform cause, a year added to the life of the paper-money rascal.

At the county convention held in this village, on the 9. of July last, for the purpose, of choosing delegates to the

state and senatorial convention, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That we hail with joy the enactment of the national legislature, whereby a uniform sound constitutional hard money currency is secured to the people of the United States. We hope to see it followed up by the withdrawal of small bills from circulation, and then public confidence cannot be shaken by panic speeches and distress memorials.

And at the republican young men's convention, held in this place on the 20. ult., the following resolution was passed :

Resolved, That gold and silver is the money which we wish to see introduced into general circulation—that, in our opinion, bank paper cannot furnish a safe currency—that from its very nature it is subject to fluctuations, endangering the prosperity of society, by giving a fictitious, unreal value to other property in times of commercial success, and by losing its own value in times of embarrassment—that when it is most wanted it is least useful, unlike gold and silver money, which possesses an inherent, unshaken value.

By their proceedings it will be seen that the eleventh ward young men have spoken out plainly and decidedly against monopoly, and in favour of the constitutional currency. It was one of the largest ward meetings ever held in this city. We hope the other wards will be equally explicit on the subjects above named, and a little more radical as to the means of reform. We do not see why the proposed restriction of the rag currency should be confined merely to notes under five dollars. A law should be passed, we think, by the next legislature, providing, at least, for the gradual suppression of all notes under twenty dollars, within three years, and so thought the working men at their last meeting in the Bowery.

SEEDS.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for — shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from ten to twelve thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

Deep red MANGEL WUNZEL Seed, — a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England,

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 20s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 10s. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.

6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.

57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EARON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EARON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EARON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American

gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. Eaton's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the **WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND**, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

GILBERT, J. sen., Woburn, Bedfordshire, coach-proprietor.
KING, H. W., Bristol, scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

VOLLANS, J. juv., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufacturer.
BOWEN, D., Swansea, Glamorganshire, linen-draper.
SHARPLEY, R. and G., Oxford-street, stationers.
BROADY, W., Leeds, wool-dealer.
KEHOE, R., New street, Bishopsgate-street, wholesale-grocer.
SHOOBRIDGE, G., Skiuner street, tailor.
DANFORD, S., Batesea-fields and George-street, Lombard yard, money-scrivener.
HAIGH, D. and J., Slaithwaite, Huddersfield, cloth-manufacturers.
CLARK, H., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, linen-draper.

CHALLINOR, B., Darby, "colour-manufacturer.

PHILLIPS, S. and J., Liverpool, merchants.
BINGLEY, F. and E., Wakefield, Yorkshire, printers.

MEYERS, T. and M., Liverpool, salt-broker.
POPE, W. and A. Cambridge, Liverpool, ship-builders.

DEVEY, J. B., Kidderminster, Worcestershire, miller.

GRAHAM, J., Natland, Westmoreland, seed-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MALCOM, D., Gillybanks and Pentb, distiller and writer.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13.

INSOLVENT.

BERRY, C. C., Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ABERCROMBIE, C., Liverpool, merchant.
COCKER, E., Wood-street, hardwareman.
GLOVER, J., May's-buildings, St. Martin's-lane, watch-maker.
HUTCHINSON, Montague-close, Southwark, leather-seller.
OFFENHEIM, C. F., Whitechapel-road, Middlesex, merchant.
THORPE, S., Nottingham, warfinger.
WELLS, T., Bingham, Norfolk, farmer.
WHEREAT, J., Portsmouth, tavern keeper.
WILKINSON, T. and E. Down, bill-brokers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 15.—The supplies of Wheat from the home countries, as well as Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, have been extremely large; and, with the exception of the last week of August, the most extensive arrival since harvest. Fine qualities formed a small proportion of the samples offering, and were taken by the millers at a reduction in most instances of 1s. per quarter, while all other qualities hung on hand at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and at the close of the market the clearance effected was only limited. Fine white runs may be quoted at 48s. to 50s.; good middling, 45s. to 47s. Fine red is worth 4½s. as a top quotation. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

The imports of Barley has been considerable, and far exceeding the demand, has further depressed the trade, Malsters purchasing slowly the Chevalier samples at a decline of 1s. per quarter, and Norfolk and Suffolk malting at a reduction of 1s. to 2s.; distilling and grinding sorts suffered also the same depreciation. For Foreign parcels there was little inquiry.

Malt proved dull sale, and all qualities were lower than last Monday. The arrival of

Oats has been also large, particularly Scotland. The trade ruled heavy, purchasing sparingly Irish qualities at a discount of 6d. per quarter, and Scotch at 6d. to 1s. Prices of the article in bond remain nominally unaltered.

Beans coming more freely to hand, were purchased at 1s. less money.

White Peas maintained their previous terms. Some samples of Maple were at market, and were held at 44s. Grey sowed, and fully as dear.

The Flour trade was dull, but not cheaper. Ship qualities are, however, offering at very low terms, best Mark not being worth more than 35s. Irish is in short supply, and bears a higher relative value, being held at 30s. to 33s.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 43s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 42s.
White	43s. to 45s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumbel. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 43s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye new	30s. to 33s.
Old	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, gridding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 30s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	37s. to 39s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples.....	42s. to 44s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	22s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	20s. to 23s.
Black.....	22s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 25s.
Old	27s. to 28s.
August, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to 27s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to —s.
Potato	26s. to 27s.
Old.....	26s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new.....	21s. to 24s.
Old.....	22s. to 25s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed.....	24s. to 25s.

Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c....	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Bread	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Gloucester	42s. to 48s.
Single ditto.....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 15.

This day's supply of Beasts was, even for that of the great Christmas market, great, and, though it did not embrace so many prodigies as did that of last year, its general quality was good: the supply of each kind of small stock rather limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull, with Beef and Veal, except a few very superior Scots should have sold at their Friday's currency, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d.; Mutton, 2d. per stone; with Pork at barely stationary prices.

About three-fifths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Shorthorns; the remainder about equal numbers of Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with, perhaps, 300 Scots; about 200 Sussex Beasts, about 50 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolds, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 3,000 of the Beasts, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with about 200 Scots and 300 Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and other of our northern districts; about 200, for the most part Devons and homebreds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, and not more than 40 of these by way of Mile-end; about 600, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from our western and middling districts, about 250, in about equal numbers of Sussex Beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighbourhood of London.

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ture is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*?
Is the land their own; or, are they
holders under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they dominion in their lands?
Or do they lawfully possess only
the use of them?

Letter V. Can they do *what they like* with
their lands?

Can they use them in any way that
shall clearly tend to the injury of
other men, or to that of the King,
or Commonwealth?

Can they use them so as to drive the
natives from them?

Can they use them so as to cause the
natives to perish of hunger, or of
cold?

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vote at elections any more than
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TO MR. H. S. MOAT.

TO add one laurel more to the numerous testimonies of the efficacy of the Hygeian Universal Medicines, and their powerful effects in restoring me to my natural health, must convince every one who knows me in the city of Buffalo, and its neighbourhood, as I am a living certificate, which I presume are sufficient facts for any man, of which I am ready to testify: For years I have laboured under great debility, &c., running far into consumption, with pains and much distress, spasms, and contraction of the chest, protrusion of the breast-bone, and loss of appetite; abundance of bile; no rest day or night; indeed, my sufferings were more than I can describe. I had tried every means the best of the faculty of the old practice knew how to prescribe, but without any good effect, despairing of ever getting relief. To obtain health I had expended the immense sum of \$500 dollars. The quantity of calomel I have taken has been very great; suffice it to say, I have taken nearly a painful of that deadly

poison, not knowing what else would give me relief, which reduced me to a complete mass of bones. Had I not been naturally a strong robust man, I must have died from its effects years ago. At last I came to a resolution to try the Hygeian Universal Medicines. I was induced to talk to your agent, Mr. Morris, of Buffalo, who with kindness and civility gave me every advice and instruction that any person could do. Through his unshaken confidence I was persuaded to give them a fair trial. I had for some time received little benefit from them, owing to the quantity of calomel I had taken. Persevering, however, in taking from four to ten pills daily, for three months, by the blessing of Providence, I have obtained health to my great satisfaction. I am now able to work at my employment, which for years I have been a stranger to. I am happy and proud to declare before all the world, the important benefit I have received. Hundreds are now witnesses to my wonderful cure; and thousands, I trust, will call down the blessing of heaven on your head, and on all those who are concerned in this great and glorious work.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,
J. RECKFORD.

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LETTER I.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.,

PRIME MINISTER,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, AND
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

ON HIS

MINISTERIAL MANIFESTO.

Wolsley Hall, 21. Dec, 1834.

SIR,—I have read, with great attention and care, your address to your constituents, the electors of Tamworth, which is, in the true sense of the word, a MANIFESTO of the new Ministry; that is to say, a setting forth, on a declaring, of the intended proceedings of that Ministry, and of the principles and grounds of those proceedings; and I think it right, while I convey this manifesto to my constituents of Oldham and to the public at large, to convey to them, through the same channel (numbering the paragraphs as I proceed), my observations on the contents of that manifesto.

PARAGRAPH 1. "The formation of a new Government" is a phrase quite improper to be used by a person in your dignified situation; and on an occasion so solemn as this. It is not a "new Government"; it is no Government at all; it is an assemblage of men whom the King has chosen for his servants instead of the servants whom he lately had. And, though talking of "Lord GREY's Government," Lord MELBOURNE's Government," and "Sir Ro-

bert Peel's Government," is not sedition, and is nothing more than slang used by the clerks in office, when they assemble together to munch their mutton chop and look wise; it is, nevertheless, a phrase degrading to the King, and to that real Government, which consists of King, Lords, and Commons. The last sentence of this paragraph tells us, that you did not place at the disposal of the King your services, until *after* you had taken an anxious view of the position of public affairs. I should not have liked this, if I had been King; I should have liked, a great deal better, to have had an instant offer of services; an instant offer to stand by me; and then, "an anxious review of the position of public affairs."

PARAGRAPH 2. Now, sir, do not you see here, how the King has lost power, and how his servants have lost efficiency, by the breach of the bargain which was made between the people and this family? That bargain was, that no one holding a pension, or place of profit under the crown, should have a seat in the House of Commons. This was provided for by the 12. and 13. of William and Mary; but this part of this, the ACT OF SETTLEMENT, was afterwards repealed, to the very great and notorious injury of the people. And, now, it is manifestly an injury to the King; and, in effect, cuts off a part of his prerogative of choosing his own servants; for, though his prerogative allows him to choose you, for instance, you must go and ask leave of the people of Tamworth, before you can serve him, seeing that the manner of carrying on the Government now requires your presence in Parliament. While boroughmongering and rotten-boroughism, there was no inconvenience attending this; but now there is great inconvenience; and, for want of adherence to the Act of Settlement, this inconvenience has arisen. And, why not exclude all the servants of the King from the House of Commons, agreeably to the Act of Settlement? It would require

a dissertation of some length, to show clearly all the advantages which would arise from such a change, as well to the King himself and his servants, as to the people at large. Those servants being in the House of Commons makes no part of the constitution of this country. The House does not recognise them as such; the House knows them only as members of Parliament. As a Privy Councillor; as a person occupying a high office of state, you are greatly the superior of the members of the House in general: but in that House, you are exactly upon a level with the rest of us; and the House loses, and greatly loses, in weight and authority with the people by there being a bench called "*the Treasury Bench*"; and by all the preferences and advantages, which it is the custom to give to that bench: the laws are not received with half the reverence with which they would be received, if it did not seem to be a thing taken for granted, that no bill can ever succeed, unless it be brought in by, or have the consent of, the servants of the King.

PARAGRAPH 3. Here you see the difficulty arising out of this inconsistent state of things; for you so confound here your character of representative with that of Minister, that this paragraph is altogether illogical. After describing the nature of the declaration that you are making, you tell the people of TAMWORTH, that they are entitled to receive from you, a full and unreserved declaration of your principles as a Minister of the crown. And why are they so entitled? Because, forsooth, you are their member of Parliament; because you have long been in habits of friendly intercourse with them; and because they stood by you in times of difficulty. These are very good reasons for making a frank declaration of your future intentions, as a member of Parliament; but no reason whatever for your selecting them as a channel, through which to make this general manifesto. I know you use the word "*also*" at the beginning of the second sentence of this paragraph; but that word "*also*" does not take away the

force of the word "*this*" which is the fifth word from the beginning of the first sentence of this paragraph, and which word "*this*" represents the whole subject of the manifesto. I do not say this in the way of carping at the composition of the manifesto; but for the purpose of showing how difficult it is for even the greatest master of words to get along amidst the performance of such a confusion of duties and of characters.

PARAGRAPH 4. The duties that you will have to perform "*are arduous*"; you yourself certainly have not sought them; though, if I had been in your place, I would have sought them, seeing the situation in which I saw the King. Certainly you are correct in your view of the object and effect of the Reform Bill, as to this matter; and that man would deserve to be hanged who approved of the Reform Bill, if he deemed it calculated to have the effect of nullifying the prerogative of the King. I am sorry to have any thing to stop me in so good a paragraph as this; but, sir, you say, that you found the King in a crisis of "*great difficulty*"; and in other parts you appear to be placing on the credit side of your account a large sum for the difficulties, which the carrying on of the executive part of the Government presents to you. But, sir, what are these difficulties? We have had twenty years of profound peace, at the end of a war of "*victory*," of "*glory*," and of "*conquest*." We have now profound peace with all the world; we have prodigiously increased, and increasing, manufactures; in imports and exports an increase equally prodigious. We have roads, so improved as to make pace not half what it was. We have canals that run under mountains and over turnpike roads. We have railroads and steam-engines, that literally move as swiftly as the wind, and that almost realize the fabled prayer to JUPITER, "*to annihilate both space and time, to make two lovers happy*." We have more "*CAPITAL*" than all the rest of the world put together! Now, then, sir, what can be the difficulties which you can possibly have descried, in the

carrying on of the affairs of a nation like this? I might stop here, and wait for a reply; but I will not. The truth is, that there are *difficulties* after all. But then, there is this to be said, that you yourself have had as much to do in the creating of them as any man who is now in existence. The difficulties are purely of a *pecuniary* description, or having their rise in that source. Your father supported *Pitt* and *Admiral*; you yourself supported *Perceval*; you partook in power with *Liverpool*; you took into your own hands the great fiscal affairs, fifteen years ago; you were, in fact, chief ruler from 1822 to November 1830; you made a new and terrible criminal code yourself, by which you moulded trespasses into misdemeanours, and misdemeanours into felonies; and, in some cases, simple civil wrongs into felonies; you yourself introduced a Bourbon-police; you have now voted for a total revolution in that great law, called the *POOR-LAW*. You come to the concern, therefore, just as you left it; or just as you have assisted to make it by the *POOR-LAW BILL*. So that you have no difficulties that you have not created yourself, or assisted to create; and, had you shrunk from the call of the King, you never could have held up your head in England again. You are the very man of all men, whom it became to devote yourself to the service of the King at this time; the very man of all men, that the people ought to wish to see in the possession of full and ample power. You now hold the three offices, Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer. When the powers were divided, it was a poor thing, compared to this; when there was "*the Minister*" in one House, and the "*leader*" in the other House; then there was a division of authority and responsibility that puzzled men; that divided the responsibility and the force of attack. Now we have but one point to look to. There lies the patient, committed *solely* to your care; you are physician, surgeon, and apothecary, as well as the chief creator of the malady. Cure the pa-

tient, and receive your boundless reward in the praises of twenty millions of grateful people! But do not quit him; do not give him over and ~~leave~~ him; if you cannot cure, see him fairly into his coffin, follow him to his grave, and boldly say, "Ashes to ashes, and dust to dust." Any thing, in such a case, is better than a *retreat*!

PARAGRAPH 5. This paragraph seems to indicate that you have great doubts with regard to your being able to conduct the affairs of the country with "*vigour and success*." And why "*vigour*"? "*Vigour*" seems to be a strange word to apply in the manner of conducting the civil affairs of a government. One would have thought that Lord GRAY's everlasting talk about "*vigour*" would have been a warning to you; especially when viewed in conjunction with the *final effects* of that vigour. There was no occasion for any word at all here, besides that of *success*; but, if there must needs be another word to round the sentence, *mildness*, or *gentleness*, or some other such word, would have been a great deal better, at this time, than *vigour*. Ah, sir! be vigorous with the *bushel of wheat*! I laugh all other vigour to scorn. The people despise the *menace*; and, if you be wise, you will talk little about *vigour*. The threatening tone of the King's *speeches* (which has been in them all for forty-four years) has done a great deal in the producing of your present difficulties. The people do not care a straw for your "*vigour*."

PARAGRAPH 6. This paragraph ought not to have been here, unless you had made an *explicit* declaration of principle *all the way through*.

PARAGRAPHS 7, 8, and 9. Certainly, no man, in his senses, ever supposed that your having opposed the Reform Bill was to make it inconsistent for you to carry on the affairs of government in conformity with that bill. No man, whose opinions are worth a moment's attention, ever supposed such a thing. No man in America ever censured Mr. JEFFERSON, or Mr. MADISON, because they opposed, almost "to the death," the British treaty of 1794, and

afterwards carried it most scrupulously into effect, and adhered to it rigidly till it expired. You might have saved yourself the trouble of scouting the idea, that to do this would be *apostasy*; for every sensible man in the kingdom laughed at the ridiculous notion. But sir, in Par. 7, you appeal (for a proof that you are no enemy to reform of abuses) to your conduct with regard to the CURRENCY, to the CRIMINAL LAW, and some other things, of all which I shall have to speak presently.

PARAGRAPH 10. You here tell us, that, as to adopting the spirit of the Reform Bill, you will not do any thing which shall amount to an abandonment of a respect for *ancient rights*, and a deference to "*prescriptive authority*." Now, sir, though you do not say it, you here clearly give it to be understood, that a considerable part of the people, or, at least, some of them, wish for a continual series of changes; an abrogation of *ancient rights*, and a disregard of all *prescriptive authority*. Where do you find these people, sir? I have been a very attentive observer of the changes made within the last forty years: of the abrogation of *ancient rights*; and of the many instances in which *prescriptive authority* has been disregarded. I have known all along the actors, as well as the acts; and, sir, after a couple of days of thinking about the matter, and after having twice consulted my pillow upon it, I would, if necessary, declare upon my oath, that I know of no man, by whose acts and by whose votes so many *ancient rights* have been abrogated, and *prescriptive authority* disregarded in so many instances, as by your acts and your votes. I will not attempt to give, here, a list of the abrogations and the disregards; just to name the new misdemeanours, the new felonies, the new trespass law, the Bourbon-police, the transportation for being in pursuit of game, which last is exclusively your own, the late Ministers having taken it out of the law, and you having pressed them to put it back again; and, as being enough for the present, your, and the Duke of Wellington's support of the Poor-Law

BILL. Why, in this case, there is not only a want of respect for *ancient rights*, but a total disregard of *prescriptive authority*. The trial by jury is a pretty *ancient right*, and has something like *prescription* to plead in its support; and I do verily believe, that not one single day in the year passes over our heads, Sundays excepted, without the passing of many judicial decisions, contrary to that *ancient right*, that *prescriptive authority*; and that, too, in consequence of measures introduced by you yourself, and carried through by the Parliament of which you approved! Therefore, sir, I will never stand, or sit, silently, and hear the people represented as wishing to set *ancient rights* and *prescriptive authority* at defiance; when I know, that every thing which has been done in this way, has been done against the will, and solely against the will, of the people: when I know, that during my long war against power; that, during that war, in which I have seen out twelve Prime Ministers, I, and that portion of the people that has been with me, have always been contending FOR *ancient rights* and *prescriptive authority*, and against innovations; and that we are now contending against innovations; and we challenge any one to prove to the contrary. I leave this point for the present, with just observing, that it would be wise in those, whose lives have been spent in abrogating *ancient rights*, and in setting *prescriptive authority* at defiance, to say as little about the matter as possible, especially at a crisis like this, when men's minds are quite enough set afloat by the principles, which the Poor-Law Bill, has compelled us to bring into discussion. I will just observe here, however, that it seems necessary to be a little more definite than you have been, as to what are *ancient rights* and *prescriptive authority*; for your supporter the Standard now calls the MALT-TAX a thing which has "*PREScriptive AUTHORITY*"! To be sure, 6d. the bushel was laid on 140 years ago; but the 2s. 1d. has a "*prescriptive authority*" of only about 39 years! And, yet, I dare say your par-

tians will soon find out, that 39 years a good time to establish a prescription against the people's purses or their persons; while no length of time is sufficient to establish a prescription in their favour. Ah, sir! the time is passed for insolence like this. The POOR-LAW BILL has challenged every drop of blood in our veins; and we will now make these insolent men see, and make their patrons feel, that we know well what "PRESCRIPTIVE AUTHORITY" is.

PARAGRAPHS 11, 12, 13, and 14. These paragraphs present nothing which calls for particular remark, except that every body will here perceive, that this vague, unmeaning, useless, corporation-commission is still to remain a charge upon the country: and this leaves us too much reason to suppose, that the labourer's earnings are still to be taken away to support these hordes of commissioners; and that I was mistaken when I, in my letter of thanks to the King for turning out the late Ministers, expressed, by implication, an opinion, that the carrying on of the Government by detached parcels of irresponsible power would now be put an end to: It is still to be Whig-government in this respect, at any rate!

PARAGRAPHS 15, 16, 17, and 18. Here we have what the Dissenters are to expect from this new Ministry; and you propose to go, with regard to them, just as far as the Whigs proposed to go, and no farther. There are three distinct points, church-rates, marriages, universities; and you tell us, that you agreed with the late Ministers, as to the two former; and leave the Dissenters to infer, that you will do, in the two former cases, what the late Ministers proposed to do; but that, in the latter case, you will not go quite so far. As to the two former, you tell us, that is enough for you to state what you did; that is to say, the Dissenters may judge of what you will do, by what you have done; and I might content myself here with saying, that we may judge of what the Dissenters will do, by what they have done; that is to say, regard both these measures, of which you approved, as the grossest of insults. I, for my own

part, do not think that they were intended as insults; but I know that they were both the effect of as great foolishness as I ever witnessed in my whole life; besides the first of them being most glaringly unjust. What, sir! talk of *striking* the Dissenters; *relieving* them from church-rates, by making them pay those rates in excise-duties, stamp-duties, and window-duties! Is it for a "statesman" to talk thus? But this is not the worst of the proposition. The church-rates are now paid by the owners and occupiers of *real property*; and, therefore, by persons of some substance. Adopt your project, and they fall upon the people who have *nothing but* their labour, and to whom you, and the Whigs too, *deny the right of voting at elections*! The Dissenters, to their great honour, rejected this proposition with scorn. They dashed aside the poisoned chalice, and you would again tender it to their lips. As to the *MARRIAGE-BILL*, if it had become law, it would, in effect, though not in name, have given the Government a control as to the *places of worship*, and as to the *selection of Ministers*; this the Dissenters saw; and, therefore, they rejected this bill, which also you would tender them again! With regard to the *UNIVERSITIES*, I always blamed the Dissenters for asking for the *mere admission to take degrees*. They were always beaten; and always must be beaten, if they stop there. If they have *any rights* to the Universities at all, they have *all the rights*. If they had manfully demanded the whole, they should have had any support that I could have given them. I contend; and I will very shortly most elaborately prove that they have as clear a right to *every thing* belonging to the Universities, as the clergy and the people of the established church have. I will prove that they have also as great a right to the *edifices of the church*, the church-yards, the *parsonage houses*, and the *glebes*; as well as to the *tithes*. I will prove, that the church-clergy and the people have no *exclusive prescriptive right* to any one of these; and that, as the church was established by act

of Parliament, so it may be unestablished by act of Parliament; and I am prepared to prove, that it ought to be so unestablished; and that there ought to be, what the Dissenters call, "*A separation of church from state.*" This is what every sincere and sensible Dissenter wants; and, therefore, in this respect, your manifesto will be lamentably short of giving satisfaction to the Dissenters.

PARAGRAPH 20 (reserving 19 for by-and-by). This relates to the church in Ireland, and expresses your determination to abide by the principle, upon which Lord STANLEY and Sir JAMES GRAMHAM quitted the Ministry. That principle was, that nothing should be taken away from the church; that church-property was *unalienable*; and that, therefore, though it might not be wanted in Ireland, it should not be taken for any other than *ecclesiastical purposes*. As to the principle, it is not to be maintained for a moment; or, if it be, one-third part of the real property of England and Wales, and, indeed, of the whole kingdom, is held by usurpation, by wrongful force, or by fraud; and this you ought to know as well as I do. A very considerable part of the estates of the nobility and gentry consists of *lands, houses, tithes, great and small, Easter-offerings*, even! Let the fact be looked at seriously, sir. A very considerable part, I repeat it, of the estates of the nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom consists, at this very moment, of these things, ALL OF WHICH WERE CHURCH-PROPERTY BY PRESCRIPTIVE RIGHT, and all of which were taken away, and made *lay-property*, by acts of Parliament; and the holders of these parcels of property (yielding more than one-third of all the rental of the kingdom) rest upon no other title than that of grants from the crown, authorized by acts of Parliament; which alienated the property from the church, and gave it to the King, for him to distribute amongst lay-persons. You ought to know all this; and yet one can hardly believe that you can know it, and still talk of

refusing to alienate the church-property in Ireland, where the want of that alienation is producing everlasting strife and bloodshed!

PARAGRAPHS 21 and 22. Now comes the church in England. You are "for a commutation, as you have been *before*"; and, you are for removing every abuse that can impair the efficiency of the establishment! Now, sir, what is *commutation*? A changing of one thing, or shape, or manner, for another. That is not what the people call for. They call for an *abolition* of the tithes, and of the tithe system altogether; and they are right, for two reasons: first, because the commutation, by changing a demand on the produce, and according to the amount of the produce; by changing this demand into a *rent-charge* upon the land, would, in fact, be absolutely *taking away* a part of every man's estate; and it might take away the whole of the estates, by another change or two *à la Peel*, in the value of money. This mad scheme never can be put in execution, without a total abrogation of all the laws of real property hitherto in existence in England. It would, for instance, be a great comfort to the Dissenters to find, that they had got rid of tithes, and caught a *rent-charge*! Oh, no! This is really crack-skull work. But, you will remove every abuse in the carrying on of the affairs of the church. If you do that, you must put an end to church itself; as you will very soon discover, when you come to see that about three hundred churches in England and Wales have been suffered to tumble down; when you come to see that about one half of the parsonage houses have tumbled down, or are unfit to live in, though the law commands so strictly that they shall be upheld; when you come to learn that the churches are deserted by both parson and people, because the aristocratical clergy come and take the revenues away from the working clergy. I could point to you a parish which is in this state. It is a RECTORY, observe; the tithes seven hundred and fifty pounds a year; the rector has FIFTEEN POUNDS of this

revenue, the rest being taken away *dignified clergyman, who is a Lord*. The poor rector, however, gets fifty pounds more a year; and who gives him that? Why, he has it out of the taxes, voted by a boroughmonger Parliament! When you come to see innumerable instances of this sort, will you then say, that you will "remove every abuse that can impair the efficiency of the church"? You may say so, and you may attempt to remove this enormous abuse, when you find between three and four thousand miserable incumbents, who have, on an average, not more a year than the wages of a journeyman carpenter in London, while there are bishops who have thirty thousand a year each. You may endeavour to remove this shameful, this crying abuse, which you cannot, without the most shameless inconsistency, let remain, while you are crying up the *unalienable nature of church-property*. You MAY attempt to remove this abuse; but, if you do, the very moment you begin to make the attempt, you will be called *Jacobin and leveller*: you will be accused of a wish to "overthrow the institutions of the country"; and you must come and join US at last, or be left a *solitaire* amidst a boundless wilderness of riches.

PARAGRAPH 19. (which I stepped over before). This is a matter of PENSIONS; and you tell us that you will do just what the Whigs did with regard to them; that is to say, *not lop any of them off*; and Lord ALTHORP told us, that they were *charitable grants*; that it would be cruel to withdraw them; and that it showed a want of *gentleman-like feeling* in Mr. HAYES, to entertain a desire that the House of Commons should even make an inquiry into the grounds upon which they had been granted! And yet, when the Poor-law Bill was passing, and when the bastardy-law part of it was under consideration; when several members most feelingly expressed their abhorrence of the cruelty of such a law, Lord ALTHORP, who had just then come back from communing with SENIOR, COWSTON, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, who

stuck up in a corner of the House, told us, that it did not become legislators to act upon their feelings; but to be influenced by what dry reason told them *was just, and for the general good*. You, sir, voted for this bill, and the Duke of WELLINGTON voted and spoke for it. And is this nation going to stand by, and see this Poor-law Bill enforced; and, at the same time, see the poor taxed to the amount of one-half of their earnings, and see these pensioners supported, in great part, out of those earnings! Are the English people going to be so base, at last, as to hear declared in the House of Lords, and amidst cheers, that there ought to be no law to provide relief for even the aged and infirm; and to see the working people, compelled at the same time, to support these lord and lady pensioners, and their children and dependents? Are the people of England going to be sunk down into this pit of baseness? No; they are not! The pension-list was odious enough before; but what is it now with this Poor-law Bill and its principles and provisions, before our eyes. Sir, by the time that this letter will appear in print, there will also appear, from under my pen, a little book, bound in leather, price sixteen pence, that any journeyman or labourer may carry in his waistcoat pocket, under the following title: "COWBETT'S LECTURE TO LABOURERS; or, what is the right which the Lords, Baronets, and Squires, have to parcels of land in England, more than any other men have in the same parcels of land? With a dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL." I shall direct my publisher to send you one of these little books, which you will be pleased to look upon as a thing forced from me, by that Poor-law Bill, which you and the Duke of WELLINGTON supported, and which is a greater departure from ancient rights, and implies a more contemptuous and audacious disregard for prescriptive authority, than even any part of that criminal code, being the author of which, you now make your own boast. This bill has challenged an inquiry into all the rights of property. it has set inquiry on foot; and before that inquiry

be over, important, indeed, will be the consequences. Nothing can stay these consequences, but *staying the bill itself*; and, on that matter, you deign not to use a word, even in the way of allusion. Indeed, from what I see at the *Tory meetings*, from the *altered tone* of the *Tory newspapers*, upon this point, your silence as to it, and some other things, make me believe, that you mean to *push on* this law. But you ought to have *told us so* then. In the absence of any thing said by you, I, for my part, shall take the affirmative for granted, and, as far as my efforts can go, shall act towards the aristocracy accordingly.

PARAGRAPHS 23, 24, and 25.—The two last require no comment; but the 23. demands particular attention. It promises us “the support of PUBLIC CREDIT, and the enforcement of strict economy, and the impartial consideration of what is due to AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE”! I remember hearing PITT rounding his banging periods just in this manner, when he used to be moving for *LOANS* to carry on the war against France. PITT was a great captain in this way. He used to cut down the talkers about *LAVISH EXPENDITURE* and the dangers of the *DEBT*, as a cat claps her claws upon a nest of mice. He used to swing his arm round, giving a twist of his body at the same time; and unhappy was the wretch on whom his disapproving eye happened to alight! Now, sir, you, as far as I am a judge of such matters, have a desire to approach somewhat towards PITT, as a parliamentary *JURIST*; and I do not know that there is any very great deal of difference between *his audiences* and yours. He, too, was prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. You are all this, and he was no more; and where he had a penny in his pocket you have got ten pounds in yours. Ah, sir, how he used to thunder out, “England’s agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing greatness”! How he raised himself up, swung about his arms and his head, when he said, “The only ambition that I covet is, that the House may, in its

“great generosity, when this great measure (the *SINKING FUND*!) shall have accomplished its’ mighty purpose, cause MY NAME to be inscribed on a monument erected to PUBLIC CREDIT”! But, alas, sir! PITT was *putting out* paper-money; you are *drawing it in*: PITT had wheat at *fifteen* shillings a bushel; you have it at *five*: PITT was taken out of the concern when the shallow-pated fools’ “*SINKING FUND*” had seen the debt swell up to only about *four hundred millions*, with wheat at *fifteen shillings* a bushel; you have got a debt of *eight hundred millions*, and wheat at *five shillings* a bushel. PITT was in the midst of a glorious and head-bewildering war, and had prospects of endless happiness to hold forth to us, to come with a peace: you are at the end of twenty years of profound peace, and have no prospects of happiness to offer us, except there be any to be expected to arise out of another war! *Here is your real difficulty*. Here is that monster, which, if you be not prepared to encounter, and resolved to overcome, will, and in no long time, overcome you. There is no middle course, now; you must either subdue, or be subdued; and, however (after what has passed) you may doubt my sincerity, I do assure you, that the latter is the wish of

Your most humble
And most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

BOROUGH OF TAMWORTH.

Gentlemen,—On the 26. of November last, being then at Rome, I received from his Majesty a summons, wholly unforeseen and unexpected by me, to return to England without delay, for the purpose of assisting his Majesty in the formation of a new Government. I instantly obeyed the command for my return, and on my arrival I did not hesitate, after an anxious review of the position of public affairs, to place at the

disposal of my sovereign any services which I might be thought capable of rendering.

My acceptance of the first office in the Government terminates for the present my political connexion with you. In seeking the renewal of it whenever you shall be called upon to perform the duty of electing a representative in Parliament, I feel it incumbent upon me to enter into a declaration of my views of public policy, as full and unreserved as I can make it, consistently with my duty as a Minister of the crown.

You are entitled to this from the nature of the trust which I again solicit, from the long habits of friendly intercourse in which we have lived, and from your tried adherence to me in times of difficulty, when the demonstration of unabated confidence was of peculiar value.

I gladly avail myself also of this, a legitimate opportunity, of making a more public appeal, of addressing, through you, to that great and intelligent class of society of which you are a portion, and a fair and unexceptionable representative, to that class which is much less interested in the contentions of party than in the maintenance of order and the cause of good government, that frank exposition of general principles and views which appear to be anxiously expected, and which it ought not to be the inclination, and cannot be the interest, of a Minister of this country to withhold.

Gentlemen, the arduous duties in which I am engaged have been imposed upon me through no act of mine. Whether they were an object of ambition coveted by me; whether I regard the power and distinction they confer as any sufficient compensation for the heavy sacrifice they involve, are matters of mere personal concern, on which I will not waste a word. The King, in a crisis of great difficulty, required my services. The question I had to decide was this, shall I obey the call, or shall I shrink from the responsibility, alleging as the reason, that I consider myself, in consequence of the Reform Bill, as labouring under a sort of moral disquali-

fication, which must preclude me, and all who think with me, both now and for ever, from entering into the official service of the crown. Would it, I ask, be becoming in any public man to act upon such a principle? Was it fit that I should assume that either the object or the effect of the Reform Bill has been to preclude all hope of a successful appeal to the good sense and calm judgment of the people, and so to fetter the prerogative of the crown, that the King has no free choice among his subjects, but must select his Ministers from one section, and one section only, of public men?

I have taken another course, but I have not taken it without deep and anxious consideration as to the probability that my opinions are so far in unison with those of the constituent body of the United Kingdom as to enable me, and those with whom I am about to act, and whose sentiments are in entire concurrence with my own, to establish such a claim upon public confidence as shall enable us to conduct with vigour and success the Government of this country.

I have the firmest conviction that that confidence cannot be secured by any other course than that of a frank and explicit declaration of principles, that vague and unmeaning professions of popular opinions may quiet distrust for a time, may influence this or that election; but that such professions must ultimately and signally fail, if, being made, they are not adhered to, or if they are inconsistent with the honour and character of those who make them.

Now, I say at once that I will not accept power on the condition of declaring myself an apostate from the principles on which I have heretofore acted; at the same time, I never will admit that I have been farther before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appear with confidence in denial of the charge to the active part I took in the great question of the currency, in the consolidations and amendment of the criminal law, in the revision of the whole system of trial by jury, to the opinions

I have professed and uniformly acted on with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country; I appeal to this as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy.

But the Reform Bill, it is said constitutes a new era, and it is the duty of a Minister to declare explicitly, first, whether he will maintain the bill itself; and, secondly, whether he will act upon the spirit in which it was conceived.

With respect to the Reform Bill itself, I will repeat now the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed Parliament, that I consider the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question; a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb either by direct or by insidious means.

Then, as to the spirit of the Reform Bill, and the willingness to adopt and enforce it as a rule of Government; it by adopting the spirit of the Reform Bill, it be meant that we are to live in a perpetual vortex of agitation; that public men can only support themselves in public estimation by adopting every popular impression of the day, by promising the instant redress of anything which anybody may call an abuse, by abandoning altogether that great aid of Government, more powerful than either law or reason, the respect for ancient right, and the deference to prescriptive authority; if this be the spirit of the Reform Bill, I will not undertake to adopt it; but if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies merely a careful review of institutions civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, combining with the firm maintenance of established rights the correction of proved abuses, and the redress of real grievances, in that case, I can for myself and colleagues undertake to act in such a spirit and with such intention.

Such declarations of general principles are, I am aware, necessarily vague; but

in order to be more explicit, I will endeavour to apply them practically to some of those questions which have, of late, attracted the greatest share of public interest and attention.

I take, first, the inquiry into municipal corporations.

It is not my intention to advise the crown to interrupt the progress of that inquiry, nor to transfer the conduct of it from those to whom it was committed by the late Government. For myself, I gave the best proof that I was not unfriendly to the principle of inquiry, by consenting to be a member of that committee of the House of Commons on which it was originally devolved. No report has yet been made by the commissioners to whom the inquiry was afterwards referred, and until that report be made, I cannot be expected to give on the part of the Government any other pledge than that they will bestow on the suggestions it may contain, and the evidence on which they may be founded, a full and unprejudiced consideration.

I will, in the next place, address myself to the questions in which those of our fellow-countrymen, who dissent from the doctrines of the established church, take an especial interest.

Instead of making new professions, I will refer to the course which I took upon those subjects when out of power.

In the first place, I supported the measure brought forward by Lord Althorp, the object of which was to exempt all classes from the payment of church rates, applying in lieu thereof, out of a branch of the revenue, a certain sum for the building and repair of the churches. I never expressed, nor did I entertain, the slightest objection to the principles of a bill of which Lord John Russell was the author, intended to relieve the conscientious scruples of Dissenters in respect of the ceremony of marriage. I give no opinion now on the particular measures themselves; they were proposed by Ministers in whom the Dissenters had confidence; they were intended to give relief, and it is sufficient for my present purpose to state that I supported the principle of them.

I opposed, and I am bound to state

that my opinions in that respect have undergone no change, the admission of Dissenters, as a claim of right, into the Universities: but I have declared that, if regulations enforced by authorities superintending the professions of law and medicine, and the studies connected with them, had the effect of conferring advantages of the nature of civil privileges on one class of the King's subjects from which another class was excluded, those regulations ought to undergo modification, with the view of placing all the King's subjects, whatever their religious creeds, upon a footing of perfect equality with respect to any civil privilege.

I appeal to the course which I pursued on those several questions, when office must have been out of contemplation; and I ask with confidence, does that course imply that I was actuated by any illiberal or intolerant spirit towards the dissenting body, or by an unwillingness to consider fairly the redress of any real grievances?

In the examination of other questions which excited public feeling, I will not omit the pension list. I resisted, and with the opinions I entertain I should again resist, a retrospective inquiry into pensions granted by the crown at a time when the discretion of the crown was neither fettered by law, nor by the expression of any opinion on the part of the House of Commons. But I voted for the resolution moved by Lord Althorp, that pensions on the civil list ought for the future to be confined to such persons only as have just claims to the royal beneficence, or are entitled to consideration on account either of their personal services to the crown or of the performance of duties to the public, or of their scientific or literary eminence. On the resolution which I then supported as a private member of Parliament, I shall scrupulously act as a Minister of the crown, and shall advise the grant of no pension which is not in conformity with the spirit and intention of the vote to which I was a party.

Then, as to the great question of church reform, on that head I have no new professions to make. I cannot give

my consent to the alienation of church property in any part of the United Kingdom from strictly ecclesiastical purposes. But I repeat now the opinions that I have already expressed in Parliament in regard to the church establishment in Ireland, that if, by an improved distribution of the revenues of the church, its just influence can be extended, and the true interests of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be made subordinate to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance.

As to church property in this country, no person has expressed a more earnest wish than I have done that the question of it, so complicated and difficult as I acknowledge it to be, should, if possible, be satisfactorily settled, by the means of a commutation, founded upon just principles, and proposed after mature consideration.

With regard to alterations in the laws which govern our ecclesiastical establishment, I have had no recent opportunity of giving that grave consideration to a subject of the deepest interest which could alone justify me in making any public declaration of opinion. It is a subject which must undergo the fullest deliberation, and into that deliberation the Government will enter with the sincerest desire to remove every abuse that can impair the efficiency of the establishment, to extend the sphere of its usefulness, and to strengthen and confirm its just claims upon the respect and affection of the people.

It is unnecessary for my purpose to enter into further details. I have said enough with respect to general principles, and their practical application to public measures, to indicate the spirit in which the King's Government is prepared to act. Our object will be, the maintenance of peace; the scrupulous and honourable fulfilment, without reference to their original policy, of all existing engagements with foreign powers; the support of public credit; the enforcement of strict economy; and the just and impartial consideration of what is due to all interests; agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial.

Whatever may be the issue of the undertaking in which I am engaged, I feel assured that you will mark, by a renewal of your confidence, your approbation of the course I have pursued in accepting office. I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but at the same time with a resolution to persevere which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogative of the King as to give to the Ministers of his choice, not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial.

I am, Gentlemen,
With affectionate regard,
Most faithfully yours,
(Signed) ROBERT PEELE.

MR. HARVEY.

I see that Mr. HARVEY has published an address to the electors of COLCHESTER, notifying his intention not to go to the poll there, after having been a representative of that borough in three or four successive Parliaments; and he pretty plainly says, that he cannot stand a contest against the weight of the purses of SAVADRESON and SMYTH, whose purses are of the wagon-load sort. This is most scandalous to the Borough of COLCHESTER, and marks it out for the scorn and hatred of all the rest of the kingdom. It is very evident, that Mr. HARVEY is to be thus punished for his memorable motion for an inquiry into the PENSION LIST in particular, and for his good conduct invariably in the House of Commons; and his fearless support of the rights of the people, in addition to which there were few men in the House with thing like so much talent as Mr. HARVEY.

I do hope that there is ~~and~~ enough with public spirit enough to invite, and co. elect, Mr. HARVEY. If the people

suffer men to be cut down thus, who stand forward boldly for them, while scores, and even hundreds, hang back; then, indeed, they will show that the reform has been of no use; and that they merit being fleeced to the last rag upon their backs. There are two score of places that might, if they would, choose Mr. HARVEY. If none of them do it, it will be a disgrace to the whole country; and Mr. HARVEY's example, his punishment, will be a warning to others to skulk from their duty, if they have a mind to keep their seats.

LEGACY TO LABOURERS

Will be published on the 31. instant.

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO LABOURERS;

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and Squires, have to possess the Lands, or to make the Laws?

In Six Letters Addressed to the Working People of the whole Kingdom.

WITH A DEDICATION TO

SIR ROBERT PEELE.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM

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Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

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Can they use them so as to drive the natives from them?

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Letter VI. What right have the Lords, Barons, Squires, and rich men, to vote at elections any more than working men have?

Price, bound in leather, SIXTEEN PENCE.

GARDEN AND FIELD SEEDS.

THE bags of seeds, of which I spoke some time ago, require in the putting of them up, and absolutely demand, my presence in London: and present there I cannot be, until the dissolution of Parliament has taken place. But this is of no consequence to those who want seeds, because not one single hour is gained by the sowing of any seed earlier than the first week in February especially this year, when we are sure to have the frosts after that time; or at least, frosts to cut off peas, or any thing else out of the ground before that time. However, I must put up with any inconvenience as to this matter, which may arise from my absence. My presence is absolutely necessary to secure genuineness and soundness in the seeds put up; and I prefer loss of sale to any deficiency or imperfection, as to either of these points.

THE following letter was written before I saw the address of Sir ROBERT PEEL to his constituents. The reader will see that I anticipated all that was coming. I had no opportunity of sending it off soon enough for insertion in the *Standard*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

Wolsley Hall, 19. Dec. 1834.

SIR,—From an article which appeared in your paper of the 17. instant, it would seem that you are a good deal frightened. You do, indeed, set out in an easy and rather bold tone: you give us a list of the new Ministry, making a rather formidable array. But you,

immediately afterwards, fly off into speculations as to the horrors which will take place, *if the Whigs should get back again into power!* As if, with Macmurdo, you were saying to yourself, "Take any shape but that!"

Very hideous, I must confess, sir; but may I be so bold as to ask, *what it is that can have brought the frightful image into your mind?* *What it is that can have made you think such a thing possible?* Then come some very grave observations as to the consequences of so untoward an event. You give us a long list of revolutionary movements, ending with the overthrow of the church, the nobility, and even of the throne. You frighten me half to death: but, upon recovering my breath again, I ask myself, *what it is that can have given you reason to fear the possibility of the arrival of such dreadful evils?* And then, immediately, that brings me back again to the question: *What it is that can have made you suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to power?* Having hardly had time to put this question to myself, and pushed forward by my anxiety to know the worse that is to befall us, I find the picture of horrors wound up by a description of the dangers to property, and especially the dangers to property in the funds!

So, so," said I to myself, "is that all?" A little comforted now, and somewhat recovered from my fright: having got my reasoning faculties back again, I begin to reason: and the first question I ask myself is, what can be the causes of this great change in tone and sentiment? Why, this *Standard* newspaper, which, in a strain most lively and cutting was, but the other day, treating the Whigs with scorn and contempt, is 'here' all at once grown serious, and talking of them as a powerful and dangerous body. This paper, which but last week was ridiculing the Whigs upon the melancholy and eternal eve that they were taking of their offices, is now trembling with fear, lest they should be back in those offices again. This paper, which, in strains so eloquent and so true, used to describe

these usurious bands of money-mongers, who are swallowing up the fruits of the ancient inheritances and of the labour of the people, has now got an ague fit that makes its teeth chatter in its head, at the bare thought of seeing "*ruined property*" in danger; this paper, which has published volumes in condemnation of the bill of 1819, is now half dead at the thought of seeing something like justice done to those who have been plundered and ruined by that destructive bill! What can be the cause of all this?

Now, sir, let us speak plainly. The cause, I take to be this: you see Sir ROBERT PEEL Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. You see, that, if he *finch*, back come the Whigs again; or, at least, so you conclude. You have learnt, or, at least, so I believe, that he will make no change in the value of the currency; no reduction of the interest of the debt; that he will not repeal the malt-tax: and, I believe you to have a thorough conviction, in your mind, that, this being the case, he must quit his place in a very short time, in which opinion I most cordially join with you. You see, apparently more than I do; for you appear to see that the Duke could not go on without him; and I see no such a thing; and I repeat what I said in my *Register* of the 29 of November, that, in many respects, the Duke would do better without him than with him, because the Duke is not pledged up to the eyes, about malt-tax, and about currency. Of one thing, however, I am very sure; that is this, that neither the Duke, Sir ROBERT PEEL, nor any man alive, can keep his place as Minister for any length of time, if he persevere in upholding the present currency and the present taxes; and that, so persevering, Sir ROBERT PEEL can neither meet the present Parliament, nor resort to the votes of a new one.

Sir, you are an able writer, and by no means a blind politician. Look back at the changes that have taken place within the last five or six years; look back at the Duke's expulsion from

office, in 1830: look well at the matter, and you will find, that the great troubles of the Government; the great cause of its yielding to change after change; the great cause of its listening patiently to things, to speak of which to it would have been criminal twenty years ago: look at these things well, and you will find that IT IS THE DEBT which has always been at the bottom of every measure of change, whether for good or for evil, and you will find that it is the debt which is the cause of those appearances which now fill you with so much terror, and which debt will produce all the greater evils which you apprehend, unless there be found a Minister, honest and bold enough to encounter it face to face, and a Parliament, honest and bold enough to support them.

If you have the indulgence to insert this letter in your paper of Saturday evening, you will very much oblige me. If you think it improper to do it, I, with thanks to you, for many able and fine papers that I have read, coming from your pen, shall still remain

Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

MALT-TAX.

THE following article from the *Standard* shows very clearly that the new Ministers do not intend to repeal the malt-tax, which the *Standard* tells us has become a sort of *prescriptive* tax. I am sorry to see this able and elegant writer stoop so low as to employ his talents in this way. Ah, Mr. *Standard*! A man who has nothing to live on but his pen, must resolve to live upon bread and cheese, or, at least, to be able to live upon bread and cheese and small beer; or to give up all hopes of obtaining honest fame. Poor WILLIAM GIFFORD was a melancholy instance of this. He was a cobbler's son of ANABURTON in Devonshire. From the bottom of his heart he despised CANNING, FARRER, LIVERPOOL, and the whole crew, he held a pen at the hostility of which they

would have trembled; but he sighed for a carriage and pair; for a laced footman, and two or three dishes for dinner; he died, leaving twenty or thirty thousand pounds behind him, which nobody thanked him for. He expired the hack of CANNING, who refused to follow his corpse to the grave; there he is rotten as a clod, and no more remembered than any clod of earth in England. Ah! Mr. Standard! You may find out a *prescriptive* right in the Government to keep on the malt-tax; and I dare say you will find out its prescriptive right to make the nation pay the fundholder two bushels of wheat, instead of one, and to make the children now in the cradle pay the interest of debts, contracted before their fathers were born. I dare say you will find out a prescriptive right for every thing and for any thing, that your patrons may choose to do; but, Mr. Standard, I will send you LITTLE BOOK in a few days, which will show you what the whole of the people of this nation will soon know with regard to prescriptive rights. When you have read that little book, pray, remember, that that is the effect of a life, which has proceeded from bread and cheese and small beer, and a disregard of the carriage and pair, the laced footman, and the three dishes. I deeply lament this dereliction of duty on your part; but I must not neglect to perform my own, and I do beg you, who possess so much, and such excellent talent, to think seriously of poor WILLIAM GIFFORD, his carriage and pair, his double sinecure for life, his hack salary, his twenty or thirty thousand pounds left behind him, his present character of clod, moulded perhaps, one of these days, into a moist lump, "to stop a hole to keep the wind away." Oh, God! think of that, Mr. Standard; and if you do, you will not again talk about "*prescriptive taxes*," especially when they are only thirty-nine years old. Really, my respect for your talents has induced me to write this, and I will just here add, that it is a shame, that the commendations which you have bestowed on Sir ROBERT PEEL's letter, should have come from a man like you,

who could, upon the same subject, have written a ten thousand times better letter.

In our subsequent columns will be found a report of the meeting of the Buckinghamshire Agricultural Association, yesterday, at Aylesbury. The Duke of Buckingham presided, and about 800 persons, principally farmers, assembled to dinner. The ennobled chairman gave the toasts with great dignity and effect. "The King, the Queen, Royal Family," were greeted with enthusiastic applause. Nothing could be more flattering than the short speech in which the health of the Duke of Wellington was announced, or the reception of the toast by the assembled company. Upon the noble president's health being proposed, his Grace returned thanks in a very happy speech, one passage of which deserves particular notice, both from its cordial expression of feeling, and the unexampled and undesigned effect which it produced. "Can any man," said his Grace, "feel prouder than I do, surrounded as I am by such a numerous and respectable assembly. I received your confidence at an early age; that confidence was transmitted to me by those who loved me and went before me; and I have transmitted your confidence there" (pointing to Lord Chandos). Words cannot describe the rapidity with which the allusion was caught up, or the tumultuous energy of applause with which it was acknowledged. Well, indeed, might the noble Duke feel proud in having the opportunity to be surrounded with such friends, and to present them with such a son. Few like occasions of happiness can occur in human life; and fortunate is he to whom Heaven affords one of them. When the health of Lord Chandos was proposed, with what greeting received we need not say, his lordship addressed the meeting. The character of the assembly, as well as its original purpose, required that his lordship should address himself more particularly to the hope which the agricultural population naturally enough rest upon, the late happy change in the King's

Government. The noble Marquis spoke with his characteristic frank eloquence of the necessity of a repeal of the malt tax in the whole, or in part. That the malt-tax is in all attributes of a bad tax, the worst of all our taxes; that it is the most unprofitable to the Exchequer in proportion to its burden upon the people; that its tenacity is demoralizing, beyond the tendency of any other tax; that at present it burdens the most oppressed and suffering class of the community we have again and again argued. If its continuance deprive the public service of the Marquis of Chandos in the character of a Minister, we shall consider the fact no light aggravation of the mischievous character of that tax. We believe there is no second opinion, indeed we are sure that there is none amongst public men of whom we know any thing, that a repeal or reduction of the malt-tax ought to be the very first object with a finance Minister of Great Britain. There is unfortunately, however, a wide interval between what can be done, and what ought to be done. We can see that the malt-tax ought to have been repealed many years ago; and, as many millions of taxes have been repealed, it may seem, at first sight, strange that such a tax is permitted to continue. Beside, however, the proverbial weakness of the agriculturalists as a political body, urging claims, the magnitude of this evil has, as has often happened, supplied its protection. The vice of the malt-tax lies, at least, as much in its species as in its degree. Were the tax itself reduced from two shillings and sevenpence the bushel, so long as a single penny should be left to subject the manufacture of malt to fiscal superintendence, the farmer would receive no relief, the people would gain no protection, from the vexatious and demoralizing operation of the duty. But a finance Minister has rarely such a sum as four and a half millions, the amount of the malt-tax, to surrender in a single session; and if he has, he will find a host of claimants nearer to him, and more clamorous than the farmer. A tax, too, which has been levied to greater

or less amount for nearly two centuries, has some prescription to plead. The question, however, now is not, *ought* the tax to be got rid of, but, *can* it be got rid of? We confess that we do not see how the whole can be repealed in any one session; and if the farmers will not content themselves with taking a repeal by instalments, as the opportunity shall arise, we have little hope that the whole tax will ever be repealed: because we do not anticipate that any Minister will ever have a surplus fund of four and a half millions to dispose of, and the time for laying on new taxes has gone by.

The malt-tax constitutes more than a third of the now available revenue of the country. To expect, therefore, that the whole of that tax can be provided for by any practicable reduction of expenditure in any one year, must be very silly. All that the farmers ought to expect, and what, we think, they and the public with them (for as all consume beer the public are really as much concerned as the farmers), have a right to expect, is a beginning, or even a proof of a disposition to begin with the reduction of this tax. A tax is not a principle, a truth of which the *Globe* and *Morning Chronicle* seem to have lost sight, when they lecture upon the inconsistency of men who have voted variously upon this same subject, sitting in the same cabinet. A tax is not a principle, and it is, therefore, a matter perfectly open for compromise. This appears to have occurred to the Marquis of Chandos, for he admitted the possibility of a gradual reduction. We are sorry to observe that one of the persons present objected to any thing less than a total repeal. To raise such peremptory objections is, however, the worst possible policy for the agricultural interest. It is as much as if one should say, "What I cannot have at the instant, I will not have at all"; and if this feeling were universal amongst the agriculturalists, we certainly should despair of their cause; even now how much would they injure themselves by rendering it impossible for the Marquis of Chandos to take that place in the

Government to which the King, the King's Ministers, and the country invite him! How much more will they injure themselves, if they destroy us, doubtless, destroy they may, the only Government from which they can have any just ground of hope? If ever there was a case for compromise this is the case; let the farmers say fairly, "We generously trust those who have generously served us; we will not proscrib them from those honours and distinctions, to which they have a fair claim, by imposing conditions, impossible to be executed on the acceptance of those honours and distinctions; we will generously confide in our proved friends to do what they can in our service; but we will not disable them by requiring them to do that which they cannot." Let the farmers take this course, and we think we can confidently promise them relief from the whole of the malt-tax in a year or two; perhaps relief from a part in the present year. Let them take another course, and we, no less confidently, predict that they never will be relieved from a farthing of it.

I INSERT the following from a London paper, in order to show what base vagabonds the Kentish bull-frogs are. They did not recollect a person of the name of WILLIAM COBBETT! It is curious to observe the nasty, gross hypocrisy of these fellows. They will not, however, deceive the "*labourer*," whom they so love! That labourer wants the duty taken off *hops* as well as off malt, and that these fellows do not want. Very curious this. If the malt-tax were taken off to-morrow, the *hop-monopoly* would make the hops then cost a third part as much as the malt would cost. I am a native of the famous hop-growing place, FARNHAM; but these fellows shall find that the hop-monopolists will not keep their monopoly, if the malt-tax be repealed. Talk of the *Corn Bill*, indeed! Look at the *Hop Bill*! These fellows would have done well to

have behaved decently, or else have held their tongues. The praises which they have bestowed upon Sir WILLIAM ISOLBY, that gentleman will despise, when he perceives that there are no thanks given to the members of Parliament who supported my motion in the last session. I insert their proceedings, as a specimen of bull-frog stupidity and hypocrisy.

REPEAL OF THE MALT-TAX.

A meeting of gentlemen took place yesterday at Brown's Hotel, Bridge-street, Westminster, to take into consideration the best means of obtaining relief from the destructive consequences of that most cruel and unjust tax, the duty on malt. The meeting was but thinly attended, which was attributed by the gentlemen at whose instance the meeting was convened to the circumstance of many gentlemen interested in the object of the meeting being engaged in canvassing.

Mr. ELLIS, an extensive farmer of Kent, was called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said, that it required but little argument from him to show, that to advocate a repeal of the malt-tax was to uphold the cause of the poor, and that cause was, in his opinion, the duty of the rich; and he regretted that there were not more of those who came under the latter designation at the meeting. However, they would do the best they could in the absence of more influential persons, to advocate the cause of the poor agricultural labourer. (Hear, hear). It appeared to him to be quite clear that every man, woman, and child, who assisted in the cultivation of the land, was entitled to partake of the advantages of its produce. (Hear). It was equally clear that the cultivator of the soil was prevented from this positive right, owing to the operation of the malt-tax. (Hear). He could not himself state all the evil consequences of this most iniquitous tax; but having been, from circumstances, all his life amongst the labouring classes of the country, he knew that to them at least that tax worked great injustice. (Hear). Frequently had he seen the agricultural

labourer in the oppressive part of the day obliged to drink water to quench his thirst, not being able to get good beer; but owing to the present state of agriculture, the farmers were not able to provide their labourers with this necessary and wholesome beverage. (Hear, hear). It cost him, (Mr. Ellis) 2,000*l.* for beer in three years. He could not now afford to give his men as much beer as he was in the habit of allowing them; but not only himself, but his brother farmers, would be happy to have an opportunity of contributing to the comforts of the poor in this respect if the malt duty were repealed. (Hear). He would be happy, if such a result took place, to sow fifteen, or twenty, or thirty acres of barley for the manufacture of malt, for the advantage of his labourers; but to cultivate barley now was only to give pain to the labourer, who perceived that, instead of reaping advantage from the circumstance himself, he was only contributing to the comforts of hogs and other animals in the farmer's yard. He remembered well when the labourers used to brew for themselves. One of his labourers used to brew from as small a quantity as a peck, which proved that if the malt duty were removed an opportunity would be afforded to the agricultural labourer to brew his own beer. (Hear). This very man informed him that in brewing this peck of barley he saved himself two gallons of flour. Such was the nutritious character of the barley when made into malt. (Hear). This one fact in itself showed the impolicy and injustice of the malt-tax. Notwithstanding the pressure upon the land the farmers would most willingly give up a portion of their land for the cultivation of barley; but if they did so, under existing circumstances, they would have to pay a tax to four or five times the amount of the price of the barley given. (Hear, hear, hear). The worthy chairman then went into a calculation to show that since 1723, when the population was less than one-half of what it was at present, there was, comparatively speaking, a greater quantity of beer drunk. He then observed, that where spade

husbandry was introduced it was quite necessary, in order that the agricultural labourer should be able to contend in any way with teams of horses, that he should be enabled to obtain good wholesome beer. There were so many facts in connexion with this case that it was impossible to advert to them all. What he wished to impress upon the minds of the gentlemen present was, that pigs and hogs got that which, but for the malt-tax, would be made into good wholesome beverage for the labourer. For the last fourteen or fifteen years he and several gentlemen who had acted with him had made frequent endeavours to rid the country of an impost so oppressive as the malt-tax. They had frequent meetings on the subject at Maidstone; they began by asking for the repeal of part of the duty; they now asked for relief from the whole. Since then the duty had been taken off beer, and the consumption of barley was not now more than five millions of quarters, although in 1723, when the population was only five millions and a half, the consumption of barley was 3,800,000 quarters. It was said that the labourers got too much beer. (Hear). This he denied. (Hear). They might get too much of a Friday or Saturday night, when they got their week's earnings (hear); but if they had a fair quantity during the week they would not be so anxious to partake of so large a portion at the end of the week, when, instead of doing them good, it did injury. (Hear). The chairman, in adverting to the taxes which had already been reduced since the peace, said that the reduction of the property-tax produced no benefit to the labourer; nor did the reduction of the assessed taxes, the duty upon wine, &c., produce any benefit to the labourer. The tax upon spirits which had been taken off was rather an injury than a benefit to the labourer. Upon the whole then it was clear that something was yet due by the legislature to the agricultural labourer, and that the best course that could be adopted for the relief of the class of persons to whom he had alluded would be the taking off the duty upon malt. In the course of the

last year petitions had been presented to the legislature on the subject, from the county of Kent, which had been signed by 26,000 persons; and this year he had no doubt but that they would be greater. What he was anxious for was, that they should be prepared to meet the coming session, to be in such time with their claims, so that advantage could be taken of them by the Minister, should he be disposed to make any alterations in the financial affairs of the country (hear); and here he must say, that for one he would accept a reduction of one-half of the malt duty, if he could not get the whole. (Hear). He had the satisfaction to inform the meeting that the Marquis of Chandos had kindly consented to bring this question before the House of Commons next year, and he (the chairman) hoped that every friend of his country, and every friend to the poor, would do every thing in his power to get rid of a tax which was disgrace to the country. (Hear).

Mr. RUSSELL, another respectable farmer, addressed the meeting in support of the view taken of the subject by the worthy chairman, and observed that, according to an account kept by an ancestor of his, it appeared that in 1699 barley was 30s. the quarter, while in the spring of this year it was only 25s, but at the period when his ancestor lived the same quantity of malt could be got back from the maltsters, and at the same price, as the barley that had been sent to him, a bushel of barley and a bushel of malt at that time being 3s. 9d. At the early part of this year, however, although barley was only 3s. 1½d. a bushel, the same quantity of malt could not be got from the maltster under 8s. This clearly proved the injurious tendency of the malt duty, and explained why it was that the farmers could not afford to give beer to their labourers. (Hear, hear).

Mr. WELLS quite agreed in the view taken of the subject by the gentleman who had preceded him, whose practical knowledge afforded him such excellent opportunities of ascertaining how far the tax in question was injurious to the

agricultural labourer. (Hear). He, however, could never agree to the tax being reduced, that would still leave in existence all the complex and expensive machinery of collection, &c. (hear, hear); and when gentlemen recollected that it cost this country upwards of 8,000,000l. for collecting the revenue, he was quite sure that they would be anxious to adopt every means by which that expense was to be lessened. (Hear, hear). Mr. Wells then adverted to the pressure of taxes upon the land, and said that he thought the only fair course for Parliament to adopt was to get a committee of the House of Commons to consider how the taxes generally pressed upon the resources of the country, and thus to adopt the best means to lighten the pressure. (Hear, hear, hear). He thought that the best course which the meeting could adopt would be to put itself, through the medium of its chairman, in communication with Sir E. Knatchbull, one of the present Ministers, who was known to be favourable to their views, and that he should be requested to lay before his colleagues the views that were entertained by the meeting in reference to the malt duty. (Hear, hear).

Resolutions to the following effect were then put from the chair, and unanimously agreed to.

"That a supply of wholesome beer is essentially necessary to the poor generally, particularly to the working labourer; and that it is the imperative duty of all to use their best exertions to enable them to obtain that sustenance, of which they are now deprived by the excessive duty on malt.

"That the average individual consumption of malt, having decreased to less than half the amount of what it was before the prohibitory duties were laid on, would rapidly increase, and thereby would greatly relieve the poor-rates, by the stimulus given to tillage, and tend to improve trade. That the prohibitory duty is contrary to equity, humanity, and sound policy, and has increased crime and demoralization. That whilst the meeting feel gratified for the reduction of taxation that has

taken place, they respectfully submit that the poorer classes have not had their equal share of reduction, the duty on malt being unaltered. That the meeting earnestly invites the co-operation of all classes in the promotion of measures for the repeal of the malt-tax. That although this meeting studiously avoids stating political feelings on the recent change of the Ministry, yet they cannot help expressing their anxious hopes that the present Ministers will not be hostile to the repeal of the malt-tax, the necessity of which, this meeting knows, has been admitted by several members of the present cabinet.

"That copies of the resolutions be presented to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart., with a request that he will submit the same to his colleagues in office.

"That the thanks of this meeting and of the country are due to those members of Parliament who supported Sir W. Ingilby's resolution last session, as well as to the public press, for advocating the repeal of the malt-tax.

"That upon a general election taking place it is strongly recommended by this meeting that all friends to the cause do have a most decisive answer from each candidate that they will support a repeal of the malt-tax.

"That this meeting recommend that petitions to Parliament be forthwith proposed and signed as numerous as possible throughout the kingdom.

"That this meeting be adjourned to the second Tuesday after the meeting of Parliament, to be held at this place."

After a few general observations, it was agreed that the meeting should stand adjourned until the second Tuesday after the meeting of Parliament, it having been previously agreed that Mr. Wells should act as honorary secretary.

Thanks having been given to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

POOR-LAW BILL.

READER, pray pay attention to this. I shall not say in this place, what I think about the matter; only just observe, I

shall, that this is a little foretaste of that which is to come. Every sensible reader will see the point to which this tends. I dare say the marquis, while he heard that these sixty able-bodied men were at his door, thought of the illustrious, "*homme de lettres et avocat*," who hatched this bill, and who said, that there ought to be no legal provision, even for the aged and infirm; and who said this about three quarters of an hour before the marquis supported the bill by his speech. I will send the marquis, some of whose tenants I saw in Ireland, a copy of my little book, the "*Legacy to Labourers*"; and I will take care that some of the labourers in the neighbourhood of Calne shall have it, too. That book will not only teach them their own rights, but tell them *what rights the marquis himself has*.

(From the True Sun).

MISCONSTRUCTIONS OF THE NEW POOR-LAW BILL IN THE COUNTRY.

(From a Correspondent).

"On Tuesday the 9. instant, a large body of labourers, amounting to nearly sixty able-bodied men, apparently in great distress, applied at the vestry at Bremhill, near Calne, Wilts, for some relief, as it was impossible for them to subsist on what they earned. The vestry, however, refused them both assistance in money or labour, by which alone a prospect of obtaining an allowance of that necessary article, bread, might be confidently entertained. The unfortunate labourers, feelingly alive to the daily and hourly calls which their situations as heads of starving families would constantly entail on them, could not bear the prospective and agonizing idea of hearing their offspring vainly petitioning for food, and, after some consultation, they determined to apply at once to the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was most fortunately at his seat at Bowood at that particular period, for the purpose of knowing distinctly from so high and respectable authority what, in reality, they had to trust to. The labourers repaired,

"without a moment's delay, to the residence of the noble Marquis, and after stating to the steward (who was sent out to inquire into the object of their visit) their exceedingly hard and pitiable case, also very naturally added that they were determined not to starve.

"His lordship stated to them, through his steward, in reply to their humble inquiries, that the farmers were undoubtedly the proper persons to apply to for profitable employment, and that he was not aware but that his estates were let at so moderate a rent, as to enable his tenants to employ all their parishioners, and to give them at the same time a fair and just price for their labour; however, at any rate, the marquis would immediately institute proper inquiries into these circumstances, and see that all their reasonable grievances should be redressed.

"The labourers were perfectly well satisfied by this kind assurance of his lordship and went quietly to their homes; and thus were the well-grounded fears of that neighbourhood quieted by the marquis's timely interference."

GOOD NEWS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(From Nicholson's Commercial Gazette.)

(From a correspondent received this morning New York, 23, Nov., 1834.)

1. "MY DEAR FRIENDS,—You will be glad to hear that the elections in this state, which sends forty members to the House of Representatives, have terminated very much in favour of the administration. The democrats send thirty-two members to the House of Representatives for the next Congress, the scrip nobility send eight.

2. "Every possible means have been tried by the bank party to gain the election. Large sums were subscribed, and every thing that bribery

and intimidation could do, was done; but to no purpose, as they have been most signally defeated.

3. "I am happy to be able to say that the general result of the late elections shows, clearly, that the people uphold the President in his opposition to the United States Bank, as the majority in the House, in the twenty-fourth Congress, will be increased by from sixteen to twenty votes in favour of the administration.

4. "This result is particularly gratifying, as the enemies of liberty, on both sides of the Atlantic, but in France especially, were predicting a total change in our Government, and asserting that we should ere long have a king to keep us in order. People who entertain such absurd notions, must know very little of the hard-working farmers of the interior of this country, who all cultivate their own lands, and who are well educated for men in that station of life.

5. "Were the predicted change to be attempted, a very brief period would elapse before tens of thousands of these hard-fisted boys would be on their road to Washington, each with his rifle, to 'inquire into the matter.'

6. "I have been a good deal among these people, and I know them to be straight-forward sturdy republicans, to a man, fully appreciating the excellence of our institutions, as at present existing, and determined to maintain them.

7. "The President's message will be looked for with much interest, as it is expected General Jackson will recommend the sale of the seven millions of United States Bank stock, which is the property of the Government."

Bravo! That's the thing that will bring up Sir ROBERT PEEL and his "public credit." Here is a people, a universal-suffrage people, supporting the chief magistrate against an infernal aristocracy of money. The working people of England would support the King; ay, and the ancient aristocracy too, against this money-monster in England; but these latter, that is to say, the ancient aristocracy, have resolved, it

appears, from the letter of Sir ROBERT PEEL, to uphold, and to make common cause with, the money-monster, and continue to tax the working people to the tune of half their earnings to feed this monster. *is our state; at least it is so to all appearance; and we shall now have to discuss the question, whether the industrious classes, the tradesmen, the farmers, the artisans, the labourers, ought any longer to be taxed to pay the interest of this debt; or any portion of that interest.* Mr. BARING, who is one of the present Ministers, said, in the year 1831, that "*the estates of the kingdom are mortgaged to the fundholders.*" I have, twenty times over, proved the falsehood of this. If mortgaged to them, they were not, at any rate, mortgaged to pay two for one. However, let the landholders, now that they have passed the Poor-law Bill, settle this matter as they like. They cannot now pretend, that the labour ought to be taxed any longer to pay the interest of this debt! This is the shape that the discussion will now take. The Poor-law Bill has cast off the industrious classes, and flung them upon their "*own resources*"; when Mr. BARING has read my "*Legacy to Labourers*," he will know what those "*own resources*" are!

Now one word about this good news from America. By the seventh paragraph of this news, the reader will see, that the United States government are the owners of bank-stock to the amount of seven millions of dollars, and that it is reported that the President means to sell this stock? What a fine chance for our noble and honourable people who are owners of so large a part of that bank stock! How rich they will get by buying what the President is going to sell! Every reader must see what a blow here is at our ricketty concern! I can say no more. To express the pleasure that I feel at this is utterly impossible.

COVENTRY ELECTION.

WITH very great pleasure I insert the speech of Mr. WILLIAMS to the electors, made to them on Monday, the 15. of this month of December. It is with still greater pleasure, that I hear to-day, that the people, having had time to inquire and to understand matters, appear determined to elect him. Mr. ELAROS has, in fact, declined. It appears that he is in ill-health. In speaking of Mr. ELICK, I shall never refrain from observing, that his conduct as Secretary at War was, as far as I had an opportunity of knowing, that of a humane, considerate, and just man; an opinion in which, I am sure, I have the cordial concurrence of my excellent colleague. With regard to Mr. WILLIAMS, whom I have had the honour to know intimately for several years, I hardly know a man so fit to be a representative of the people, and particularly of such a people as those of COVENTRY. He has great property at stake; no possible temptation to do that which is wrong; great knowledge in all the affairs of trade; utterly impossible for him ever to desire to touch public money in any shape or form. As intelligent and active a man as all England contains; and though he will be, certainly, one of those "*pushing men*," that Mr. ALEXANDER BARING was so afraid to see in Parliament, never will he be found to push in a direction contrary to the good and ancient institutions of the country, or to the real interests of his constituents, and the people at large. With t's preface, I, with great pleasure, insert a report of his speech, which has been printed and circulated at COVENTRY.

The Speech of W. Williams, Esq., addressed to the Electors of Coventry, on his Public Entry, Monday, Dec. 12, 1831.

The carriage having been drawn up into the market-place, Mr. WILLIAMS addressed the people to the following effect: He thanked them most sincerely for the warm reception which he had met with. When he beheld the vast

assemblage of freemen who knew their rights and valued their liberties, coming forward on so important an occasion, to hear the sentiments of a man, who had come to ask their suffrages: when he saw such a noble manifestation of feeling it warmed his heart, and inspired him with hope that the people of this country were destined to see better days. (Cheers). The difficulty which he laboured under, was, that his political conduct, his unflinching opposition to every species of tyranny and oppression, was not better known to them. They might however have seen, through the press, that for the last twenty years, he had been upon every occasion one of those who not only joined, but took an active part in every public movement in opposition to misgovernment, and in every effort to keep the hands of the sinner and the tax-man out of the pockets of the people. (Cheers). In coming to Coventry on this occasion, he did not come precisely to oppose any other gentlemen who might have offered themselves as candidates. As private individuals he respected those gentlemen, but private virtues were not nowadays the only qualification necessary to constitute the public character. For twenty-five years he had been engaged extensively in the manufactures of Lancashire and Yorkshire, in both the home and foreign trade, and the experience which he had, enabled him to know the wants of the mercantile and manufacturing portion of the kingdom. He came therefore as one of the people, (cheers), belonging to the people, and whose every feeling was identified with the people (cheers), and if they intrusted to him the representation of their wants and wishes in Parliament, he did not hesitate to say but that he would be able to evince a thorough knowledge of their wants and interests, as manufacturers. They had tried men long enough who were unacquainted with trade and manufacture. They had tried lords, earls, 'squires, and lawyers, (laughter), and what had they done for them? they could not say nothing, they had done worse than nothing, for they found that under their representation the people

deteriorating in their condition, and their liberties abridged. The people were evidently not so well off as in former days, and there must be something wrong. (Hear, hear). Yes, they had tried these men for years in Parliament, and now that they saw and felt the consequences of their legislation, he called upon them to try one of their own class. (Cheers). He was of no party, he deprecated all party (Cheers). The Whigs and Tories who were parties, were now ashamed of their names. And why? because they had both committed so many sins against the rights and liberties of the people, that the people were beginning to see the effects of the conduct of these two factions. In his address he had given his opinions upon many measures, which he deemed necessary to bring back England to its former glory, prosperity, and happiness. The first principle referred to in his address, was an extension of the franchise, and nothing short of household suffrage would satisfy him. (Cheers). He supported the Reform Bill, but it was in the expectation that great benefits would result from it. That bill had been tried, and what had it produced? nothing but disappointment. It had returned to Parliament, men who had increased the standing army, and who had passed that most infamous and atrocious of all measures, the Irish Coercion Act, by which their fellow men were deprived of the benefits of the constitution, by being subjected to military courts-martial, in place of that most invaluable of all blessings, trial by jury. (Cheers). Was he to give them a catalogue of the crimes of the reformed Parliament, the manner in which both Whigs and Tories played in one another's hands, they would clearly see that they had sustained the character given to them, when it was once said that this great country was crucified between two thieves. (Laughter and cheers). They had agreed to nothing only in persecuting the people, and they had disagreed in nothing only in dividing the money which they had plundered from the people. For the last four years whenever the liberties of the peo-

ple were to be abridged, they were united so closely as if they formed but one body and one essence. (Cheers). He now deemed it necessary, seeing that these men who had been returned under the Reform Act had had no sympathy with the people, that the franchise be extended. (Cheers). He proposed to go for household suffrage at least, and he hoped to see the time when education would have so far enlightened the people as to enable them to go beyond even that. They must not however go on with too great speed, for history furnished many instances where men had obtained rights which from ignorance they did not know how properly to exercise, and the consequence was that they became the prey of tyrants. Next in importance to obtaining an extension of the franchise was the repeal of the Septennial Act (cheers), because from that act proceeded all the misfortunes and misery with which the country had been afflicted. When the Stuarts, on account of their crimes, had been expelled from the throne of England, the first condition upon which William and Mary were established upon the throne was that the people should have the advantage of triennial Parliaments. For twenty-one years they enjoyed this benefit, but the Parliaments became so corrupt that they were obliged, in order to screen themselves from the nation, to pass an act prolonging the duration of Parliament to seven years. At this the people felt indignant, and having warmly expressed their feelings, the Parliaments were obliged to pass the Riot Act to save them from the just resentment of the people, so that they could then and now bring upon them their horse and foot soldiers to cut them down after one hour's warning. Thus one bad act begot another, and so on until the constitution was so flattered away and disfigured that scarce a trace of its original grandeur could be recognised. There were many who wished for annual Parliaments, but upon that point there were various opinions. If, however, the people of Coventry wished for annual Parliaments, he would take care, if they returned him as their representa-

tive, to afford them all the benefit of annual Parliaments, for he would come down within a month after the conclusion of every session, submit his parliamentary conduct to them; and if they did not approve of it, he would resign his seat. (Cheers). The next subject which he had mentioned in his address was vote by ballot; and upon this subject there was also some difference of opinion. He, however, had never heard what he considered a good argument against it. (Hear, hear). The law gave them votes to exercise without control or bias; yet it was stated in the last session by Mr. Grote, that one half of those who voted at the last election did so under the influence of coercion. They said it was an un-English practice, yet in all the great institutions of the country it was adopted. The Bank directors who exercised more power over the commercial interest of the nation than any other body were elected by ballot; and the East India Company, who governed eighty millions of human beings, were elected by it. From the highest to the lowest club in the county all used it. Lords, dukes, earls, and bishops must obtain admittance into their respective clubs and societies by the ballot; and why men should be admitted into the House of Commons without it, he was at a loss to conceive. Let them look at the working of the ballot in America, Mr. Steuart, in his travels had stated in reference to it, that in the state of New York, where 260,000 electors polled at an election, they went to the polling place with as much regularity and order, as they did to church or chapel. And it was remarkable that those states where it was not used, were the slave states; and at the election in those states drunkenness and outrage were commonly witnessed. He now came to another part of his address in which he had expressed his determination to abolish all sinecures and unmerited pensions. He had lately seen a correct list of those lady, gentlemen, and children pensioners, who were in the annual receipt of the public money, for which they had never rendered any services

to the count - and when he reflected that the vast assemblage of artisans now before him were compelled to support such a worthless tribe, he felt indignant at such gross injustice and oppression. And if they sent him to Parliament, he pledged himself never to cease or rest, until he saw that blot removed from the country. The expulsion of placemen from the House of Commons was also a thing indispensably necessary. The Bill of Rights enacted, that no person who held either place, office, or pension from the crown, could hold a seat in the Commons House. Yet in despite of this law, it appeared from a report of a committee of the reformed Parliament, that 143 members of that House were holding places under the crown. (Cries of Shame, shame). And sixty of them annually receiving £6,000. There were also 312 lords, earls, honourables, and right honourables, baronets, and colonels of the army, captains of the navy, and colonels of yeomanry cavalry, all of whom, or their connexions, were partaking of the public money. Here were 455 of these gentlemen members of the House, and he would now ask, what justice or diminution of taxation could they expect from them? (Cries of None, none). It was true these gentlemen had been telling them about their intentions of doing good, but what in reality had they done? why repealed the house-tax; but pray whom had they to thank for that relief? 'The people of London. (Great cheering). The Government could not collect it, and good patriots like, they abandoned it. (Laughter). The fact was, the people were indebted to themselves for the repeal of that tax, and by the same spirit and determination could they expect a redress of all their other grievances. (Cheers). There was another class of their rulers which he had nearly forgotten: the privy councillors. Of these wise men there were 113 of them, who, according to Sir James Graham, divided £50,000. annually of the public money. All the taxes of the country 200 years back did not amount to any thing like that sum, and then England was one of the most

powerful countries in the world. He now came to another kind of reformation which he deemed necessary; a reform in the corporations. (Cheers). He was afraid the gentlemen of the town connected with the corporation would say he was 'too much of a reformer on that point when he proposed to give the election of the magistrates into the hands of the people, and that once a year too. (Hear, hear). Well, in doing so he wished them no harm, nor would the change do them any, because he knew from experience that it had a good effect. In London, where the common councilmen were elected by the freemen householders, and they numbered nearly 10,000, the effect was most beneficial. It kept them up to the discharge of their duty, and there was seldom or never any necessity for to change them. (Hear, hear). And so it would be in Coventry if the magistrates were annually elected by the people as in London. He had also proposed in his address to vote for a repeal of the malt-tax, than which a more unjust tax could not be imposed upon the industry and comforts of the people. It was a tax calculated to excite the indignation of the country; for by it the poor were obliged to pay 100 per cent. upon the beer. If that was repealed, they could have their beer better for 3d. than they now had it for 6d. That, however, which aggravated this tax was the manner in which their legislature had taxed their own drink. They only taxed their own wine twenty-five per cent. whilst they taxed the poor man's ale with more than 100 per cent. (Shame). If they had had household suffrage would they have returned men to Parliament who could be so far insensible to the comforts of the poor as to impose such a tax; or would they, at the last election, have returned men capable of voting away one-half of it on one night, and, with the most despicable servility, rescind their vote on the next night at the bidding of a minister of the crown? (Cries of No, no, shame, shame). He now came to a question of much importance, and one upon which he particularly wished to explain himself; he meant the question of free

trade. (Hear, hear). As a man of business he had applied himself to the consideration of the subject, and his decided opinion was, that it was a measure which never ought to have been introduced, and which ought long since to have been repealed. (Cheers). From the first moment that the doctrine of free trade was promulgated he looked upon it as erroneous in principle and injurious in practice. (Cheers). When the Tories brought in this bill, so jealous were the Whigs of it, that they claimed the merit of suggesting what they called this very liberal system. By this system they gave every thing to foreign nations, not one of which give any thing in return. When the late Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Spring Rice, were assailed upon the subject they said, as a proof of the utility of the measure, that there was an increased consumption of goods at home and a larger amount of tonnage from British ports. This was plausible but false reasoning. They did not consider that the unnatural competition into which they had driven the nation was, as a matter of course, sure to reduce the price of the article, and consequently cause a greater consumption. But there was another consequence of the competition which they had overlooked, and that was the certain reduction in the price of labour and profits of the manufacturer which it effected. It was true, the placemen, pensioners, and sincuriats, were enabled by the competition to obtain their fancy articles and dresses for one-half the price which they formerly paid for them, and that at the expense of the miseries and heart-rending sufferings of the poor and industrious labouring artisan. (Cheers). This was a fact, no theory. The manufacturers of England with a national debt, unequalled in the annals of the world, with a load of taxation sufficient to crush all their energies, were driven by their unfeeling rulers, into competition with nations unencumbered with debt, and comparatively free from taxation. (Continued cheering). Was this justice? (No, no). Was this a system of legislation which ought to have been adopted? (No, no). And for what

was it, he would ask in the name of every principle of right, that the legislature of England should be so far blind or unfeeling as to reduce to pauperism thousands of their countrymen? Why for no other reason than to satisfy the whims of a few cold-hearted theorists, who wished to try experiments, even on the hearts' blood of the people. (Shame, shame). Well, they had tried the experiment, they had deluged the country with foreign goods, they caused an increase of machinery, which was valuable only when it facilitated labour, but always injurious when it destroyed it. (Cheers). They had placed their manufacturers at the mercy of the foreigner. They had stripped the houses of the artisan of those articles of furniture, which in time of prosperity it was his pride and pleasure to purchase; they had unclothed his children, and filled the store-room of the pawnbroker; they had broken down the hearts and spirits of the people; they had filled the workhouses; they had increased the parish rates to an extent unknown in the history of the kingdom; and having done all that, in order to save from similar misery, those who were enabled to sustain the shock, they were obliged to introduce a bill which deprived the poor of that assistance to which they were entitled. (Cheers). This was not the conduct of other Governments upon this subject. If a man in France was caught three times in smuggling he was sent to the galleys; and in Germany and all other countries they had all but excluded British manufactures. If these countries were to take English goods in return, then it would be a consideration as to the propriety of a free trade, because of the great advantages which they possessed. He had viewed the question in every way, and believing it to be fraught with immense mischief to the people, he had always been a deadly foe to it. (Hear, hear). To aid in removing this free trade he now offered his assistance to the people of Coventry, and for doing so he was told by the two parties in the town that he had no right to come. The Tories objected to him because he advocated principles to which they were opposed, and the Whigs told him he ought not to come to split the interest of the liberals and admit a Tory. This and such like were the arguments used by these parties to keep the great mass of the people from the exercise of their undoubted right to return such men as they thought proper. He however had come, regardless of all taunts, and in doing so he had no other motive than to afford the people an opportunity of expressing their opinions, freely and fully, upon all those great questions so immediately connected with their interests. He now came to another part of his address, that which referred to the standing army. They were all aware that within

the last four, — the Whigs had raised an additional number of troops, than which a more odious act could not have been committed against the liberties of the people; and for what purpose was the army augmented? why to enable them to wring tithes from the famishing people of Ireland. (Applause). Would the people of England have endured such an act two hundred years back? They would not. What did Queen Elizabeth say when asked by the French ambassador where were her guards; why she referred him to the people and said, "These are my guards." Relative to the impressment in the navy, he was also opposed to that system. The navy was the pride and glory of England, and from the bravery which those men had always manifested, he had no fears but that whenever England required their services they would be found at their posts, without being dragged into the service unwilling captives (Cheers). Next came the flogging in the army. (Cries of Shame). England was the only country in Europe where it was practised, and he should never cease in his exertions until it was abolished because of its inhuman and demoralizing tendency. With respect to the corn laws, he should also vote for either an abolition or such an alteration as would enable the poor to procure cheap food. If they looked at the *Gazette* of last Saturday, they would find that the duty on foreign corn was greater than the actual price of it. But it might be said he advocated a restriction upon foreign ribbons and why not upon foreign corn. Now he would meet an interrogatory to that effect if put to him by a positive assertion, founded upon all laws, divine and human, that no state ought under any circumstances, or to meet any exigency, enact laws to deprive the people of food. (Cheers). This was indisputable. Before, however, he repealed the corn laws he would advocate a repeal of the malt-tax, which would be a saving of five millions a year to the working portion of the community, whilst it would encourage and increase agriculture, and enable the farmer to procure a remunerating price for his produce. Under the present state of things the rent of the arable land did not amount to much more than double this tax. He would repeal the present corn laws at once if possible, and lay on such moderate duty as would not materially affect the price of the poor man's loaf, and then he would gradually reduce the duty. He had now to call their attention to another question of great importance which engaged the attention of the empire, and was now being agitated in every part of the country. He alluded to the question of church reform. (Cheers). Before he proceeded on this subject he must tell them that he was a churchman, and would be one of the last men who would willingly injure or impair its usefulness. It was therefore against the abuses in the church of which he wished to speak, and to which he was going to direct their attention. The tithes of the church, the churches themselves, and

the actual property belonging to the church, he would hold sacred. In the property of the church he included the glebe lands, and the property of the deans and chapters and bishops' lands, &c. The property he would leave to the church, but subject to such an appropriation of it as would ensure to the virtuous and working clergy a fair and respectable remuneration, and not to leave them, as many of them now were, in many instances worse provided for than a respectable mechanic. To effect this he would of course do away with the drones, and that iniquitous system of simony and pluralities; and he would compel every bishop or minister in the church to reside in their diocese or parish, in place of living in luxury and ease as many of them now did in France and Rome. With respect to the tithes, he should at once view them as public property, and dispose of them as such. They were in Catholic times appropriated to the benefit of the clergy and the poor; but when the religion of the country, in the reign of Henry the Eighth was changed by act of Parliament from Catholic to Protestant, then the first reformers for the worst of purposes handed over the tithes to their minions, and hence great portions of that property was now in the hands of lay improvidents. The church property had been by this transfer declared public property; for it was not, the act of taking it from the support of the clergy, the building and repairing of churches, and last, but not least, the support of the poor, was nothing less than injustice. Before the Reformation there were huns but churchmen, and if with the consent of the people, the property was so applied, their could be nothing objectionable in it; but when the people changed their religion and became Protestant, they enacted the most severe laws against the Catholics, so severe, that it was even death for a priest to be found performing mass in the country. Here then was a clear change in religion and a transfer of tithes at the will of the nation; and upon this he took his stand when he asserted, that the people now, through their representatives in Parliament, have an undoubted right to appropriate the tithes to the public service, if they thought proper. As he before said, if the country was all of one opinion upon religion, and thought well of having the tithes as they were it would be all right; but now that the great mass of the people were Dissenters from the church, and derived no spiritual advantage from it, it was a different matter altogether. He should act upon the principle of doing to others as he wished to be done by, and upon that principle, he would put it to them to say, if it was in conformity with that principle, which was a fundamental part of Christianity, to compel men to pay towards the support of a religion from which they derived no advantage. They saw the respectable manner in which the dissenting congregations maintained their clergy, none of whom he dared say depending upon 50*l*. or 60*l*. a year; and was it to be said of the mem-

bers of the established church that they could not, or would not support their clergy if called upon to do so. No; he did not believe they would refuse to support them, and hence he was for removing compulsory payments, which had engendered so much bad feeling and ill-will amongst professing Christians. He felt as a churchman, that it was a degradation to him to be instrumental in forcing money out of the pockets of the Dissenters for the support of a minister of religion, whose face perhaps they had never seen. He would be the last man to injure the church, but he was certain, taking into consideration the state of Ireland and the feeling in England, that unless some arrangements were made with respect to the tithes, that the church would eventually be reduced to a bad condition. The Dissenters now were a great and powerful body; they were an intelligent body; and had at present a respectable and influential committee in London, making arrangement to ascertain their strength throughout the kingdom, in order to bring it to bear in the event of an election in such a way as to ensure a proper representation of their wishes on that question, and all others affecting their interests. The churchmen, therefore, must not, by obstinately refusing to concede the just demands of the Dissenters, provoke that body; and he sincerely hoped that the churchmen would see the necessity of settling the question themselves. It was one now of great and permanent importance, to the settlement of which all thoughts were directed. It was a question of importance to Ireland, and one upon which, a gentleman of great credit had said, 20,000 human beings had been sacrificed in that country. Yes, not less than that number of lives, he believed, had been sacrificed in Ireland in the collection of tithes. The people, however, had at last settled the question, and tithes now only nominally exist there. With this effort on the part of the Irish there was, however, one thing which materially affected the people of England. When the tithes could be no longer had, the last Parliament applied one million of the public money to pay the clergy, under a positive assurance that they would appoint commissioners who would make the clergy repay it. Well, they did appoint commissioners, and they employed horse and foot soldiers to assist them, yet they were not able to get one thousandth part of the money back, nor ever could. Tithes were, to all intents and purposes, dead in Ireland; and the question now was, would the Dissenters in England allow them to continue? No, they would not; and when the question came before Parliament, if they returned him as their representative, he should vote that it be appropriated as public property to go towards the support of the poor, to promote education in every parish, and the remainder to go into the public coffers; all of which would be followed by a proportionate reduction of taxation. In all this, however, he should scrupulously re-

gard the interests of the present clergy, and allow them a fair and just consideration for their lives, believing as he did, that not to do so would be an injustice towards them. He now came to the last topic upon which he should touch. He meant the Poor-law Amendment Bill, which was the grossest infraction upon the liberties of the people ever committed. Lord Brougham had stated in reference to it, that he supported it to enable the landlords to get their rents. He said the poor-laws eat up every thing, yet only four millions and a half of the poor-rates were really applied to the poor. Now, he (Mr. W.) was interested in the land, but sooner than he would have supported such a bill he would have lost rent, land, and all parish, rather than suffer one Englishman to perish for want of that relief to which by all laws, divine and human, he is entitled. (Loud cheers). The poor man had as good a right to relief when in distress as the landlord had to his rent. This law had however been reversed by Lord Brougham, who had increased his own salary to 14,000*l.* a year, and his retiring pension from 4,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* a year. Out of 14,000*l.* a year he could not save a sufficiency to keep him when out of office, and yet he could legislate for the poor, upon the principle that the poor labourer who had to support a wife and family out of fourteen shillings a week, ought to be able to save a sufficiency to meet all the exigencies of sickness, want of employment, and old age. If they sent him to Parliament he would never rest until that bill, which was a disgrace to the country, was repealed. He would go back to the 43 statute of Elizabeth, and if there were any provisions in that act which did not answer the present state of society he would amend them, but retaining the principle. (Hear, hear). One word more, and that was with regard to Ireland. The people of England had heretofore witnessed the oppression of that country with too great indifference, nay a crime. (Shame). They had seen the people of that country enduring as they were, for centuries, under misrule and persecution, they had seen them trodden under foot long enough, and it was high time that they made common cause with them, prevent all further encroachments upon their liberties, and resist any further attempts which might be in contemplation, to give an ascendancy to any party, who by the religious feuds and animosities which they had kept alive, succeeded in rendering that country the weakness, in place of the strength of England. Ireland must no longer so be trodden down. (Cheers). It is not the wish of the people of England that she should be so. (No, no). Then let the people of England say it must not be so, and Ministry dare perpetuate their miseries. (Cheers). Having now addressed them at some length, he must return them his best thanks for the patience with which they had listened to him. (Hear, hear). His opponents would, no doubt, scrutinize his conduct and character, and in order to help them to do so,

he now publicly challenged them to show that he ever did a dishonourable act, or broke his word either in private or public during his life. This was the challenge which he gave them; and upon this character, his practical knowledge of trade, and independent fortune acquired by industry, which renders him independent of bribery or corruption, he now sought their suffrages (Cheers). He was now about to retire from trade. And as he would consequently have sufficient time to spare, he would devote all his energies to the discharge of his parliamentary duties. He had now launched himself in the bark with the people of the country. He came to fight a constitutional battle of principle, and if they stood by him he would stand by them.

Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Wilkinson, of London, then addressed the freemen in behalf of Mr. Williams, whom they represented as a gentleman of honour, respectability, patriotism, and unflinching attachment to the interests of the people; after which a resolution to the effect that Mr. W. was a fit and proper person to represent the city in Parliament, and pledging themselves to support him was proposed by Mr. Buckner, and on being seconded, was carried by acclamation, without a dissentient voice.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWN, W., Clifton-street, Finsbury, carpenter.
CLARK, C., Stoney, Somersetshire, chemist.
HARVEY, J., Dartford, Kent, timber-merchant.
KING, H. W., Bristol, attorney.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, G. B., E. R. Danson, and C. Duncan, New Broad street, merchants.
CASSY, W., Coopers' Arms, Cow-cross-street, victualler.
CLARK, J. B., High street, Shadwell, grocer.
CROSER, T., G. Walker, and J. C. Walker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship and insurance-brokers.
JOHNSON, T., late of Petworth, Sussex, surgeon.
JOHNS, S., New Sarum, bookseller.
KENDRICK, J., Sidney-alley, Leicester sq., printer.
LANE, T., Hereford, seedsman.
OAKLEY, E., Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire, linen-draper.
TOMLINSON, S., Liverpool, corn-merchant.
WHITEN/JJ., Liverpool, merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WISEMAN, I., Norwich, silk-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BAXTER, J., Lougham, Norfolk, builder.
CHAPMAN, W., Allensmore, Herefordshire, timber-merchant.
DRIVER, T., Pemell's-terrace, Peckham, merchant.
ELFORD, R., jun., Little Exeter-street, Chelsea, veterinary-surgeon.
FRASER, R., Middle Queen's-build'ngs, Brimston, wine-merchant.
KADWELL, W., Westton, Somersetshire, victualler.
MORRISON, W., Gloucester-street, Hoxton New-town, Widdlessex, carpenter.
PIKE, T., Liverpool, corn merchant.
WOOD, E. G., Liverpool, common-brewer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LAMP, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec 22.—

The fresh supplies from the home counties to this morning's market were moderate, and though the arrivals reported during the past week have been large, yet being principally on the account of speculators and millers, few parcels comparatively have appeared on the stands. Fine samples were to-day saleable at fully the rates of last Monday, but all secondary and inferior descriptions were difficult of disposal, and a very limited clearance effected at the close of the market. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

The extensive supplies of British Barley, which have amounted during the last fortnight to upwards of 45,000 quarters, have so much exceeded the demand, that prices have become materially depressed. To-day, however, fine Barley was rather freer sale than on Friday, realizing the prices of last Monday; grinding samples also meet inquiry, but all other sorts were very heavy sale, and little progress made in their disposal at the close of the day.

Malt very easy sale at last week's decline of 1s. per quarter on the better qualities, and 2s. on the samples.

The supply of Scotch Oats have been unusually extensive, but from England and Ireland only moderate. The trade ruled dull,

